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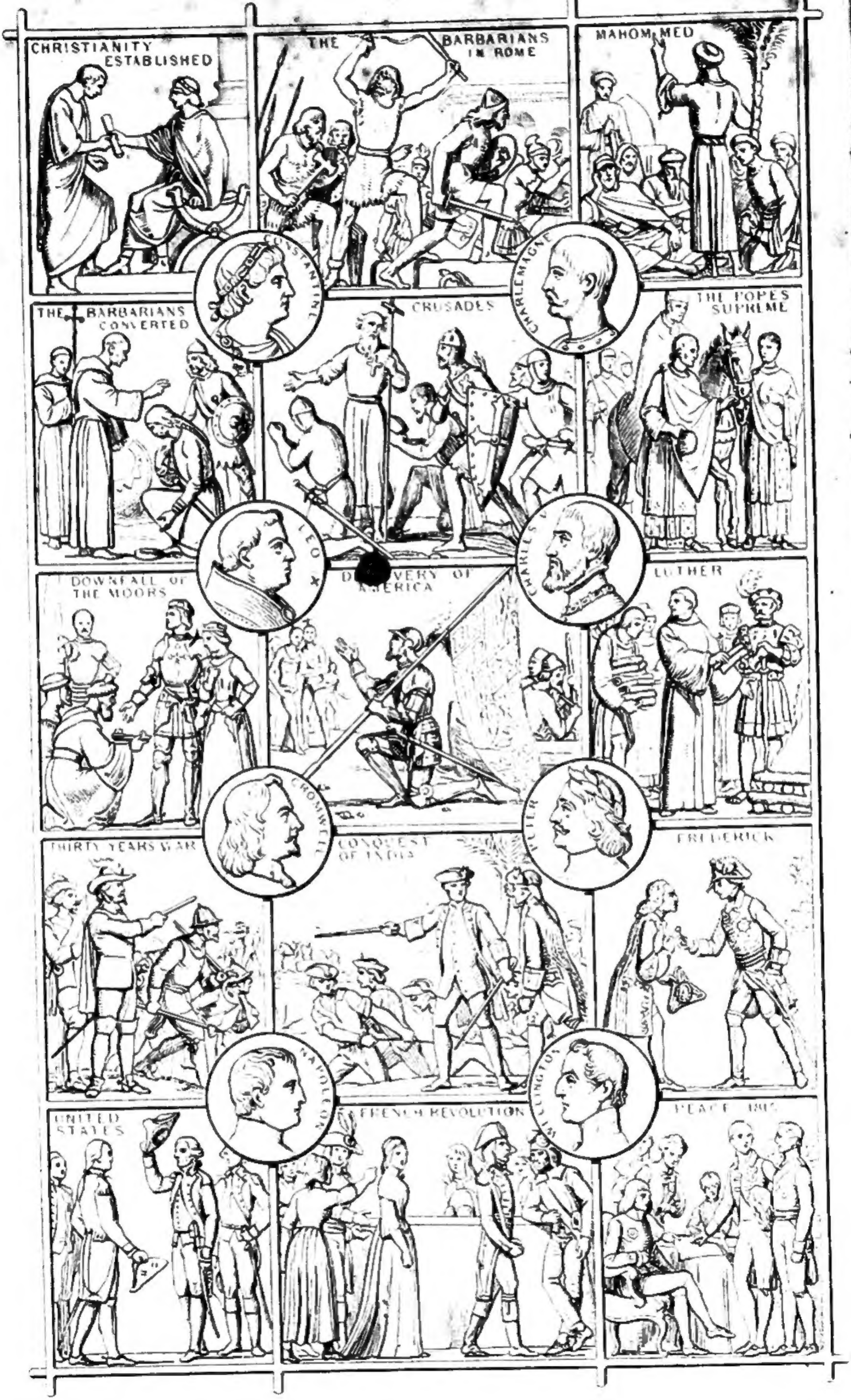
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H.Adlard.

THE

TREASURY OF HISTORY:

COMPRISING A

GENERAL INTRODUCTORY OUTLINE

OF

UNIVERSAL HISTORY, ANCIENT AND MODERN,

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'Ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat historicus.'

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PREFACE.

In the present edition some alterations have been made in the order of the separate Historics, while the Introductory Remarks and the Ancient History of Greece and Rome, with some other portions, have been either wholly or in part rewritten. To give in the compass of a single volume a detailed history of every nation and country which may render any further study superfluous, is a manifest impossibility; but the *Historical Treasury* may serve a good purpose without attributing to it a design which was never intended. There are many who are unable to enter on courses of historical study, but yet do not wish to remain ignorant of the general character of that history which lays before us the progress of the human mind from the earliest times to the present. For such readers it is very important to define clearly the laws of historical evidence, and to put the subject before them in such a manner that they may be able to judge for themselves of the truth or the incorrectness of what has been said.

In history, more perhaps than in any other subject, it is of the greatest importance that our knowledge should be derived as much as possible from original sources. We are not justified in receiving the statements of historians on their own undisputed authority. Hence the value of a historical work without references is greatly impaired. In such a case the reader cannot satisfy himself whether he is right or wrong in accepting or rejecting any statement: and this remark applies especially to those times of which confessedly we have no authentic contemporary records. But in a work like this, a multiplicity of references would be out of place; in the present edition, therefore, the references are chiefly to the works of standard English writers which will furnish any further guidance which the reader may require: and to such works the *Historical Treasury* must be regarded as strictly subordinate. If no richer field for the exercise of the human intellect can be found than that of history, it is not less certain that it will not yield its harvest without abundant toil; and in history especially it is true that no one can be said to have a real knowledge of any part until he has patiently bestowed on it all the labour that it requires, until he has surveyed it in its relations to other parts with which it may be connected, and until he has resorted to the best, that is to say, to the original sources of information. This, if the reader pleases, the references now given will in some degree enable him to do; and the writers to whom he is guided will at once supply his further wants.

Not less important are the tests by which genuine history may be distinguished from that which is uncertain or false. These tests are laid down in the Introductory Remarks; and what is there said may enable the reader to form some idea of the recent progress and the present state of historical criticism, as applied especially to the histories of Greece and Rome, and of the great empires of Assyria, Persia, and Egypt. These tests are of course of universal application: if they could not be so applied they would be worthless. Their use must at once remove the reader from the region of vague conjecture to a ground where he may be sure of his footing. Nothing but confusion of ideas can follow, if from a string of legends, such for instance as those of the Trojan wars or the Roman kings, we take a few facts not intrinsically incredible and set up these as a real

history of the time. Such legends supply indeed an inexhaustible field of instruction, but we misapply them if we seek from them to draw up an authentic narrative of events. The criticism which says that they can never be made to yield such a narrative may appear to be simply destructive: but Sir Cornewall Lewis has rightly and forcibly insisted that 'researches into ancient history, which lead to merely negative results, are important and useful as well as similar researches which lead to positive results; they distinguish between fiction, which, however diverting, instructive or elevating, can never be historical,—and reality, which is a necessary attribute of a historical narrative.'*

The value of ancient Oriental history in general may be measured by the degree in which the Eastern empires came into contact with Greek thought and civilisation. That interest reaches its greatest height in the invasion of Xerxes. The battle of Marathon ensured the victory of Hellenic freedom over barbaric tyranny, and determined the future history of the world. It was the subsequent work of imperial Athens to exhibit in its full perfection the freedom of individual will and action with a voluntary obedience to the supreme law of the state. The success of Xerxes would not have averted the future ascendency of Rome; but that ascendency would have been an absolute tyranny of the state over the inner as well as the public life of every citizen, and the great idea of English freedom would in all probability never have been realised. The history of Greece supplied a link, of which, so far as we can see, nothing could have remedied the loss. When the task of the Hellenic race was accomplished, Rome gathered almost the whole world under her yoke, and merged the interpolitical autonomy of separate towns in the wider life of a nation. But it was necessary that some more vigorous races should combine the great system of Roman law and national union with the freedom of the individual citizen; and so from the convulsions which attended the fall of imperial Rome arose the new society of Christendom. The infusion of Teutonic blood ensured the ultimate growth of that national life which unites the personal liberty of the Athenian with the Roman genius of law and government, and which has reached its highest development in the constitution of England.

This connection of cause and effect in the history of Europe and the world should determine the order in which the histories of the several races and states may best be studied. The histories in this volume have accordingly been rearranged, so far as was practicable, in the order of their actual connection. This order must exhibit, however imperfectly, the real chain of cause and effect which has had its issue in the society of modern Europe, and must, to a far greater degree than any arbitrary arrangement, impress itself upon the memory of the reader. The perception of this connection, which can be nothing less than the work of God, will of itself convince him that 'history' contains no mean treasures. 'Whatever there is of greatness in the final cause of all human thought and action, God's glory and man's perfection, that is the measure of the greatness of history. Whatever there is of variety and intense interest in human nature,—in its elevation, whether proud as by nature or sanctified as by God's grace; in its suffering, whether blessed or unblessed, a martyrdom or a judgment; in its strange reverses, in its varied adventures, in its yet more varied powers, its courage and its patience, its genius and its wisdom, its justice and its love,—that also is the measure of the interest and variety of history. The treasures indeed are ample; but we may more reasonably fear whether we may have strength and skill to win them.' †

G. W. COX.

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* Astronomy of the Ancients, p. 433.

† Arnold's 'Lectures on Modern History,' p. 22.

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PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS,

HISTORICAL, CHRONOLOGICAL, AND GEOGRAPHICAL.

HISTORY may be studied from two motives. It may be regarded as simply the record of human action, in which man himself is the only agent; or it may be looked upon as the field in which we must find our evidence for the action of a Divine Power in the world. The end may be different, but the process must in each case be the same. No conclusions can be drawn except from ascertained facts; hence the first duty of the historian is to aim more and more at the absolute truth of facts. No history is wholly without value. The monotonous chronicles of Eastern despotisms, the vague traditions of savage races, all add to our knowledge of the human mind and to the stores from which experience draws her practical lessons. But it is impossible for any one man to examine fully so vast a field. A complete and accurate knowledge of some definite portion of it can be obtained with little less than the labour of a lifetime: and the method of study becomes therefore at least as important as the results which are to be gained by it.

It is clear then, that in order to study any history with profit, we must be able to distinguish truth from falsehood, and to determine precisely what degree of dependence may be placed on the records which we may be studying. The history of almost every nation begins with legend; and the first question to be answered is, whether we can determine where authentic history begins, or how far the two streams may be intermingled. To treat any period, about which we confess ourselves uncertain, as though it were strictly historical, is mere waste of time. If we have reason to believe that a large amount of fiction enters into the early history of Rome, we manifestly gain nothing by speaking of any given acts of Romulus or Numa as belonging to real history. If the tale of the Trojan war cannot be depended on, then we cannot make use of it to explain the later political condition of historical Greece. And few things can be more mischievous than to take the legendary and authentic history of any people, and to treat the former as only less satisfactory and certain than the latter. If we can give no sufficient evidence for the truth of any facts, we cannot be sure of the ground on which we tread, and can have no warrant for any conclusions which we may draw from them.

History, then, aims simply at the truth of facts. It does not seek to establish any foregone conclusion, and it subjects every narrative to the same dispassionate and indifferent criticism. The historian may have the strongest convictions; but, if he really understands his office, he will never twist a fact to support a favourite theory, or suppress the knowledge of it because he fears that it may not tell on his own side.

It follows further, that all history must be treated in the same way and be subjected to the same tests; and thus we get at the great criterion by which we may distinguish what is uncertain from that which is trustworthy. The testimony of contemporary witnesses is the indispensable condition of genuine history. Nothing less than this is accepted as adequate evidence for any fact of modern times: nothing less than this can be sufficient proof of facts recorded in ancient tradition. The stories of Greek chieftains and Roman kings must be submitted to precisely the same criticism with the events of yesterday. The early history of Rome or Greece must be examined 'by the same rules of evidence which are applied by common consent to modern history,' and tried 'by the tests by which the reality of modern facts is determined.'

The result of this process in the early history of Rome is to destroy the general credibility of the narrative previous to the commencement of the Punic wars. If we are startled with having to part with much which we had been disposed to regard as veritable history, our regret will be lessened by the thought that to determine the limits of our knowledge is

really to increase it. We know more, and not less, if we can show that a given fact, of which at the best we could not be certain, never took place at all.

The test of contemporary evidence must be applied with impartial strictness to all history; and its application enables us at once to guard against many errors which otherwise it would be difficult to avoid. Hence we learn —

1. That a written narrative is not more trustworthy than oral tradition, unless it rests on such evidence. When the Homeric poems were reduced to writing, they did not become more historical than they were before. But further, we see —

2. That all monuments of whatever kind must be judged precisely by the same rule with all written narratives.

Thus we cannot prove any event of a time anterior to contemporary history on the evidence of memorials which are alleged to belong to that time. This rule applies to monuments of victories and conquests. Herodotus saw in Thrace certain pillars which proved to him that Sesostris had penetrated into that country; they proved in reality neither this fact nor even the historical existence of Sesostris. If these monuments contain inscriptions, then, as Mr. Grote has rightly insisted, it is necessary to ascertain whether the inscriber had an adequate knowledge of the facts which he records, and whether or not there may be reason to suspect misrepresentation.* Herodotus himself speaks of false inscriptions and forged memorials. There were tombs raised at Platæa to the warriors of Greek states which were not represented at the battle. Nothing more can be needed to set us on our guard against putting implicit trust in monuments which are supposed to have been raised even before the dawn of contemporary history.

This rule applies also to genealogical lists. At Athens, at Rome, and elsewhere there were lists of kings and magistrates, some of which came down to times in which the fact of their contemporary registration can be proved. Many families also had pedigrees which they traced to the commencement of their traditional history. It is certain that Leonidas was king of Sparta at the time of the Persian invasion; but this fact cannot prove the historical existence of the son of Hercules from whom he held himself to have descended. It is as certain that the historian Hecatæus was a real person, as that Herodotus was a real person; but Hecatæus exhibited a genealogy in which his sixteenth progenitor was a god. At some point, therefore, in this pedigree fable must take the place of history; but we cannot determine the point with certainty. Hecatæus must have known the names of his father and grandfather, and perhaps his knowledge may have extended a few stages further; but we approach no nearer towards proving the genealogy as a whole. Nor must it be forgotten, that it was precisely this divine origin which gave it value in the eyes of Hecatæus, while with us it brings it most into suspicion. The Athenian archons in the time of the Peloponnesian war are unquestionably historical; but the earlier names, we must, in Mr. Grote's words, 'take as we find them, without being able either to warrant the whole or to separate the false from the true.'* Most of these lists are traced back to a divine or superhuman originator; and the creation of such beings was an irresistible temptation to the Greek mind. Thus every race, every tribe, every town had its *eponymus*, who was simply a personification of their respective names. Dorus and Ion are mere embodiments of the Dorian and Ionian races. The Ottoman Turks perhaps alone can boast of a really historical *eponymus* in Othmen.

A people may, however, possess a literature long before they have any history. The Homeric poems were written, as Herodotus believed, about four hundred years before his own lifetime. They describe a series of events of which it is of course both possible and easy to give a plausible account. The history which Thucydides gives of the Trojan war is to all appearance quite as trustworthy as any narrative of the wars of Napoleon; but no other evidence can be brought to prove the fact of this war than the poems themselves, and in them things human and divine are inextricably intermingled. We cannot get rid of what is marvellous and incredible without destroying the very groundwork of the story. But if we can place no reliance on the events recorded, there are other aspects in which these poems may be regarded as really historical. They describe unquestionably a real state of society; and we may accept all the details of that description as faithful and true. Hence we get at facts which are really historical, and of more or less importance. Thus we learn that a society which involved much of the idea of feudalism

* *History of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 56: see also Cox's *Tale of the Great Persian War* p. 284.

* *History of Greece*, vol. ii p. 67.

went before that which we find in existence at the beginning of contemporary Greek history; and we learn that the condition of women had been something very different from that which it was at Athens in the days of Pericles. The fact of the change is proved; but we cannot of course determine the date with any exactness. The same evidence suffices to prove many local facts. The huge walls of Tiryns and Mycenæ may be seen at the present day; when we find Homer speaking of their size and strength, we know that they must have been built before the composition of those poems was finished. Sometimes a solitary fact of personal history stands out in an age of which we have no other contemporary records. We cannot doubt the fact that the father of the poet Hesiod removed from the Æolic Cumæ to Ascra in Bœotia; but the fact is of no great value in relation to other facts. Yet these poems have an historical character as showing also the progress or change of feeling and society in some generation subsequent to the Homeric age. In the same way the songs of Tyrtæus are sufficient evidence for the fact of a Messenian war, although they do not enable us to fix its date or to verify its incidents. In the absence of any other tradition the poems of Solon would show that he urged on the Athenians to the conquest of Salamis.

But, further, mythology itself may be made to furnish strictly historical results; and these results may be carried even to a more distant day by the analysis of language. If we find in the Homeric poems and in the Scandinavian Sagas the groundwork of precisely the same story with details of a very different character, we learn at once that Greeks and Scandinavians belong to the same race, and that these two portions of that family separated after that story was formed, but before the details which now distinguish it were produced by the altered conditions of their life in the desolate regions of the North and the genial valleys of Greece. We learn from a comparison of these poems and traditions with those contained in the Vedas precisely how their mythology grew up; and we are enabled also to prove that this result was inevitable. The personal beings of Greek mythology are in many instances mere names in the Vedas. Zeus and Jupiter are in the latter simply the sky, and Daphne and Procris are still only the Dawn and the Dew. Hence we can assert without any doubt that these words point to a time when the great Aryan family was undivided, and prove that these personifications arose simply from the fact that the Hellenic race, when divided from the old stock, had either wholly or in part forgotten the meaning of the words.*

We can go back yet a few steps further, and show the condition of thought which led men to form that language which issued out in the mythology of Europe. We can point, as a matter of fact, to a time when men had no idea of a fixed order of seasons, and when they attributed to all objects in the natural world the same conscious existence with themselves. These results may be extended indefinitely, and the analysis may be carried out with great minuteness. Thus the English and German words for *shoe* is the same; the terms for *stocking* are different. It is clear that the separation of the German and English races took place after they were acquainted with the use of shoes but before they had any knowledge of stockings.

If however in all this we get at a certain historical order, we cannot in many cases supply the connection, and in none can we venture to assign any definite date. The results obtained by the sciences of Philology and Comparative Mythology are invaluable, but they cannot enable us to draw up any detailed history of the people whose real existence they indisputably prove. Such a narrative can be written only where we have the actual testimony of contemporary witnesses.

The limits so laid down may appear to be very narrow. They are in reality wider than they seem to be. In strictness of speech Herodotus was not contemporary with any part of the history which he has given to us; but he received a large if not the larger portion of it from men who had personal knowledge of the events of which they spoke. A record to some degree authentic may be preserved by oral tradition for perhaps three generations. It is a remark of Mallet, quoted by Sir G. C. Lewis,† 'that among the common class of mankind a son remembers his father, knows something about his grandfather, but never bestows a thought on his more remote progenitors.' It may be no unreasonable assumption that a knowledge of public affairs would be preserved with tolerable faithfulness for a somewhat longer time, although there is no guarantee for endless changes of detail in oral tradition, unless it is

* See Cox's *Tales of the Gods and Heroes*, Introduction.

† *Credibility of Early Roman History*, vol. I p. 98.

thrown into a metrical form as in the Homeric poems, or preserved by a priestly caste in an inviolable order as the prose Vedas have been preserved by the Brahmans.

It is obvious that one age may be strictly historical in one country which may be either partially or even quite legendary in another. The time of Pericles is as well known to us as that of Pitt and Burke; but we can speak with no certainty of the course of the Gaulish invaders who are said to have burnt Rome long after the close of the Peloponnesian war.

While, however, it must be admitted that every age which possesses contemporary writers has an equal claim to be regarded as historal, the history of all is not alike important. To measure the degree of importance belonging to each is of the greatest moment. Time spent on those portions which are of little value may be rewarded by a cumbrous learning, but not by a practical and serviceable knowledge. Thus the chronicles of Eastern despotisms are almost worthless when compared with the living history of Greece and Rome. The former brings before us a history almost unbroken in its monotony, with no radical advancement, and little even of outward change. The latter presents to us the developement of a social and political life with which that of all European nations is inseparably connected down to the present day. The freedom of the individual Athenian citizen, the absolute supremacy of Roman law over all personal taste and feeling, were indispensable antecedents to the present character of Englishmen.

Through every portion of history, then, there runs a direct connection. We cannot ignore this in any part without injuring our comprehension of the whole. The political developement of Assyrians, Babylonians, and Egyptians may be utterly different from that of Greece and Rome; but the forms were brought directly into conflict at Marathon and Platææ, and we cannot understand the one without a fair acquaintance with the other. Still for historical readers in general the time spent on the history of Egypt and Persia should be but short compared with that which he should devote to the history of the Western world whether heathen or Christian. For to us the history of Greece and Rome is really modern; and the distinction which severs them is merely arbitrary. The modern history of China is removed from our own by an immeasurably greater interval than that which separates us from the Rome of Cicero and the Athens of Socrates. But the connection is not only intellectual. The law of Rome has superseded or modified that of the more vigorous races with which she came into contact in the days of her decline. Christianity itself is still practically the religion of the old Roman empire; and from her art and architecture have sprung the art and architecture of Christendom.

All that can be said, then, in favour of historical divisions is that they are in practice more or less necessary; and that they may be useful as long as we do not take them for real barriers between periods which were separated by no such gulf in reality. Thus if we speak of the fall of the Western empire in A. D. 476, we have to remember that the empire had been permanently divided since the days of Constantine, that the abdication of Augustulus gave way only to the real sovereignty of Odoacer, and that the victories of Justinian once again united the empire which is said to have fallen when Odoacer displaced the representative of the ancient Cæsars. It cannot be asserted too strongly 'that history is to be studied as a whole, and according to its philosophical divisions, not such as are merely geographical and chronological;' and 'that the history of Greece and Rome is not an idle enquiry about remote ages and forgotten institutions, but a living picture of things present, fitted not so much for the curiosity of the scholar as for the instruction of the statesman and the citizen.' The history of the Eastern world may engross the attention of those who can afford to give it; by those who cannot, they should be studied only so far as they bear on that intellectual and moral growth of Greece and Rome which has left its lasting impression on the civilisation of Christendom.

THE DIVISIONS OF HISTORY.

If then we can draw no sharp chronological barriers between any one age and those which precede or follow it, it is necessary to define very distinctly what we mean by such divisions as those of Ancient and Modern History. The division is worthless, if by it we mean that all beyond a certain time belongs to a world which has wholly passed away. It is difficult to determine precisely the amount of influence which Greek thought and Roman law exercise on the society of the present day; and one condition of

society is removed from another not so much by periods of time as by its own internal character. It may be partially true to speak of the society of the Greek heroic ages as ancient to us; but the term will not apply to the history of Greece after the Persian War. Eastern monarchies preserve throughout the same unchanging characteristics; and, as standing wholly apart from the civilisation of Western Europe, may in a certain sense be regarded as ancient in comparison with the latter. But it must be remembered that Greece and Rome and the nations which they have influenced never passed through that condition which has been stereotyped in Oriental despotism.

But while we speak of Greek and Roman History as in one sense really modern, we do not mean that their national life represents in all its elements the society to which we belong. If by Modern History we mean the history of national existence which is not yet extinct, then the Fall of the Western Empire becomes a true division and enables us to define the essential distinction which separates the ages which go before from those which follow it. The national life of Teutonic and Celtic Europe dates from the convulsions which rent asunder the empire of the Cæsars. Dr. Arnold has brought out this distinction most forcibly in his Inaugural Lecture on Modern History. 'In our own island we see this most clearly: our history clearly begins with the coming over of the Saxons: the Britons and Romans had lived in our country, but they are not our fathers: we are connected with them as men indeed, but, nationally speaking, the history of Cæsar's invasion has no more to do with us than the natural history of the animals which then inhabited our forests. We, this great English nation, whose race and language are now overrunning the earth from one end of it to the other,—we were born when the white horse of the Saxon had established his dominion from the Tweed to the Tamar. So far we can trace our blood, our language, the name and actual divisions of our country, the beginnings of some of our institutions. So far our national identity extends, so far history is modern, for it treats of a life which was then, and is not yet extinguished.

'And if we cross the channel, what is the case with our great neighbour nation of France? Roman Gaul had existed since the Christian era: the origin of Keltic Gaul is older than history: but France and Frenchmen came into being when the Franks established themselves west of the Rhine. Not that before that period the fathers of the majority of the actual French people were living on the Elbe or the Saal; for the Franks were numerically few, and throughout the south of France the population is predominantly, and much more than predominantly, of Gallo-Roman origin. But Clovis and his Germans struck root so deeply, and their institutions wrought such changes, that the identity of France cannot be carried back beyond their invasion; the older elements no doubt have helped greatly to characterise the existing nation; but they cannot be said by themselves to be that nation.

'The essential character, then, of Modern History appears to be this—that it treats of national life still in existence: it commences with that period in which all the great elements of the existing state of things had met together; so that subsequent changes, great as they have been, have only combined or disposed these same elements differently: they have added to them no new one. By the great elements of nationality I mean race, language, institutions, and religion: and it will be seen that throughout Europe all these four may be traced up, if not actually in every case to the fall of the Western empire, yet to the dark period which followed that fall, while in no case are all the four to be found united before it.'*

The division of Ancient History into two parts, the fabulous and the historic, must be dismissed as being at least superfluous. Where we cannot bring for facts the same kind of evidence which would be required to prove any fact in our own day, the period to which those facts are referred becomes to us so far not historical at all. No age can be strictly considered such for which we have not the witness of contemporary writers; but, with certain restrictions, oral tradition may be expected to preserve a tolerably faithful account of events for two or three generations. Hence some ages may be regarded as partially historical: and the task of sifting in these that which is legendary from that which may be accepted as true becomes the arduous task of the critical historian. Hence it is impossible to say when the HISTORIC AGE begins. We can but lay down certain dates as approximate, remembering at the same time that they are nothing more. The history of Egypt, Assyria, and Persia may be held to assume some-

* *Lectures on Modern History*, p. 25.

thing like an authentic character when it comes into contact with that of Western Europe. The two kinds of evidence which are alleged in favour of the former do not in truth tell us much. The long series of astronomical observations which they are said to have possessed cannot be verified without some real knowledge of their political history; and in the case of Egypt we cannot be said to possess this before the opening up of the country to Greek commerce in the days of Psammetichus. The statements which tell us that the God Belus taught the Syrians astronomy, or that the Chaldæan observations extended over three or four or five hundred thousand years, are for us practically useless. The statements of Greek writers, on the antiquity of the Egyptian people, come to no more than this, that in their time they had amassed a store of astronomical observations, that they had a calendar scarcely so accurate as the Greek, and that they used sun-dials for the notation of time. In the same way nothing can be made of the lists of Egyptian dynasties. In the first place it must be said that they are mere lists, many of the names having no notices attached to them, while the notices of others tell us nothing. Four writers of different times have left us an outline of the whole or of parts of Egyptian history. If their accounts are to some extent consistent after the rise of Psammetichus, before that time they are utterly irreconcilable. There remains the further evidence of the hieroglyphical inscriptions; but it is, to say the least, very difficult to determine what amount of trust can be placed on them, even granting that they have been rightly deciphered; and of the methods adopted by baron Bunsen in his reconstruction of Egyptian history, it may be enough to remark that they are not those which would be accepted as satisfactory in the treatment of modern history. The recent discoveries of Assyrian inscriptions do not place us on surer grounds. 'Professor Rawlinson affirms, indeed, that each fresh discovery has tended to authenticate the chronology of Berosus; but the narrative of Berosus is only one of many versions which might just as reasonably be thought to relate to different times and countries; and his historical method is stamped by the fact that he assigned 432,000 years to the antediluvian kings.' * The Persian discoveries stand on a very different footing, but the most important of them refer to events of which some account has been preserved to us by Greek writers; and thus they mutually throw light on each other. Thus, the authentic continuous history of these countries does not extend beyond the time when they came into contact with those nations whose contemporary records have been handed down to us.

The commencement of the real history of Greece, Mr. Grote * fixes at the first recorded Olympiad, or 776 B.C.: but he is careful to add, that in reality 'historical records, properly so called, do not begin till long after this date; nor will any man, who candidly considers the extreme paucity of attested facts for two centuries after 776 B.C. be astonished to learn that the state of Greece in 900, 1000, 1100, 1200, 1300, 1400 B.C.—or any earlier century which it may please chronologists to include in their computed genealogies—cannot be described, to him on anything like decent evidence.'

In the history of Rome, the element of uncertainty, if not of mere fable, comes down to a much later time. The elaborate enquiry of sir Cornewall Lewis into the credibility of early Roman history has brought him to the conclusions that no well-grounded trust can be placed on the accounts of the first 450 years after the alleged date of the founding of the city. He finds that we are accompanied by native contemporary authors, from the termination of the republican period at the death of Pompey, back to the commencement of the Gallic war in the 529th year of the city, or 225 B.C., 'that with an allowable latitude of construction, this period may be extended to 216 years, up to the commencement of the first Punic war, in the 490th year of the city, or 264 B.C.; and that, if we call in the assistance of the contemporary Greek writers, we may mount as far back as 233 years, to the 473rd year of the city, or 281 B.C., when Pyrrhus landed in Italy, and the Romans came for the first time into conflict with an army of Greeks.' Beyond this time the history as handed down to us by Livy and other writers, is full of contradictions, in which we have no legitimate grounds for preferring any one version to another.

Speaking generally, therefore, we may be said to have an authentic Roman history for nearly 300 years before the Christian era, while that of Greece extends to about 550 years B.C. The nature of the evidence renders it impossible to lay down more precise limits.

* *Edinburgh Review*, July 1862, p. 103.

* *History of Greece*, vol. i. p. xi. preface.

GENERAL HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE.

THE history of MODERN EUROPE commences with the fall of the Roman empire in the West, and continues to the present time: it embraces nine remarkable periods, the epochs of which are,—

	A.D.	A.D.
1. The fall of the Western Empire	476 .	800
2. The reestablishment of that empire by Charlemagne	800 .	962
3. The translation of the Empire to Germany, by Otho the Great	962 .	1074
4. The accession of Henry IV. to the imperial crown, and the Crusades	1074 .	1273
5. The elevation of Rodolph of Hapsburg to the imperial throne	1273 .	1453
6. The fall of the Empire of the East	1453 .	1648
7. The peace of Westphalia	1648 .	1713
8. The peace of Utrecht	1713 .	1789
9. The French Revolution, to the present time	1789 .	——

FIRST PERIOD.—(476—800.)

In the fifth century many of the modern monarchies of Europe had their commencement: the Empire of the East having been, about that period, brought to the very verge of ruin by the innumerable hosts of barbarians from the north, which poured in upon it, and, at length, subdued it in the year 476.—The Vandals, the Suevi, and the Alans were the first adventurers. These were soon followed by the Visigoths, the Burgundians, the Germans, the Franks, the Lombards, the Angles, the Saxons, and the Huns. These depredators taking different routes, armed with fire and sword, soon subjected to their yoke the terrified victims of their ferocity, and erected their conquests into kingdoms.

The Visigoths, after having driven out the Vandals, destroyed the Alans, subdued the Suevi, and founded a new kingdom in Spain.

The Angles and the Saxons made a conquest of Britain from the Romans and natives, and formed the Heptarchy, or seven kingdoms.

The Huns established themselves in Pannonia, and the Germans on the banks of the Danube.—The Heruli, after having destroyed the Western empire, founded a state in Italy, which continued but a short time, being driven out by the Ostrogoths.—Justinian retook Italy from the Ostrogoths.—The greater part of Italy soon after fell under the power of the Lombards, who formed it into a kingdom. The exarchate of Ravenna, raised, by them to the empire of the East, enjoyed it but a short time.—The exarchate being conquered by Charlemagne, was settled, by him, on the Pope, which may be properly styled the epoch of the temporal grandeur of the Roman pontiffs, and of the real commencement of the combination of church and state.

Numerous bodies of people, from various countries, having taken possession of Gaul, founded therein several kingdoms, which were, at length, united by the Franks under the name of France. Pharamond was its first monarch; and under Clovis it arrived at considerable eminence. Pepin le Bref (the Short) expelled, in the person of Childeric III., the race of Pharamond (called the Merovingian) from the throne, and assumed the government. His son Charlemagne, the greatest prince of his time, retrieved the honour of France, destroyed the Lombardian monarchy, and renewed the empire of the West, being himself crowned emperor at Rome.

About the middle of this period, Mahomet, styling himself a prophet, by successful imposture and the force of arms, laid the foundation of a considerable empire, the East, out of the ruins of which are formed the greater part of the present existing monarchies in western Asia.

SECOND PERIOD.—(800—962.)

Under Charlemagne, the Frank kingdom was the most powerful kingdom in Europe; and the title of Roman emperor was renewed by one of the descendants of the destroyers of that empire: the other monarchies, hardly formed, were eclipsed by the lustre of this new kingdom.

Spain was subdued by the Saracens, who formed a new kingdom in the mountains of Asturias.—The Moors and Christians arming against each other, laid waste this beautiful country.

The seven Saxon kingdoms, which form the Heptarchy, were united by Egbert, who became the first king of England: but the incursions of the Danes prevented that power from making any considerable figure among the states of Europe.

The North was yet plunged in barbarism, without laws, knowing even but very little of the arts of the first necessity.

The French monarchy, which had risen to such a high pitch of grandeur under Charlemagne, became weak under

his successors.—The empire was transferred to the kings of Italy; which event was followed by civil and foreign wars in France, in Germany, and Italy; while the Hungarians, from Tartary, augmented the troubles.—Otho the Great subdued Italy, which he united to Germany with the dignity of emperor, and showed to a barbarous age the talents of a hero and the wisdom of a great legislator.

THIRD PERIOD.—(962—1074.)

The German empire during this period reached the summit of its grandeur under Otho the Great. Conrad II. joined the kingdom of Burgundy to his possessions; and his son, Henry III., added a part of Hungary. This empire arrived at a high degree of power; but was soon after brought into a state of decay by the influence of its nobles, and by the feudal government.

Spain, although desolated by the continual wars between the Visigoths and the Saracens, was again divided by the differences of worship of those two rival nations.

In France the Carlovingian kings were deposed by the usurpation of Hugh Capet, chief of the third or Capetian race of kings.

The Danes ravaged England, and now became masters of it under Canute the Great, who conciliated the love of his new subjects. Edward the Confessor succeeded the Danish princes. He was succeeded by Harold II., a virtuous prince slain in battle by William Duke of Normandy, who made a conquest of England.—At the same time the Normans established themselves in Sicily, and laid the foundation of a new kingdom.

Italy, oppressed by little tyrants, or devoted to anarchy, offered nothing of interest, if we except Venice, which was every day extending its commerce.—The other states of Europe did not furnish any important event, being at this period plunged in obscurity and barbarity.

FOURTH PERIOD.—(1074—1273.)

The quarrels between the emperors and the popes diminished the grandeur and power of the empire: the discords which began under the emperor Henry IV., agitated Germany and Italy during several centuries; the factions of the Guelphs and the Ghibelines (the one partisans of the popes, and the other of the emperors) were alternately destroying each other.—Frederick I. and Frederick II. endeavoured to uphold the majesty of the empire: but the house of Hohenstauffen at length yielded: they were despoiled of their possessions, and driven from the throne. The empire was much weakened by the incapacity of its chiefs, the disunion of its members, and the authority of the popes, ever aiming at their further aggrandisement.—The Crusades commenced; a part of Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine were presently wrested from the infidels; and the banner of the cross was planted on Mount Sion. In the meantime the crusaders established a kingdom in Jerusalem, which was of short duration.—It was during the time of the Crusades, that the Greek empire, sapped to its foundation, passed to the Latins.—Michael Palæologus, emperor of Nice, retook Constantinople.—The Crusades finished in 1231. It is said, that to them was owing the origin of armorial bearings, military orders, and tournaments.

Spain continued to be the theatre of wars between the Christian kings and the Moors. The kings of Castile, Arragon, and Navarre signalised themselves by their conquests over the Saracens.

In France, the number of great vassals was somewhat diminished; but the continual wars with the English exhausted it both of men and money.

The power of England increased considerably; the navy became puissant; and in consequence of the civil wars between the king and the people, the royal authority became more weakened, and a preponderance was given to democratical institutions.

The provinces of Naples and Sicily were erected into a kingdom; Roger, prince of Normandy, was the first king; and his family possessed the crown till 1194. It then passed into the house of Hohenstauffen, which house was dispossessed by that of Anjou.

Denmark increased in power under Waldemar II., but the influence of Sweden seemed to be of little weight in the European system.

Russia groaned under the yoke of the Tartars, who also made incursions into Poland.—Bohemia, and the island of Sardinia, were erected into kingdoms.—Genoa and Venice were increasing in power: by the strength of their navies, they supported an extensive commerce.—Venice became possessed of Dalmatia, and a part of the islands in the Archipelago.

FIFTH PERIOD.—(1273—1453.)

The states of Europe enjoyed an equality or equilibrium during this period.

Rome alone seemed to possess superior power at first, but this power very soon diminished considerably; it laboured without effect to drive the Ghibelines out of Italy, and to reunite the Greeks to the church.

The empire of Germany, confined to its own limits, underwent some changes. Its chaotic government was rendered somewhat more clear; and emperors of different houses successively occupied the throne. At the death of Sigismund, Albert II., of the house of Hapsburg, or Austria, was elected; from which time to the present day, this family, with little exception, have possessed the imperial crown.

France was considerably agitated by intestine feuds, but became more powerful by the expulsion of the English. Legislation and police were beginning to be understood, which served to soften the manners of the people, and promote the tranquillity of the nation.

Edward III. rendered England the terror of its neighbours: he held at the same time three kings prisoners: and France was reduced by his prowess to the condition of a humble supplicant.—The factions of the *red* and *white roses*, (the first as the supporters of the title of the house of Lancaster, and the latter that of York,) were deluging their native land with the blood of each other at the close of this period.

Spain continued to enrich itself with the spoils of the Saracens; who, notwithstanding the efforts of the Spaniards, were yet masters of all the southern parts.

In Portugal, the legitimate descendants of Henry became extinct, and an illegitimate prince of the same house ascended the throne.—Sicily was taken by Peter of Arragon, of the house of Anjou, who also held the kingdom of Naples.

Margaret, queen of Denmark, the Semiramis of the north, united in her person the three crowns of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. This union, made at Calmar, continued but a short time. The Swedes broke the treaty, and chose for themselves a king.

Russia (hitherto under the yoke of the Tartars) was delivered from slavery and obscurity.—In Poland, the royal dignity began to have permanency.—In Hungary the House of Anjou mounted the throne; the crown of which, as well as that of Bohemia, soon after passed to the house of Austria.

Othman, sultan of the Turks, erected a monarchy, which arrived to great power under Mahomet II. This prince took Constantinople, and put an end to the empire of the East. The consequence resulting from the capture of this fine city was a reflux of letters from the East to the West, which contributed to the establishment of the arts. Printing, engraving of prints, paper-making, painting in oil, gunpowder, and the mariner's compass, were the principal among many other useful inventions.

SIXTH PERIOD.—(1453—1648.)

The history of Europe during this period becomes very interesting. The discovery of the East Indies and America, and the great changes brought about in religious opinions by the successful endeavours of Luther, Calvin, and others, gave a new appearance to many states in this quarter of the world.

The house of Austria increased in territorial possessions.—Europe appeared like a vast republic, the balance of power therein being at this time on a better footing than it was in ancient Greece.

Almost every state in Europe underwent important revolutions.—Germany was considerably improved in its legislation under Maximilian I.; the Imperial chamber, and Aulic council were established.—The religious disputes brought on a succession of cruel and destructive wars; they were, however, terminated by the treaty of Passau, the peace of 1555, and that of Westphalia.

In France, the feudal Government was at length destroyed by Charles VII. and Louis II. The wars against England succeeded those of Italy; and those were followed by intestine wars against the Huguenots, or Protestants, which were terminated by the reduction of Rochelle, and the expulsion of the Protestants.

In Spain, the three Christian kingdoms were united. This monarchy, founded by Ferdinand V., surnamed the Catholic, arrived at its zenith of power under his grandson, Charles V. It lost a part of its splendour under Philip III. and Philip IV., princes without genius, valour, or resources.

Portugal became formidable under Emanuel; but grew weak after the death of Sebastian. The kingdom submitted to the Spanish yoke; which it shook off in 1640, when the house of Braganza, by an unexpected revolution, ascended the throne.

England gained strength under Henry VII., and became, from time to time, more powerful under his successors, the Tudors, by its policy and its commerce, and particularly so during the reign of queen Elizabeth. After the death of

Elizabeth, James VI., king of Scotland, ascended the English throne, and took the title of James I., king of Great Britain; but neither himself, nor his successors, possessed the genius or the activity of that celebrated princess.

Italy was divided into many small states.—Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, heretofore cities of the kingdom of Italy, were raised to the dignity of dukedoms.—The princes of Florence encouraged the progress of the arts and sciences by honours and rewards.—Venice was less considerable for its commerce than formerly; the discovery of the compass enabling other nations to partake with the Venetians in the profits arising from navigation.—Genoa also experienced a considerable diminution of commerce from the same cause.

The Seven United Provinces, viz. Holland, &c. threw off the Spanish yoke, and became free; whilst the Swiss, in the centre of their rocky fastnesses, formed governments for the protection of their liberty.

Denmark, under the kings of the house of Oldenburg, now began to make a figure among the powers of Europe—the Swedes threw off the Danish yoke, and elected Gustavus Vasa for their king, who redeemed the lustre of the nation. Gustavus Adolphus added considerably to its power by his valour and his victories.

Russia also assumed a new face. Iwan Basilowitz delivered his country from the Tartarian yoke. Iwan Basilowitz II. extended the empire. The house of Romanof ascended the throne, and commenced those grand schemes which the genius and perseverance of Peter the Great afterwards executed.

Poland flourished under the Jagellon race of princes; but these becoming extinct, foreigners were introduced to the throne.—Hungary and Bohemia, after having had kings of different nations, fell to the house of Austria.

The Ottoman empire augmented its grandeur and power under Solyman II. After his death, the government falling into the hands of indolent and effeminate princes, became considerably weakened, and the unbridled power of the janissaries now arrived at its highest pitch.

SEVENTH PERIOD.—(1648—1714.)

The political system of Europe experienced a change at the commencement of this period. France extended its territory, and became very powerful under Louis XIV.; but the wars carried on by this prince against Spain, Holland, and the empire, exhausted the resources of the kingdom.

Germany presented some interesting changes.—Leopold established a ninth electorate in favour of the house of Hanover.—Augustus, elector of Saxony, was elected king of Poland; and George, elector of Hanover, ascended the throne of Great Britain.—Prussia was erected into a kingdom under Frederick, the third elector of Brandenburg, who took the title of Frederick I.

Spain lost power under the latter princes of Austria, and was dismembered by the 'succession' war, which terminated in favour of the house of Bourbon.

Alphonsus VI., king of Portugal, was deposed, and the kingdom declared independent of Spain by the peace of Lisbon.

In England, Charles I. was beheaded and the monarchy abolished.—Oliver Cromwell was declared protector of the commonwealth, which lasted but a short time after his death.—The Stuart family were established again on the throne.—James II. abdicated.—William, stadtholder of the United Provinces, was elected king, and secured the succession to the house of Hanover at the death of Anne.

Italy underwent an almost entire change by the peace of Utrecht: the house of Austria was put in possession of its most fertile countries. At the same time, the house of Savoy, profiting both by the war and the peace, increased its possessions in Italy, and thereby raised its influence in Europe.

The United Provinces increased in riches and power: their independence was secured by the peace of Westphalia; but they engaged in wars which drained them of their treasures, without augmenting their power.

The republics of Switzerland and of Venice appeared to be of less consequence among the European states than heretofore; but the former continued to be happy in its mountains; the latter, tranquil among its lakes.

Sweden, whose power was prodigious under Charles X. and Charles XII., lost much of its grandeur after the defeat of the latter prince at Pultowa.—Russia became almost on a sudden enlightened and powerful under the auspices of Peter the Great.—Poland, unfortunate under John Casimir, was made respectable under John Sobieski.—Hungary was desolated by continual intestine war, and deluged with the blood of its own inhabitants.

The Ottoman empire continued weak under princes incapable of governing,

who placed the sceptre in the hands of ministers altogether as weak and incapable as themselves.

EIGHTH PERIOD.—(1714—1789.)

This period was replete in negotiation, in treaties, and in wars. The balance of power, intended systematically to produce perpetual peace, had, on the contrary, been the means of exciting continual war.—The peace of Utrecht, signed by almost all the powers of Europe, failed to reconcile the emperor and the king of Spain.—Philip V. commenced war.—The English and Dutch procured the treaty of Vienna, in 1731, which put an end to that calamity; but a new war commenced on the election of a king of Poland.—France declared war against the emperor, which terminated by the peace of Vienna.—The death of Charles VI., 1740, produced a new war, more important than the former was, and of longer duration. France took the part of the elector of Bavaria, as a competitor for imperial dignity against the house of Austria. The success of the arms of the French and Bavarians induced the queen of Hungary to detach the king of Prussia from the alliance. The defection of this prince changed the face of affairs; and the subsequent victories of marshal Saxe obliged the belligerent powers to conclude the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which afforded but a short calm to ensanguined Europe.—The houses of Bourbon and Austria, so long enemies and rivals, now united their efforts to maintain the balance of power. But the English and French soon found pretext for new disagreements, and war was again declared. The king of Prussia took part with the English, and the king of Spain with the French. This war terminated much in favour of the English, and peace was concluded in 1763.

In Italy, the houses of Austria and Bourbon had the principal sway.—Savoy, assisted by England, augmented its power: the island of Sardinia was given in exchange for Sicily.—Charles Emmanuel III. joined a small part of the Milanese to this territory, and Corsica became a province to France.

In Holland, William IV., prince of Orange, was declared stadtholder of the Seven United Provinces.

Sweden after the death of Charles XII. underwent an entire change: the house of Holstein Dutin ascended the throne. Gustavus III., the second king of this family, seized upon the liberties of his people, and became a despot.

In Russia the four princesses who had held the sceptre since the death of Peter the Great, rendered the empire worthy of the great genius who may be styled its founder.

Poland was dismembered by its three powerful neighbours, Russia, Austria, and Prussia.

Prussia, which had not ceased to aggrandise itself since the elector of Brandenburg received the title of king, was raised to the height of grandeur and power under the wise government of that celebrated hero and philosopher, Frederick II.

In Turkey, Achmet III. was obliged to surrender his crown to his nephew, Mahomet V. Mustapha III. espoused the cause of the Poles against the Russians, and sustained great losses. His successor, Achmet IV., put an end to this unfortunate war by a peace, to gain which he made great sacrifices.

The English colonies in America revolted from the mother country, threw off its yoke, and declared themselves independent. France, Spain, and Holland, declared in their favour; when, after a war of eight years, it was terminated in 1783 by a peace, whereby they were acknowledged as an independent nation.

NINTH PERIOD.—(1789—1815.)

This period was ushered in by one of the greatest revolutions that ever happened in Europe, or the world. The French, so long habituated to despotism threw off, as it were in a moment, the yoke imposed upon them and their forefathers for many ages. Their king, Louis XVI., apparently joined in the effort, but at length, wanting firmness for so trying an occasion, prevaricated, and attempted to fly; he was seized, tried, iniquitously condemned, and executed. His queen, Antoinette of Austria, suffered also under the guillotine.—The powers of Europe, headed by the emperor and the king of Prussia, coalesced together to crush the revolutionary spirit of France. Great Britain, Spain, Russia, Holland, Sardinia, Naples, the Pope, and a variety of inferior powers, joined the confederacy: to this was added a powerful party in the interior, and the flame of civil war spread far and wide. Massacre, rapine, and horror stalked through the land; notwithstanding which, the convention formed a constitution, levied numerous armies, and conquered Holland, the Netherlands, and all the country west of the Rhine. Italy submitted also to the Gallic republicans; and Germany was penetrated to its centre.

Several changes took place in the

government. Buonaparte conquered Egypt; and, in his absence, France lost great part of his conquests in Italy. He returned, and assuming the government under the title of first consul, reconquered Italy. Soon after, he established the Italian republic; was himself constituted president; and made peace with England, which lasted but a short time. A new war commenced.—Buonaparte was elected emperor of the French.

Great Britain, notwithstanding the part it took in the confederate war, pushed its commerce and manufactures to an extent heretofore unknown. It made several conquests, nearly annihilated the French navy, and obliged their army to evacuate Egypt. Peace was restored, but was of short duration.—War again commenced: a military spirit showed itself throughout the nation, and tremendous efforts were made.—French impetuosity and British valour were for years witnessed in the Spanish peninsula. Russia was invaded by a powerful host under Napoleon Buonaparte, but the invaders were utterly annihilated. The crowning act of the war was the ever-memorable battle of Waterloo, whereby the overthrow of Napoleon was effected, and the peace of the world restored, after gigantic efforts and sacrifices on all sides, which have no parallel in history.

CHRONOLOGY.

COMPARATIVELY speaking, the science of chronology is but of recent origin; for many ages elapsed before the mode of computing time, or even of giving dates to important events, was at all regarded: nay, after the value of historical writings was felt and acknowledged, chronology long remained imperfect; the most ancient historians leaving the precise periods they record undetermined. When Homer and Herodotus wrote, and for centuries afterwards, there was no regular distribution of time into such parts as months, weeks, and hours: nor any reference to clocks, dials, or other instruments by which the perpetual current of time was subdivided.

The divisions of time which are considered in chronology relate either to the different methods of computing days, months, and years, or the remarkable eras or epochs from which any year receives its name, and by means of which the date of any event is fixed. The choice of these epochs is for the most part arbitrary, each nation preferring its own most remarkable revolution as the standard by which to regulate its measurement of time. Thus, the Greeks have their Argonautic expedition, their siege of Troy, their arrival of Cecrops in Attica, and their Olympic Games. The Romans reckoned from the foundation of their city; but in their annals they also frequently advert to their various civil appointments and external conquests. The modern Jews reckon from the creation; and the Christians from the birth of our Saviour. From this we count our years backward towards the beginning of time, and forward to the present day. It was not till the year 532 that this plan was introduced; but as the calculation was erroneous, it was found six centuries afterwards to be deficient four years of the true period. As an alteration of a system which had been adopted by nearly all Europe, would have occasioned incalculable inconveniences in civil and ecclesiastical affairs, the error was, by general consent, suffered to remain, and we continue to reckon from what is called the 'vulgar era,' which wants four years and six days of the real Christian epoch.

It cannot be denied that there are many difficulties in the way of fixing a correct chronology; but still there are four data from which satisfactory conclusions relative to certain events may be drawn; and, by ascertaining whether others occurred before or after them, we may in general arrange the most remote transactions with a degree of regularity that at the first view might have appeared hopeless. These are, 1. Astronomical observations, particularly of the eclipses of the sun and moon, combined with the calculations of the years and eras of particular nations. 2. The testimonies of credible authors. 3. Those epochs in history which are so well attested and determined as never to have been controverted. 4. Ancient medals, coins, monuments, and inscriptions.—We have also some artificial distinctions of time, which nevertheless depend on astronomical calculation; such are the solar and lunar cycles, the Roman indiction, the feast of Easter, the bissextile or leap-year, the jubilees and sabbatic years of the Israelites, the olympiads of the Greeks, the Hegira of the Mahometans, &c.

But it must not be forgotten that chronological schemes and computations become worthless when applied to periods of which we have no authentic contemporary history. Thus, the Romans fixed a date for the founding of the city, and counted from it; and the conspiracy of Catiline, for example, was recorded to have

been discovered in the 690th year of the city. Now, supposing the notation of events to have been carefully kept, it is clear that this would enable us to determine, more or less accurately, the events of Roman history for all the time of which we have contemporary narratives. Thus, the defeat of Perseus and the fall of the Macedonian monarchy is recorded as having taken place in the 585th year of the city: hence that event preceded the conspiracy of Catiline by 105 years. We may determine the length of time which separates the invasion of Greece by Xerxes from the invasion of Persia by Alexander the Great; because we have a narrative spreading over the whole of this time, which may fairly be considered as contemporary. But when Herodotus says that Homer lived 400 years before his own time, we are not justified in assigning the time from 850 to 900 B.C. as the age of Homer, because we have no contemporary history by which to determine the truth or the falsehood of this statement. And therefore chronology, to be of real use, must be based on authentic history. Hence it is of no value, when applied to the long series of Egyptian dynasties, of which we have no contemporary records, and of which the very order is given in many ways which it is impossible to reconcile or explain. Thus, it is impossible to make the earlier dynasties of Manetho harmonise with those of Herodotus; and as neither of these writers can claim to be contemporary witnesses of this portion of Egyptian history, the authority of the one is worth no more than that of the other. If then, we take these dynasties, and seek to reconcile them by assuming that some of the kings reigned conjointly, or by any other arbitrary hypothesis, we may make up a chronology satisfactory to ourselves, but which cannot undergo the test of a rigid and impartial criticism. The result can only be that we shall multiply insoluble difficulties; and such difficulties, sir Cornewall Lewis believes, must arise when chronology is 'dissociated from history, handed down by conflicting authorities, and reduced to an arithmetical puzzle.'* Thus chronology, which may rank as a science as long as it is concerned with an order of events for which we have some contemporary testimony, ceases to be such when it professes to determine the course of a history which comes to us only by the oral tradition of many generations.

* *Astronomy of the Ancients*, ch. vi. sect. xi.

GEOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE WORLD.

BY GEOGRAPHY is understood a description of the Earth. It is divided into *Physical or Natural Geography*, and *Civil and Political Geography*. The first, or PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY, refers to the surface of the earth, its divisions, and their relative situations; the climate and soil; the face of the country; and its productions, animal, vegetable, and mineral. The second, or CIVIL GEOGRAPHY, includes the various nations of the earth, as divided into empires, kingdoms, republics, provinces, &c., and the origin, language, religion, government, political power, commerce, education, and manners and customs of those nations.

The form of the earth is very nearly spherical; the polar axis being only about 38 miles shorter than the equatorial; and as the diameter is nearly 8,000 miles, so slight a difference in a globular body would be imperceptible.

In the study of Geography, maps and globes are indispensable; but, owing to their form, globes give a better idea of the relative sizes and situations of countries than can be learned from maps.

The earth has an annual and a diurnal motion; it moves completely round the sun in about 365 days, 6 hours; and turns completely round, as if on an axis or spindle, from west to east, in about 24 hours: an imaginary line, therefore, passing through its centre, is called its *Axis*. The extremities of the axis are called *Poles*—North and South—the one nearest to the country we inhabit being the *North Pole*.

A line drawn round a globe is obviously a circle; and as various circles are described on artificial globes, for reasons hereafter mentioned, we speak of them as though they were really so delineated on the earth's surface.

The principal circles on the globe are the Equator, the Ecliptic, the Tropic of Cancer, the Tropic of Capricorn, and the Arctic and Antarctic circles. All circles are considered as divisible into 360 equal parts, called *degrees*; each degree into 60 minutes, and each minute into 60 seconds: a degree is thus marked °, a minute thus ′, and a second thus ″: so that 28° 52′ 36″ means 28 degrees, 52 minutes, 36 seconds. And as a whole circle contains 360 degrees, a *semicircle* (or half a circle) will contain 180°, and a *quadrant* (or quarter of a circle) 90°.

That circle on the surface of the globe which is everywhere equally distant from each pole, is called the *Equator*; and it

divides the globe into two equal parts or *Hemispheres*, the Northern and the Southern. The appellation Equator, or Equinoctial (*noctes æquantur*), is given to it, because when the sun, through the annual motion of the earth, is seen in this circle, the days and nights are equal in every part of the world.

The *Ecliptic* is so called because all eclipses of the sun or moon can only take place when the moon is in or near that circle. This circle is described on the terrestrial globe solely for the purpose of performing a greater number of problems.

The *Tropics* are two parallels to the equator, drawn through the ecliptic, at those points where the ecliptic is at the greatest distance from the equator; which is about 23° 30′ from the equator, on either side. When the sun is opposite to one of the tropics, those people who are as far from the corresponding pole as the tropic is from the equator, see the sun for more than twenty-four hours. This is the case with every part nearer to the poles, but never with any part farther from them. To point out this peculiarity, a circle is described on the globe, 23½° from each pole. One of these *Polar Circles* is called the *Arctic*, the other the *Antarctic*; signifying the *north*, and that which is *opposite to the north*.

The *Zones* (so called from a Greek word signifying belts or girdles) denote those spaces between the several principal circles before described. Thus between the poles and polar circles are the two frigid zones, between the two frigid zones and the tropics are the two temperate zones, and between the two tropics the torrid zone; deriving these appellations from the temperature of the atmosphere.

The *Latitude* of a place is its distance from the equator. It is measured by the number of degrees, &c., in the arc of the meridian, between the place and the equator; and is called *North* or *South*, according as the place is north or south of the equator.

Longitude is the distance of any place from a given spot, generally the capital of the country, measured in a direction *east* or *west*, either along the equator, or any circle parallel to it. The English measure their longitude east and west of Greenwich, the French east and west of Paris, &c., &c.

Meridians, or circles of longitude, are so called from *meridies*, or mid-day; because, as the earth makes one complete revolution round its own axis in twenty-four hours, every part of its surface must in the course of that time be directly opposite to the sun. The sun, therefore, at that point, will appear at its greatest altitude, or, in other words, it will be *mid-day* or *noon*.

Divisions of the Earth.

It was usual until the present century to speak of the great divisions of the Earth as the *Four Quarters of the World*, viz. Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. But a more scientific distribution has since been generally adopted; and the chief terrestrial divisions of the earth's surface are now thus enumerated: *Europe*, *Asia*, *Africa*, *North and South America*, *Australia*, and *Polynesia*. Of these, Europe, Asia, and Africa, form the Eastern Hemisphere (or the Old World); and America the Western Hemisphere, which, from its not being known to Europeans till the close of the 15th century, is called the New World. Australia includes that extensive region called New Holland, together with New Zealand, and adjacent isles; and Polynesia comprehends the numerous groups of volcanic and coralline islands in the Pacific Ocean, extending eastward to the Philippine Islands, and from New Guinea to the coast of America.

The *Ocean* occupies about two thirds of the earth's surface; and its waters are constantly encroaching upon the land in some places, and receding from it in others. To this cause may be attributed the formation of many islands in different parts of the world. The greatest depth of the ocean which has been ascertained is about 900 fathoms; its mean depth is estimated at about 200 fathoms. Near the tropics it is extremely salt, but the saltness considerably diminishes towards the poles.

This immense expanse of water is divided into smaller oceans or seas, gulfs, bays, &c., limited partly by real, partly by imaginary boundaries.—The *Pacific Ocean*, which covers nearly one third of the earth's surface, and is about 10,000 miles in breadth, lies between the eastern coast of Asia and Australia and the western coast of America.—The *Atlantic Ocean* lies between Europe and Africa on the east, and America on the west.—The Pacific and Atlantic Oceans are each distinguished into North and South. The *Indian Ocean* is bounded by Asia, Africa, and Australia. The *Arctic* or *Frozen Ocean* lies to the north of Europe, Asia, and part of America. The *Southern Ocean* lies south of all the continents.

THE

TREASURY OF HISTORY.

INTRODUCTORY OUTLINE SKETCH

OF

GENERAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

The Antediluvian World

As speculations upon the origin and formation of the world belong rather to philosophy than history, we should deem it supererogatory to notice the subject, however slightly, were it not probable that its entire omission might be considered an unnecessary deviation from an almost universal practice, inasmuch as it has been sanctioned by the example of the most eminent writers of ancient and modern times.

That the earth has undergone many violent revolutions, no possible doubt can exist in the mind of anyone who has paid even the most superficial attention to the discoveries in geological science during the last and present centuries; but the mighty process by which our globe was originally formed is a mystery quite as unfathomable now as it was in the darkest periods of human existence. Let us, then, be content with the sublime exordium of the great Jewish lawgiver; and we shall find that the account he gives of the creation, though eloquently brief, is neither allegorical nor mystical, but corresponds, in its bold outline, with the phenomena which is exhibited to us in the great book of nature. It is true that there is nothing in the writings of Moses either calculated or intended to satisfy curiosity; his object was simply to declare that the whole was the work of an Almighty architect, who, as the Creator and Sovereign of the Universe, was alone to be worshipped.

With regard to the primitive condition of mankind, two very opposite opinions prevail. Some represent a golden age of innocence and bliss; others a state of wild and savage barbarism. The former of these is found not only in the inspired writings of the Jews, but in the books esteemed sacred by various oriental nations, as the Chinese, Indians, Persians, Babylonians, and Egyptians. The latter began their history with dynasties of gods and heroes, who were said to have assumed human form, and to have dwelt among men. The golden age of the Hindoos, and their numerous avatars of the gods, are fictions of a similar character, as well as their two royal dynasties descended from the sun and moon. According to the other doctrine, the human race was originally in the lowest state of culture; and gradually, but slowly, attained perfection. It is in vain, however, for us to look to the traditionary tales of antiquity; for with the exception of the Mosaic history, as contained in the first six chapters of Genesis, we can find none which does not either abound with the grossest absurdities, or lead us into absolute darkness.

That the antediluvians led a pastoral and agricultural life, forming one vast community, without any of those divisions into different nations which have since taken place, seems fully evident. But the most material part of their history is, that having once begun to transgress the divine commands, they followed the allurements of passion and sensuality, and proceeded in their career of wickedness, till at length the universal corruption and impiety of the world had reached its zenith, and the Almighty Creator revealed to Noah his purpose of destroying the whole human race, except himself and his family, by a general deluge; commanding him to prepare an ark, or suitable vessel, for the preservation of the just from the impending judgment, as well as for the reception of animals destined to reproduce their several species.

CHAPTER II.

From the Deluge, to the Settlement of the Jews in Canaan.

AFTER the Flood had prevailed upon the earth a hundred and fifty days, and had decreased for an equal time, Noah became con

vinced, by the return of a dove, with an olive-branch, that the land had again emerged. The time when this great event took place was, according to the common computation, in the 1656th year of the world; though other dates have been assigned by different chronologists. Many other nations, in the mythological part of their history, narrate circumstances attending a vast inundation, or universal deluge, which in their essential particulars correspond with the scriptural account, and are supposed to owe their origin to it. The Chaldeans described a universal deluge, in which all mankind was destroyed, except Xisuthrus and his family. According to the traditionary history of the Greeks, the inhabitants of the earth all perished by a flood except Deucalion and his wife Pyrrha. By the Hindoos it is believed that a similar catastrophe occurred, and that their king, Satyavrata, with seven patriarchs, was preserved in a ship from the universal destruction. Even the American Indians have a tradition of a similar deluge, and a renewal of the human race from the family of one man. But these accounts being unsupported by historic evidence, it would be an unprofitable occupation of the reader's time to comment on them. We shall therefore merely observe, that many ingenious theories have occupied the attention of distinguished men in pleasing endeavours to account for this universal catastrophe. The Mosaic account very simply tells us, that the windows of heaven were opened and the fountains of the deep were broken up, and that as the flood decreased the waters returned from off the face of the earth.

According to the narration of the inspired writer, the individuals preserved from the deluge were Noah and his wife, and his three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, with their wives; in all, eight persons. We are informed that the ark rested on mount Ararat (in Armenia); but whether Noah and his sons remained long in that neighbourhood must be left to mere conjecture. We merely learn that the greatest portion of the human race were some time afterwards assembled on the plains of Shinar, where they began to build a tower, with the foolish and impious intention of reaching the skies, or, in the language of Scripture, 'whose top may reach unto heaven.' But this attempt, we are informed, was frustrated by the Almighty, who confounded their language, so that they no longer understood each other's speech. The scene of this abortive undertaking is supposed to have been upon the Euphrates, where Babylon was built, not far from which are extensive masses of ruins; and the remains of a large mound, called by the Arabs the Birs Nimrod, or Nimrod's tower, is generally believed to be the foundation of the tower of Babel.

From the families of the three sons of Noah, then, are all the nations of the earth descended. The children of Shem were Elam, Asshur, Arphaxad, Lud, and Aram. Elam settled in Persia, where he became the father of that mighty nation; the descendants of Asshur peopled Assyria; and Arphaxad settled in Chaldea. To the family of Lud is generally assigned Lydia; and Aram is believed to have settled in Mesopotamia and Syria.

The children of Ham were Cush, Mizraim, Phut, and Canaan. The descendants of Cush are supposed to have removed from the south-east of Babylonia, afterwards called Khusestan, to the eastern parts of Arabia; from whence they by degrees migrated into Africa. Mizraim peopled Egypt, Ethiopia, Lybia, and the rest of the northern parts of the same continent. No particular country has been assigned to Phut, who is believed to have settled somewhere in Arabia near to Cush. But Canaan is supposed to have settled in Phœnicia; and to have founded those nations who inhabited Judea, and were for the most part subsequently exterminated by the Jews.

The seven sons of Japhet were Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan, Jubal, Meshech, and Tiras. Gomer, according to Josephus, was the father of the Gomerites or Celts, viz. of all the nations who inhabited the northern parts of Europe, under the names of Gauls, Cimbrians, Goths, &c., and who also migrated into Spain, where they were called Celtiberians. From Magog, Meshech, and Jubal, proceeded the Scythians, Sarmatians, and Tartars; from Madai, Javan, and Tiras, the Medes, Ionians, Greeks, and Thracians.

The first considerable national revolution on record is the migration of the Israelites out of Egypt, and their establishment in the land of Canaan. This event was attended with a terrible catastrophe to the Egyptians. The settlement of the Jews in the land of Canaan is supposed to have happened about 1491 B.C. For nearly 200 years after this period we find no authentic account of any other nations than those mentioned in Scripture.

CHAPTER III.

The Fabulous and Heroic Ages, to the Institution of the Olympic Games.

We have already spoken, in the Introductory Remarks, of the impossibility of obtaining any authentic history of Greece previous to the first recorded Olympiad or 776 B.C. Of the works of the chroniclers who preceded Herodotus we have only a few extracts: from these, as well as from the statements of other writers, we gather that they had but slender right to the title of historians. Niebuhr has distinctly asserted that, before the work of Herodotus was written, there was no writing in Greece which could be properly called historical,* and Herodotus himself was not strictly contemporary with any part of the history which he writes.

Still, although it would be useless to assign definite dates where we have no evidence to warrant our so doing, we can trace out a certain order of developement which is unquestionably historical. In the Greeks we have a race which brought to their greatest perfection the highest gifts of the great Aryan stock to which they be-

* Lectures on Ancient History, vol. i. p. 168.

longed. Coming into their new homes with the stores of a mythology, or rather of a mythical speech which they shared in common with the Celt, the Teuton, and the Scandinavian, they showed at once a marvellous creative power, whether in poetry, science, or art. From their mythical speech sprang up, in process of time, the great epics of the heroic age. From their own innate genius was evolved a physical science, to which Egyptians and Assyrians could lay not the most distant claim, and an astronomy which rose indefinitely above the barren observations of Chaldæan star-gazers. We cannot, with Thucydides, dissect the wonderful legends of the Trojan war, and, after making an arbitrary selection of a few details and incidents, assert the narrative so produced to be historical. The legend could not bear the criticism of Herodotus: it is not likely to stand before the criticism of our own day. But in the state of society which is depicted in the Homeric poems we see a real condition of things which made the future developement of Greek life a matter of certainty, and without which the later society would never have come into existence. We see in them a picture of political life utterly different from any exhibited in the Eastern world; and in the discussions of the Agora, in the influence of wisdom and eloquence over physical force, in the sense of beauty and the conscious submission to law, we have the earnest of Athenian greatness in the days of Pericles.

Of the events which are alleged to have preceded the foundation of Rome, we can say nothing. There is no evidence that any national epic poems ever existed, although such was the hypothesis of Niebuhr; and of the wanderings of Æneas there are many versions, all contradicting each other, and all as much or as little deserving of belief.* Whatever basis of real fact there may be in the legendary history of the Roman kings, we can detect none in that of the supposed migration of Æneas into Italy.

Though we necessarily omit, in this brief outline, a multitude of important transactions which are recorded in the Bible, the reader must not lose sight of the fact that the sacred volume is full of historical interest; and we shall have frequent occasion to refer to the actions of 'God's chosen people' as we describe events mentioned by profane writers. For the present it is sufficient to state, that about 1050 years before the birth of Christ the kingdom of Judea, under king David, approached its utmost extent of power; that in the glorious reign of his son, the wise and peaceful Solomon, which followed, that stupendous and costly edifice, 'the temple of God,' was completed, and its dedication solemnised with extraordinary piety and magnificence; that the revolt of the ten tribes took place in the reign of Rehoboam, the son and successor of Solomon, by which Jerusalem was rendered a more easy prey to the Egyptian king, called in Scripture Shishak, and supposed to be the great Sesostris, whose deeds make so conspicuous a figure in the history of his country. After the lapse of another century, we learn that Zera, an Ethiopian, invaded Judea with an army composed of a million of infantry and three hundred chariots, but was defeated with great slaughter by Asa, whose troops amounted to about half that number. By this time the Syrians had become a powerful people; and, taking advantage of the rivalry which existed between the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, aimed at the subjugation of both. The Syrian empire was, however, eventually destroyed by the Assyrians, under Tiglath Pilesar, in 740 B.C.; as was also the kingdom of Samaria by Shalmaneser his successor, in 721; and such of the people as escaped death, were carried captives into Media, Persia, &c.

While the resources of the mighty nations of the East were expended in effecting their mutual destruction, the foundations of some powerful empires were laid in the West, which were destined, in process of time, to subjugate and give laws to the Eastern world. About eight centuries before the Christian era the city of Carthage, in Africa, was founded by a Tyrian colony, and became the capital of a powerful republic, which continued 724 years; during the greater part of which time its ships traversed the Mediterranean and even the Atlantic, whereby it was enabled to monopolise, as it were, the commerce of the whole world.

CHAPTER IV.

From the Institution of the Olympic Games, to the Death of Cyrus.

THE first recorded Olympiad belongs to the year 776. Of these games Hercules was the mythical founder, and this era is supposed to be that of their revival. But Mr. Grote has admitted that if from this time we can speak of some events as historical, the real history of Greece does not commence for two centuries later. The first Olympiad simply records the Victory of Corœbus: but of the historical existence of Corœbus we have no further evidence than a monument which was alleged to mark his grave (*Pausanias*, v. 8, 3, viii. 26, 3. See also *Cox's Persian War*, p. 287). These games, however, were of the greatest importance not merely as furnishing the means of chronological computation, but in their influence on the national character of the Greeks. In fact, it was only or chiefly in reference to these religious festivals, that they could be said to have any national character at all. Their life was essentially one of cities, and their alliances bring before us a mere collection of units entirely independent of each other. In these games then they had a bond of union which kept up some feeling of national life, and contributed powerfully to bring about their victory over the armies of Darius and Xerxes.

Of the migrations of barbarians in Northern Europe we can say nothing positively

* Sir G. C. Lewis, Credibility of Early Roman History, vol. i. p. 308, &c.

The Celtic tribes who forced their way at a later time into Italy and Greece and Asia Minor, may have approached the Alps; but the want of all contemporary evidence must make every statement uncertain. Rome, we may perhaps say, was now entering on the course which hereafter was to carry her to universal conquest; and even this may be a hazardous assumption. Among the Greek States, those of Athens and Sparta were the most prominent. The latter, under the institutions ascribed to Lycurgus, was growing more and more like a camp of hostile occupation in a conquered country; the former, free in great part from the factions which vexed other cities, was becoming rapidly prosperous, and laying the foundation of her maritime ascendancy.

The sceptre of Babylon was at this time swayed by Nebuchadnezzar, by whom the kingdom of Juden was totally overthrown, 587 B.C., and its temple burned to the ground in the following year. He also took and demolished the city of Tyre, despoiled Egypt, and made such prodigious conquests both in the East and West, that the fame of his victories filled the world with awe; till at length his empire comprehended Phœnicia, Palestine, Syria, Babylonia, Media, Persia, and part of India. One great object of his pride and ambition was to render his capital beyond all example gorgeous; nor can we consider the wonders of that city, as related by Herodotus, at all incredible, when we remember that the strength and resources of his mighty empire was made subservient to the purpose.

The next important event that occurred was the revolution occasioned by the misconduct of Evil-merodach, Nebuchadnezzar's son, who, without provocation, wantonly attacked and began to plunder and lay waste the country of the Medes. This produced an immediate revolt, which quickly extended over all Media and Persia. The Medes, headed by Astyages and his son Cyaxares, drove back the intruder and his followers with great slaughter; nor does it appear that the Babylonish monarch was afterwards able to reduce them to subjection. We now come to the period when the brilliant career of Cyrus demands our notice. He had signalised himself in various wars under Astyages, his grandfather, when, having been appointed generalissimo of the Median and Persian forces, he attacked the Babylonish empire, and the city of Babylon itself fell before his victorious arms. Cyrus now issued a decree for the restoration of the Jews, and the rebuilding of their temple. By a succession of victories he had become master of all the East, and for some time the Asiatic affairs continued in a state of tranquillity. It is necessary to observe in this place, that the Medes, before the time of Cyrus, though a great and powerful people, were eclipsed by the superior prowess of the Babylonians. But Cyrus having conquered their kingdom, by the united force of the Medes and Persians, it appears that the great empire of which he was the founder must have taken its name from both nations; so that the empire of the Medes and that of the Persians were one and the same, though in consequence of the glory of its wise and victorious leader it subsequently retained only the latter name. Meanwhile, it continued to extend itself on every side; and at length Cambyses, the son and successor of Cyrus, conquered Egypt, and added that country to his already overgrown dominions.

CHAPTER V.

From the Erection of the Persian Empire, to the Division of the Grecian Empire after the Death of Alexander.

THE Babylonians, groaning under the oppressive yoke of their Persian masters, in 517 B.C. made a desperate effort to shake it off; but they were signally defeated by Darius Hystaspis, who besieged the city of Babylon, demolished its fortifications, and caused its walls to be lowered from 200 to 50 cubits. Darius then turned his arms against the Scythians; after which he directed his course eastward, and reduced the country as far as the Indus. In the meantime the Ionians, who had submitted to Cyrus, revolted, which led to the invasion of the Grecian states, and those disasters to the Persians by land and sea, which we have elsewhere related. In 459 B.C. the Egyptians made an ineffectual attempt to regain their independence. They also again revolted in 413 B.C. and, being assisted by the Sidonians, drew upon the latter that terrible destruction foretold by the prophets, while they more firmly riveted the chains which bound themselves to the Persian rule.

The Persian history exhibits every characteristic of oriental cruelty, treachery, and despotism; and with a few splendid exceptions, presents us with a series of monarchs whose lust of power was equalled only by their licentiousness. But the greatness of the Persian empire was soon about to be humbled. Ten thousand Greek mercenaries had served under the younger Cyrus in his rebellious attempt to seize the throne of his elder brother, Artaxerxes Mnemon; but he was defeated and killed at the battle of Cunaxa, near Babylon; and his Grecian allies, though in a strange country, and surrounded on all sides by enemies, effected their safe retreat under Xenophon, whose conduct on this occasion has been extolled both by ancient and modern writers, as exhibiting a matchless union of prudent caution and military skill.

In this rapid sketch we shall not stop to notice the various contests which took place between the Grecian states, though they make a considerable figure in their respective histories; but pass on to the time of Philip of Macedon, who, taking advantage of the wars and dissensions which were gradually weakening the neighbouring states of Greece, began to meditate their conquest; and by sometimes pretending to assist one state and sometimes another, he finally effected his object. Having become master of all Greece, he projected the conquest of

Asia: his death, however, by assassination, left that great achievement to be attempted by his ambitious and warlike son, Alexander, surnamed the Great.

No man who ever lived, perhaps, possessed the necessary qualities for the execution of this mighty project in a more eminent degree than the youthful Alexander. Brave, skilful, and impetuous, he marched from victory to victory; till at length the power of the Persians was totally overthrown at the battle of Arbela, 331 B.C., and an end put to the empire by the murder of Darius by Bessus in the following year. Alexander having subdued Persia, his victorious arms were now directed against the countries which bounded Persia: and having reduced Hyrcania, Bactria, and several other independent kingdoms, he entered India and subdued all the nations to the river Hyphasis, one of the branches of the Indus. At length the patience of his troops became exhausted; they saw that the ambition of their leader was boundless, and refused to gratify his passion for universal conquest by proceeding farther. He died at Babylon in the year 323 B.C., leaving the affairs of his vast empire in a most unsettled state, and not even naming his successor.

In the western world, at this period, great kingdoms were evolving from obscurity, and events of the highest importance succeeding each other with unexampled rapidity. The first object that here claims our attention is the establishment and rapid growth of the Roman republic, which reached its highest pitch of power and grandeur, by the successive conquest of Italy and her isles, Spain, Macedonia, Carthage, Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Gaul, Britain, and Egypt. It was, nevertheless, exposed to the greatest danger from the ambition of individuals: the civil wars of Marius and Sylla, and the conspiracy of Catiline, shook its very centre; and by the contention arising out of the rivalry of Julius Cæsar and Pompey, it was ultimately overthrown.

On the death of Alexander the Great, four new empires immediately, as it were, sprung up. He had left behind him a large and victorious army, commanded by generals who, bred in the same school, were not less ambitious of sovereign rule than their master. Cassander, the son of Antipater, seized Macedonia and Greece; Antigonus, Asia Minor; Seleucus marked out for his share Babylon and the eastern provinces; and Ptolemy, Egypt and the western ones. Furious wars soon succeeded this division of Alexander's wide-spread empire; and several provinces, taking advantage of the general confusion, shook off the Macedonian yoke altogether. Thus were formed the kingdoms of Pontus, Bithynia, Pergamus, Armenia, and Cappadocia. Antigonus was defeated and killed by Seleucus at the battle of Ipsus, 301 B.C., and the greater part of his dominions fell to the lot of the conqueror. The two most powerful and permanent empires were, in fact, Syria, founded by Seleucus, and Egypt by Ptolemy Soter. But there was also another empire at that time existing which demands our notice. The Parthians, originally a tribe of Scythians who had wandered from their own country, at length settled in the neighbourhood of Hyrcania, and were successively tributary to the Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes, and Persians. The country in which they settled obtained from them the name of Parthia; and when Alexander invaded Asia, they submitted, with the other dependencies of the Persian empire. After the death of the Macedonian conqueror, Parthia was subject, first to Eumenes, then to Antigonus, and finally to the kings of Syria and Babylon. In the reign of Antiochus Theos, the rapacity and crimes of Agathocles, the Syrian governor, roused the spirit of the Parthians; and, under Arsaces, a man of great military talents, they expelled their oppressors, and laid the foundation of an empire which ultimately extended over Asia, B.C. 250. The Syrians attempted in vain to recover this province. A race of able and vigilant princes, who assumed the surname of *Arsacidæ*, from the founder of their kingdom, not only baffled their efforts, but so increased in power, that while they held eighteen tributary kingdoms, between the Caspian and Arabian seas, they even for a time disputed with the Romans the empire of the world.

CHAPTER VI.

From the Wars of Rome and Carthage, to the Birth of Christ.

THE Romans, who for more than five hundred years had been constantly victorious, met with an opponent in Hannibal, commander of the Carthaginian forces, whose consummate generalship for a time turned the tide of fortune, and, making Italy the battle-field, he gallantly opposed on their native soil the hardy veterans of Rome. Long and doubtful were these sanguinary contests; but in the end the Carthaginian armies were recalled into Africa, which the Romans had invaded; and he who, at the battle of Cannæ, had struck the Roman legions with terror, was totally defeated at Zama; by which the second Punic war was concluded, in the year 188 B.C. In forty years from that date the fate of Carthage was ultimately decided. The Romans having declared war against it a third time, used all their energies for accomplishing its final destruction. The city was long and fiercely assailed; the genius of the younger Scipio at length triumphed over the desperate valour of the besieged; and Carthage, once mistress of the sea and the most formidable rival of Rome, was reduced to ashes, and for ever blotted from the list of independent nations.

During the contentions between Rome and Carthage, a confederacy was formed by the states of Greece, under the name of the Achæan League, which soon eclipsed, in splendid achievements and power, both Athens and Sparta. Weary of the tyranny of the Macedonians, the Grecian states had entered into this compact for recovering

their liberties; but having imprudently given the Romans an opportunity of intermeddling in their affairs, they were eventually reduced to a Roman province, under the name of Achaia. This celebrated league rose into importance about the year 284 B.C., and continued formidable for more than 130 years.

About this period we read of the direful oppressions of the Jews by Antiochus Epiphanes. After their return from the Babylonish captivity, they continued in subjection to the Persians till the time of Alexander; and subsequently, as the fortune of either Egypt or Syria happened to prevail, they were under its dominion. On the subjugation of Egypt by Antiochus Epiphanes, the Jews being treated with great severity by him, naturally, but imprudently, expressed their joy on hearing a report of his death; and it was not long before the enraged monarch took the fiercest vengeance on them. He marched at the head of a powerful army, took Jerusalem by storm in 170 B.C., and committed the most horrid cruelties on the inhabitants. Their religion was for awhile abolished, their altars defiled, and every indignity offered to the people that tyranny and hate could suggest. An image of Jupiter Olympius was erected in the holy place, and unclean beasts were sacrificed on the altar of burnt offerings. But the Jews soon rallied; and under Mattathias the true worship was restored in most of the cities of Judea; the temple was purified by Judas Maccabæus, 165 B.C.; and a long series of wars ensued between the Syrians and the Jews, in which the latter gained many signal advantages.

About 150 years before the birth of Christ the principal empires and states of the world may be thus enumerated. In Asia were the empires of Syria, India, and Parthia—each of them powerful and extensive—with Arabia, Pontus, Armenia, and some other countries of less importance. In Africa were the kingdoms of Egypt, Ethiopia, Numidia, Mauritania, and Getulia; the last named three, now that Carthage was destroyed, appearing to the eyes of the ambitious Romans as their easy prey. In Europe there were none able to oppose the Roman legions, save the Gauls and some of the nations inhabiting Spain. It was not long, therefore, after the conquest of Carthage and Corinth that the final subjugation of Spain was resolved on; for all the possessions which the Carthaginians held in that country had already fallen into the hands of the victorious Romans. They accordingly began by attacking the Lusitanians; but this brave people, under the conduct of Viriatus, a leader whose skill, valour, and prudence eminently qualified him for his post, long bid defiance to the Roman arms: in the field he was not to be subdued; and he at last met his death from the hands of assassins hired by his treacherous enemy. The Romans now, in the wantonness of their power, scrupled not to use the basest and most corrupt means for reducing the whole country; and though many tribes bravely maintained their independence for years, Spain ultimately became a Roman province. But all-powerful as Rome had now become, her civil and political condition was far from enviable. Her conquests in Greece and Asia brought luxury, cruelty, and general corruption in their train; and those heroic virtues for which in the early days of the republic she was renowned, had totally disappeared. We must, however, reserve for its proper place an account of the civil commotions, proscriptions, and assassinations which followed; and pass onward in our brief recital of such events as peculiarly appertain to *general* history.

Attalus, king of Pergamus, had left all his goods and treasures, by will, to the Roman people; upon which his kingdom was speedily converted into a Roman province, under the name of Asia Proper. Next followed the conquest of the Balearic Isles (now called Majorca, Minorca, and Iviça); Numidia was soon after reduced; but the subjugation of Mauritania and Getulia was for a time delayed.

While Rome was approaching her zenith, the decline of the Syrian empire was apparent. The civil dissensions between the two brothers, Antiochus Gryphus and Antiochus Cyzicenus, gave an opportunity for the cities of Tyre, Sidon, Ptolemais, and Gaza to declare their independence; while the Jews not only recovered their liberty, but extended their dominions as far as in the days of Solomon. About the year 83 B.C., Tigranes, king of Armenia, became master of Syria; but the Romans soon wrested it from him, and added it to the immensely extensive possessions of the republic.

Egypt, which had hitherto maintained its proper station, fell after the battle of Actium, and, like its predecessors, was reduced to a Roman province, about the year 30 B.C. Rome must no longer be regarded as a republic; and its change from that form of government to an empire may be looked upon as advantageous to those nations who were still free; for the inordinate desire of conquest which had hitherto marked the Roman character, for a time seemed to be lulled; and during the reign of Augustus the temple of Janus was thrice closed,—a ceremony coeval with the origin of the state, to denote that it was at peace with the whole world. This pacific prince died in the 76th year of his age, and in the 45th of his reign, A.D. 14; his empire extending, in Europe, to the ocean, the Rhine, and the Danube; in Asia, to the Euphrates; and in Africa, to Ethiopia, and the sandy deserts. It was in this memorable reign, in the year of Rome 752, that Jesus Christ was born; and the holy religion of which he was the founder, persecuted and despised though it was at first, gradually spread over the Roman world.

CHAPTER VII.

From the Beginning of the Christian Era, to the Appearance of Mahomet.

In the year 69 A.D. the memorable war with the Jews commenced, which, though it

lasted but three years, ended in the total destruction of their city and nation, after enduring all the horrors of war carried on by each party with sanguinary fury. About ten years after this event the real conquest of Britain was effected by Agricola. The empire had now reached its utmost limits; and, under the just and upright Trajan, Rome had reason to rejoice, not merely in her extent of territory, but in the equitable administration of her laws, and in the virtue and wisdom of her senators. Adrian succeeded Trajan, and followed in his footsteps. The decline of imperial Rome was, however, fast approaching; for although Antoninus, surnamed the Pious, obtained the regard of his subjects and the respect of foreigners, living in peace during the whole of his reign; yet scarcely had Marcus Aurelius Antoninus succeeded to the throne, before the Germanic tribes united, as in the time of Marius, and poured in their warlike hordes upon Italy; and, while they grew more and more formidable, famine and pestilence ravaged many of the Roman provinces: A.D. 180.

From this time repeated incursions of hardy adventurers from the north of Europe, under various names, took place; but though often beaten, they renewed their attempts with a degree of courage and perseverance that required all the energy and superior discipline of the Roman legions to overcome. From the death of Aurelius to the reign of Diocletian, many of the Roman emperors were mere sensualists: there were, however, some splendid exceptions; and by the warlike genius of such the incursions of the barbarians were from time to time arrested. The Romans had also for a long period met with a most powerful adversary in the Persians; and when, in 260, the emperor Valerian was defeated and taken prisoner by them, the empire seemed to be hastening to utter and irremediable destruction. While Gallienus, the son of Valerian and his associate in power, was revelling in luxury at Rome, numerous claimants of the imperial dignity arose in the different provinces. These were designated the 'thirty tyrants,' (though their numbers did not exceed twenty, and there was no good reason for designating them tyrants). Their dominion was, however, not of long duration; and on the death of Gallienus he was succeeded by Claudius, who had the merit of delivering Italy from the Goths. After him came Aurelian, who introduced order into the state, restored internal tranquillity, and defeated his enemies both in Europe and Asia. Under Tacitus, Probus, and Carus the empire was in a measure restored to its former lustre; but the barbarians still pressed onward; and when the government fell into the hands of Diocletian, he changed its form, sharing the imperial dignity with Maximian, to whom he committed the West, while he ruled in the East. In this manner was the government administered till the days of Constantine, who in A.D. 330 removed the imperial seat to Byzantium, which he named Constantinople; became a convert to Christianity; and put an end to one of the most virulent persecutions against its professors that ever disgraced the world. The immediate successors of Constantine did little to uphold the Roman power; and Julian, who ascended the throne in 361, renounced Christianity and openly professed the ancient religion; but he was both too politic and too humane to persecute his Christian subjects. We find, however, that the decline of the empire was everywhere visible. After his death its internal corruption and weakness continued to increase; that strict discipline which had formerly rendered the Roman legions invincible, relaxed; and while corruption and injustice rendered the government odious at home, its frontier towns were attacked and its distant provinces overrun by fierce and uncivilised hordes issuing from the north, east, and west. It is at this period that we read of Alaric, the Visigoth, who plundered Rome, A.D. 409: of Genseric, the powerful king of the Vandals; and of Attila, the Hun, emphatically termed 'the scourge of God.' In fact, the Scythians, Sarmatians, Goths, Huns, Vandals, and other barbarous nations, watched all occasions to break into it: and though some of the emperors bravely withstood their attacks, no efforts could finally stem the ruthless torrent which kept pouring in on all sides. At length the Heruli, a people who migrated from the shores of the Baltic, and had grown formidable as they proceeded southwards, appeared in Italy. They were headed by the valiant Odoacer; and being joined by other tribes, quickly became masters of Italy, and the city of Rome itself surrendered to their victorious arms, A.D. 476.

The fall of the western empire was thus consummated; but the Romans still maintained their sway at Constantinople. The eastern empire, in fact, at this time comprehended all Asia Minor and Syria, Egypt, and Greece; but neither its domestic management nor its military prowess gave hopes of a lengthened dominion. Luxury, effeminacy, and superstition sapped its vitals; continual wars with the Persians, Bulgarians, and other barbarous nations, exhausted its strength; and a similar fate to that of the western empire appeared to await it at no very distant period. Still, as we follow the stream of history, we shall find that it not only survived the wreck for several centuries, but at times displayed an energy and power worthy of the Roman name.

Revolutions succeeded one another among the savage conquerors of the west with fearful rapidity. The Herull under Odoacer were driven out by the Goths under Theodoric. The Goths were expelled by the Romans under their able general Belisarius; but while he was absent quelling an insurrection in Africa, they regained their footing, and again took possession of Rome. The Franks next invaded Italy, and made themselves masters of the province of Venetia; but at last the superior fortune of the emperor Justinian prevailed, and the Goths were finally subdued by his proconsul Narses, A. D. 552. From that time till the year 568, Narses governed Italy with

great prudence and success, as a province of the eastern empire; but he incurred the emperor's displeasure, and Longinus was appointed to succeed him, and was invested with absolute power. He assumed the title of exarch, and resided at Ravenna, whence his government was called the exarchate of Ravenna; and having placed in each city of Italy a governor, whom he distinguished with the title of duke, he abolished the name of senate and consuls at Rome. But while he was establishing this new sovereignty, a great portion of Italy was overrun by the Lombards. In short, we find that they steadily marched on from Pannonia, accompanied by an army of Saxon allies, and were not long before they became masters of all Italy, with the exception of Rome, Ravenna, and some of the eastern sea-coast.

A warlike nation, called Franks, who were divided into several tribes, had been gradually rising into importance; and quitting the banks of the Lower Rhine, they had made themselves masters of no inconsiderable part of Gaul. A warlike and ambitious chief among them, named Clovis, undertook the conquest of the whole country; and having defeated and killed his powerful rival, Alaric, king of the Goths, he possessed himself of all the countries lying between the Rhine and the Loire, and thus became the founder of the French monarchy, A. D. 487.

A few years before the conquest of Rome by the Heruli, the Visigoths erected a kingdom in Spain; and as they advanced eastward, about the same time that Clovis was extending his conquests to the west, the river Loire was the natural boundary of the two kingdoms; but a war soon broke out between them, which ended in favour of Clovis. Another kingdom had previously been founded in the western parts of Spain by the Suevi, who were subdued by the Goths under Theodoric, in 409; and eventually, A. D. 584, these restless warriors subjugated nearly the whole of Spain.

CHAPTER VIII.

From the Rise of Mahomet, to the Commencement of the Crusades.

LET us now turn our attention for a moment to a general view of the world as it existed in the sixth century of the Christian era. The Roman empire in the west was annihilated, and various nations of northern extraction were either fiercely contending with each other, or meditating new conquests; the eastern empire was continually at war, contending with the Persians on one side, or harassed by the attacks of the Huns and other tribes on its northern frontiers; while it was agitated and weakened by religious and political animosities. The Indians and other oriental nations, unaccustomed to war, were ready to fall a prey to the first powerful invader; while the fiery inhabitants of Arabia, from their earliest origin accustomed to bold and predatory warfare, were as ready to undertake any enterprise which seemed to promise an adequate reward.

This, then, was the very nick of time most favourable for such a revolution in the world as was undertaken by the wily and daring Mahomet* (or Mohammed), who foreseeing the power and glory that awaited him if success should crown his efforts, assumed the title of 'prophet,' and professed to have received a direct commission from God to become the founder of a new religion, A. D. 622. This forms a marked epoch in chronology, and is designated the Hejira, or Flight of Mahomet. He at first endeavoured by the force of his persuasive eloquence alone to make proselytes; but finding himself ere long at the head of many thousand warlike followers, who acknowledged that 'there was but one God and that Mahomet was his prophet,' he took advantage of their enthusiasm, and proceeded in the work of conquest. With a celerity truly surprising, the armies of the prophet and his successors overran all Syria, Palestine, Persia, Bukharia, and India. On the west their empire soon extended over Egypt, Barbary, Spain, Sicily, &c. But Mahomet, who died in the 63rd year of his age, did not secure the succession, or give any directions concerning it; and the consequence was, that the caliphate was seized by many usurpers; dissensions broke out among the 'true believers;' and in the course of time this great empire, like the others which we have noticed, declined in importance. The religion, however, still exists, and the temporal power of those who profess it is by no means trifling.

While this extraordinary revolution was going on in the East, and the Arabian arms were conquering 'in the name of God and the prophet,' the western nations as zealously upheld the doctrines promulgated by the pope. From the days of Constantine the Roman pontiffs had been gradually extending their power, temporal as well as spiritual; and at the period of which we are now speaking, not only was their sacerdotal dominion firmly established, but their political influence was often exerted for or against those princes of surrounding states as best suited the interests of the church. When, in 726, Luitprand, king of the Lombards, had taken Ravenna, and expelled the exarch, the pope undertook to restore him, and his restoration was accordingly speedily effected. The authority of the Byzantine emperors in Rome was, indeed, little more than nominal; and the interference of the popes in the temporal concerns of the different European monarchies was of the most obnoxious and intolerable kind.

We have seen that the reduction of Gaul was effected by Clovis, the Frank, who is styled the founder of the French monarchy. That kingdom, it may be observed, was subsequently divided into several petty sovereignties; and while the princes weakened each other by their contests, the nobles increased in power, leaving their kings little

* See Gibbon's Roman Empire, ch. l.; Milman's History of Latin Christianity, book iv. ch. i.

more than the shadow of royalty. At length they gave themselves up to a life of indolence and ease, and abandoned the reins of government to officers called mayors of the palace; of whom the most celebrated were Charles Martel, and his son Pepin the Little, who deposed Childeric, and became the founder of the Carvolingian or second royal race in France. Of the princes of this race we shall here only have to speak of Carolus Magnus, afterwards called Charlemagne, on account of the extent of his conquests, his restoration of the western empire, and the splendour of his reign. Very soon after his accession to the throne, the Saxons, who had long been tributaries to France, revolted, and bravely and obstinately contended for their freedom; but they were at last obliged to submit. In 774, after the reduction of Pavia, and the capture of Didier, the last king of the Lombards, Charlemagne repaired to Milan, and was there crowned king of Italy. From this time he was engaged in an almost unceasing warfare against the Moors in Spain, the Saxons and Huns in Germany, the party of the eastern emperor in Italy, and the Normans, who infested his maritime provinces. Having subdued his enemies, he repaired to Rome, in the year 800, for the fourth and last time; and on Christmas-day, while assisting at the celebration of mass, the pope, Leo III., suddenly and unexpectedly crowned him emperor of the Romans, from which time he was honoured with the title of *Charlemagne, or Charles the Great.* At the time of his death, which occurred in 814, he had reduced all that part of Spain which lies between the Pyrenees and the Ebro; seized Italy, from the Alps to the borders of Calabria; and also added to his dominions all Germany south of the Eyder, and Pannonia. The world was therefore once more shared among three great powers. The empire of the Arabs or Saracens extended from the Ganges to Spain; comprehending almost all of Asia and Africa which has ever been known to Europeans, China and Japan excepted. The eastern Roman empire was reduced to Greece, Asia Minor, and the provinces adjoining Italy. And the empire of the west, under Charlemagne, comprehended France, Germany, and the greatest part of Italy. The son and successor of Charlemagne was Louis I., at whose death the restored empire of the west was divided, in 840, among his four sons: Lotharius was emperor; Pepin king of Aquitaine; Louis II. king of Germany; and Charles II., surnamed the Bald, king of France, a division that proved the source of perpetual contentions. The French retained the imperial title under eight sovereigns, till 912, when Louis III. the last king of Germany, of the race of Charlemagne, dying without male issue, his son-in-law, Conrad, count of Franconia, was elected emperor of Germany. Thus the empire passed to the Germans, and became elective, by the suffrages of the princes, lords, and deputies of cities, who assumed the title of *electors.*

During the period we have been describing, the union of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms was effected by Egbert, the king of Wessex, A. D. 827. The pirates of Scandinavia, too, about this time began to make their appearance in large fleets, and spread devastation on the shores of France and other kingdoms of continental Europe. In England, where they were called Danes, these Northmen harassed the coast in a similar manner; and, though frequently repulsed, in the course of time they had the satisfaction of seeing monarchs of their own nation seated on the throne of England. The Saxon race, was, however, restored in 1041, in the person of Edward, surnamed the Confessor, who, dying without issue, nominated William, duke of Normandy, to be his successor. Here we may just remark, that the predatory tribes of Northmen, of whom we have before spoken, at different times overran and ravaged most countries of Europe; and a party having entered France, under their leader Rollo, Charles the Simple ceded to them, in 912, the province of Neustria. On this occasion Rollo embraced Christianity, changed his own name to Robert, and that of his duchy to Normandy. From him was William the Conqueror descended.

At no period of the history of the world do we find it in a more confused and distracted state than at the epoch to which we have now arrived. It appears, indeed, like one vast battle-field. Our attention, however, is principally attracted by the preponderating influence of Germany, in the west; the decline of the Byzantine empire, and the increase of that of the Turks, in the east; the divisions among the Saracens of Spain, and their subjugation by those of Africa. Civilisation was taking a retrograde course: and while the feudal system and the spirit of chivalry, assisted by the papal superstitions, were riveting the chains of barbarism in one part of the world, the conquests and spoliations of the Turks, like those of the Goths and Huns before noticed, were fast obliterating the faint traces of human science and learning that remained in the other. At last the Crusades (though they must ever be deplored as the wretched offspring of enthusiasm and misguided zeal), by directing the attention of Europeans to one particular object, made them in some measure suspend the slaughter of one another, and were the means of extricating Christendom from a state of political and moral bondage.

CHAPTER IX.

From the First Crusade, to the death of Saladin.

THE world, as we have seen, was at this time divided into two grand religious parties, namely, the Christians and the Mahometans, each of whom affected to regard the small territory of Palestine, which they called the Holy Land, as an invaluable acquisition. The origin of the crusades may therefore be attributed to a superstitious veneration for the places where our Saviour had lived and performed his miracles, which annually brought vast numbers of pilgrims from all parts of Christendom to visit the city of Jerusalem, and those particular spots

in its vicinity which had been rendered especially memorable by his preaching, sufferings and death. Although the Saracens under Omar, their second caliph, had taken Jerusalem, and conquered Palestine, in the seventh century, they allowed the pilgrims to continue to visit their favourite haunts on payment of a small tribute. In 1065, however, the Turks wrested the holy city, as it was styled, from the Saracens; and, as they were much more fierce and barbarous than the latter, the pilgrims could no longer with safety perform their devotions; and Europe resounded with complaints against the infidel possessors of Palestine, who profaned the holy places and so cruelly treated the devotees. Europe was at the time full of enthusiastic warriors, who wanted but little stimulus to lead them to the field of glory; and Pope Gregory VII. had already meditated and urged the union of Christendom against the religion of Mahomet. Besides the religious motive of freeing Jerusalem from the dominion of the Turks, some views of ambition might have induced the court of Rome to engage in this project. But whatever might have been the chief motives, an opportunity soon presented itself, which was seized with avidity. A bold enthusiast, named Peter, who from his ascetic life was called the Hermit, having been on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, represented the oppression of the holy city, and the cruel treatment which the Christians suffered in terms so appalling to Urban II. (who filled the papal see at the time), that the pontiff listened to his scheme for uniting all the Christian States against the Turks, and leading armies into Asia, sufficient in number and prowess to conquer these warlike people by whom the Holy Land was held in subjection. In consequence of this a council was summoned, and a meeting of clergy and laity took place in a field in the neighbourhood of Placentia at which 4,000 ecclesiastics and 30,000 laymen were present. Both Peter the hermit and the Pope represented in the most vivid colours the direful situation of their brethren in the East, and the indignity offered to the religion of Christ. Their speeches were suited to the passions of their hearers, and so well seconded by the adventurous spirit of the times, that a violent and tumultuous declaration of war burst forth from all sides; and the assembled multitude devoted themselves cheerfully to a service that they believed to be meritorious in the sight of heaven. The zealous Peter next visited the chief cities and sovereigns of Christendom, calling upon them to rescue the sepulchre of their Saviour from the tyrannous grasp of the Turks. Another council was speedily held at Clermont, in Auvergne, which was attended by many princes, and the greatest prelates and nobles; and when Urban and the Hermit renewed their pathetic declamations, the whole assembly burst forth in a general exclamation, 'It is the will of God!' words which were immediately attributed to divine inspiration, and adopted as the signal of rendezvous and battle. Men of all ranks now flew to arms with the utmost ardour; and a cross of red cloth was affixed to their right shoulder; hence the names of *crusade* (or *croisade*) and *crusaders* were derived to express this new expedition professedly undertaken on religious grounds. However imprudent the project, the prevailing taste and prejudices of the age occasioned its being adopted without examination. Independent of this their passions were absorbed in their love of war; they were delighted with the thoughts of adventures, and the brave were attracted by the hopes of gain as well as with the love of glory. What was not to be expected from the valour of an infinite number of warriors fighting under the banners of the cross? No means were left unemployed to swell their ranks. The rich and poor, the saintly and the criminal, were alike eager to show their devotion in the cause. Sovereigns shared in and applauded it; the nobility with their vassals engaged in it; and the clergy not only loudly extolled it from the pulpit, but taught the people to consider it as an atonement for their sins. No wonder then that the number of adventurers at last became so numerous, that their leaders grew apprehensive lest the greatness of the armament should disappoint its purpose. Some were elated at the prospects of worldly advantage which opened to their view, as they beheld in perspective the rich conquests in Asia; others thought of the expiation of their offences in the tumult of war, and rejoiced that they could gratify their inclinations while performing a sacred duty. If they succeeded, their fortune seemed to be secured in this world; if they died, a crown of martyrdom was promised in the next. So many causes uniting had almost an insurmountable power; and their concurrence is one of the most curious phenomena to be met with in history.

An undisciplined multitude, computed at three hundred thousand men, led the way, under the command of Peter the Hermit, and a soldier of fortune, called Walter the moneyless. They passed through Hungary and Bulgaria, towards Constantinople; and trusting to supernatural aid for the supply of their wants, they made no provision for subsistence on their march. They were, in fact, composed partly of fanatics and partly of wretches bent on plunder; and the result was, as might have been expected, that the enraged inhabitants of the countries which they pillaged fell upon and nearly annihilated them before they could reach Constantinople, the place appointed for their general rendezvous. The more disciplined armies followed soon after. Among their leaders were the celebrated Godfrey of Bouillon, with his brothers, Baldwin and Eustace; Robert, duke of Normandy; Hugh brother of Philip I. king of France; Robert, earl of Flanders; Raymond, count of Toulouse, and other experienced commanders. Thus led, this host of warriors traversed Germany and Hungary, passed over the strait of Gallipoli, conquered Nice in 1097, Antioch and Edessa in 1098, and lastly, Jerusalem, in 1099; of which city Godfrey

of Bouillon was chosen king; but he refused to bear that title in the Holy Land; and died in 1100. In 1102, an army of 260,000 men left Europe on the same destination; they perished, however, partly on the march, and partly by the sword of the sultan of Iconium. Such was the issue of the first crusade: but the spirit which had been thus excited was not to be so readily extinguished: a second, a third, and several other crusades were undertaken during a succession of almost two hundred years, and ended in very similar results. In 1201, the town of Acre, or Ptolemais, in which the descendants of Godfrey still maintained the regal title, was plundered by the sultan of Egypt, and the Christians were driven out of Syria.

Three monastic and military orders, the Hospitallers, the Templars, and Teutonic knights, were instituted at Jerusalem, to protect the pilgrims from the attacks of the Turks. In this age the sacred was so confounded with the profane, that it was thought the virtues and austerities of the monk might be united with the warlike qualities and passions of the soldier. The new orders, loaded with wealth and particular privileges, in a short time became greedy, licentious, and insolent warriors, enemies of one another, and by their mutual hatred weakened the cause of Christianity. What happened before in Europe was likewise seen in Asia: every lord wanted to erect a sovereign power; principalities were subdivided into fiefs; discord prevailed, and the Turks would soon have destroyed them, if they had not likewise been divided among themselves.

The Christian empire in the East extended at this period from the borders of Egypt to Armenia; but it was encompassed by powerful enemies, and its population, though brave, was by no means considerable. The Turks had already taken Edessa, and there was great reason to be apprehensive for the fate of Jerusalem, when Eugenius III., fifty years after the beginning of the crusades, was solicited by deputies from the East to renew them. This time the monk St. Bernard took upon himself the office of its chief advocate. He is represented as running from town to town, and though ignorant of the language of the country, yet making the people follow him and performing numberless miracles. He accordingly everywhere gained an influence, of which there had been no parallel; yet his success could scarcely keep pace with his zealous wishes. Under the humble habit of a monk, Bernard enjoyed a greater respect than was paid to the most powerful princes: he was as eloquent as he was enthusiastic, and obtained an unbounded influence over the minds of the people. The emperor Conrad, who first listened to him with a resolution to oppose those dangerous emigrations, concluded with enrolling himself. Neither could Louis VII., king of France, resist the appeals of the orator. The people abandoned their habitations in crowds; the nobles sold their lands, and laid the price at his feet; and nearly a million of men solicited to be enrolled among the champions of Christianity. It is said that each of the armies had 70,000 'men at arms:' these consisted of the nobility, who were heavy armed, and followed by a much more numerous body of light cavalry. The number of infantry was immense. The emperor Conrad was the first that set out; he was the brother-in-law of Manuel-Comnenus, at that time reigning in Constantinople; but the Greeks, it is said, apprehensive that similar excesses would be committed by the crusaders as in the former expedition, furnished them with treacherous guides, which led to their destruction: his army was almost annihilated; upon which he fled to Antioch, made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and returned to Europe with a mere handful of men. Louis met with similar disasters, and followed the example of Conrad; so that when they were compelled to withdraw, they left the Holy Land in a much weaker condition than they had found it.

Expeditions so ill planned and ill conducted, served only to animate the Turks to the destruction of the Christians of Jerusalem, and to show them the little difficulty there would be in expelling them. Noradin, whom they chose for their leader, promoted this design, and Saladin, his successor, completed the work. The latter, after having usurped Syria, triumphed over the Persians, conquered Egypt, and made himself master of dominions that extended to the Oxus, returned by sea, in order to strip the Europeans of the places they still retained. Damascus, Aleppo, and Acre, opened their gates to the conqueror, who, after having artfully drawn the Christian army into narrow defiles, where he commanded the passes, obliged them to surrender with Lusignan, their king: A.D. 1187. He then marched towards Jerusalem, which, being in a manner defenceless, was easily taken; and thus he destroyed for ever the little kingdom which had not subsisted a century, and for the acquisition of which by the Christians so much interest had been excited, and so much blood had been shed.

The news of the loss of the Holy Land spread consternation in Europe. Urban III., who had exerted all his influence, spiritual and temporal, to prevent their misfortune, died of grief soon after the fatal news reached his ear. The Christian princes suspended their quarrels, and the desire of recovering Jerusalem produced a third crusade: A.D. 1189. This was infinitely better planned than the former ones, and gave the most splendid hopes. Three princes of distinguished merit, who would have excited the admiration of any age, were the leaders of this expedition. Frederic I., surnamed Barbarossa, one of the most distinguished emperors that ever governed Germany, advanced by land, at the head of 150,000 men: Philip Augustus, king of France, also conducted thither a large and well-appointed army: while Richard *Cœur-de-Lion*, king of England, the hero of this crusade, set out with his nobles and the flower of his troops. Isaac Angelus, the emperor of Constantinople, looking upon the crusaders as intruders, had formed an

alliance with Saladin and the sultan of Iconium; but Frederic triumphed over the obstacles which were opposed to him; and though he found hostile armies everywhere on his march, he obtained many signal victories. In this manner he was proceeding towards Palestine, when he was drowned in a small river of Pisidia.

Philip of France, and Richard the 'lion-hearted' king of England, though ambitious rivals, were apparently united in their design of carrying on the holy war; and, in order to avoid the Greeks, they prudently preferred going by sea. Philip, who arrived first, distinguished himself in several engagements with the Saracens, took many places, and having made himself master of the open country, laid siege to Acre. In the meantime, Richard was advancing to second the efforts of the French monarch; and on his arrival they found that their united forces amounted to about 300,000 men. There was, however, no real union among the leaders. Philip, jealous of the heroic character of his rival, and tired of the fruitless expedition, embarked with the greatest part of his army to France, having first sworn not to attack the possessions of Richard until the return of both to their dominions. Cœur-de-Lion now became sole master of the operations; resumed the siege of Acre, which at length capitulated; defeated the sultan in several desperate encounters, and, by prodigies of valour and military skill, forced victory from the standards of the brave Saladin, who till then had been deemed invincible. While Richard was pursuing his successes, and on the eve of reaping all the fruits of his toil, he learned that Philip, on his return to France, had incited his (Richard's) brother to take up arms against him, and was attacking the English provinces in that kingdom. Thus forced to sacrifice his expectations in the East to the interest and defence of his native dominions, he renounced, with rage and vexation, the laurels he had won, and his hopes of future conquest. He then agreed to a truce with Saladin, by which the Christians were to be securely protected in Palestine; but though Acre was in their possession, and served as a bulwark for them until the entire termination of the crusades, the design of this expedition was frustrated by leaving the sultan master of Jerusalem. Saladin died in 1193.*

CHAPTER X.

From the Death of Saladin, to the End of the Crusades.

DURING the third crusade a revolution happened at Constantinople, which divided the eastern empire for fifty-eight years. Alexius Angelus, surnamed the Tyrant, having dethroned Isaac II., usurped his seat in 1195; and Alexius, son of Isaac, applied to the French and Venetians, who passed that way to the holy wars, to assist him in the recovery of his father's empire. They accordingly, in 1203, renouncing their designs against the Holy Land, laid siege to Constantinople, took it by storm, and replaced Isaac on the throne; the next year, Alexius Ducas, surnamed Murtzulphus or Murzufle, assassinated the emperor, whom the crusaders had re-established, and seized the crown. On hearing this, the French returned, attacked the city, deposed Murtzulphus, and elected Baldwin, count of Flanders, in his room: he had four successors, the last of whom, Baldwin II., was deposed in 1262, by Michael Paleologus.

This was the period in which the sovereign pontiffs carried their attempts against crowned heads to the greatest excess; and we shall consequently find that a general history of the European states becomes more and more connected with the court of Rome. But before we enter into the condition of Christian Europe, it will be better that we resume the thread of history by which the crusades are continued, and then return.

It appears that notwithstanding the blood which had been fruitlessly shed in the 'holy' cause, the zeal of the popes was not lessened. But Innocent III., who foresaw much greater advantages to the tiara in the taking of Constantinople than in the deliverance of Jerusalem, readily pardoned the leaders of the crusade for having broken through their engagements, and was resolved to reap all the advantages he could from an event so unexpected. Up to a recent period the armies of the cross had no other view but to attack the infidels. That confederacy was now about to be directed against their fellow-christians. In the south of France and elsewhere, the ostentatious pomp and ambition of the clergy had given great offence to many of the laity; who publicly complained that in the members of the sacred profession they could not discover the ministers of a religion founded on humility and peace, and had formed a resolution not to consider them as their pastors. Under the name of Patarins, Cathares, and Vaudois, they had spread themselves in the southern provinces, and particularly in Languedoc, contiguous to Alby, which they seemed to have made their head-quarters. Innocent, who was too sagacious not to see the future ill consequences to the papal power if the daring principles of these sectaries were permitted to extend, resolved on their extermination. By the assistance of the clergy, who were equally interested in their destruction, he preached up a crusade, and formed a powerful army, the command of which he entrusted to Simon de Montfort. At the same time he erected a bloody tribunal, by which unhappy victims were dragged to the stake, on the testimony of the vilest informer. It was in every respect as iniquitous as the Inquisition, of which it was in fact the origin. Two religious orders, lately established under the auspices of Innocent, and entirely devoted to his interest, were commissioned to preside at these executions. Thousands of the

* For an admirable examination of the causes of the crusades, as well as of their effects on the subsequent history of Europe, see Milman's Latin Christianity, book viii. ch. vi.

inhabitants of Alby (whom we know by the name of Albigenses), persecuted by the soldiers of the cross, and the members of the Inquisition, perished by the swords of the former, or expired in the flames kindled by the latter.

After this inhuman persecution, carried on under the banners of the God of mercy, Innocent resumed his project of conquering the Holy Land: but he could not persuade the emperor to join in the design, because his throne was too much disturbed; nor the kings of France and England, as they were too deeply engaged in their mutual quarrels. Andrew, king of Hungary, and John de Brienne, titular sovereign of Jerusalem, commanded this crusade, and cardinal Julien, legate of the pope, accompanied them. As the Christian leaders perceived that Egypt was the support of the Turks of Palestine, they formed a new plan of attack, and directed their first operations against that kingdom. In this they were successful. The enemy, after having sustained several severe defeats, abandoned the flat country to the Christians, and took refuge in the mountains. The generals, sensible of the great danger of marching in a country to which they were strangers, thought it necessary to secure the heights, and reconnoitre the places through which they were to pass, before they proceeded any farther. The cardinal, consulting only the dictates of impetuous ardour, treated their prudence as timidity, and declared for pursuing the barbarians immediately. Finding the two kings opposed his opinion, he assumed the style of a superior, showed them the pope's order, and being supported by the Knights of St. John and the Templars, obliged them to pay a blind obedience to his will. The army thus governed by this ecclesiastic, daily committed new blunders, and at length was hemmed in between two branches of the Nile. The Saracens then opened their sluices, and were preparing to drown the Christians, who thought themselves happy to preserve their lives, by supplicating the mercy of the enemy, and being allowed to return to Europe, though covered with disgrace.

The crusades seemed now to be at an end; for the dire misfortunes which attended these distant expeditions had quite extinguished the zeal of Christian warriors; and the ferment which pervaded all Europe would not allow sovereigns, however martial or ambitious, to leave their respective countries. But there was yet another struggle to be made for the possession of the Holy Land, the relation of which, although it carries us too forward in our attempt at chronological order in this outline of general history, must be given here. Louis IX. of France, better known by the name of St. Louis, having recovered from a dangerous illness, made a vow to take the cross; and, with all the zeal of one who was desirous to signalise himself in the places that had been sprinkled with the blood of his Redeemer, he invited his people to follow his example, and effect the deliverance of Palestine from the power of the infidels. His consort, Margaret of Provence, marched at his side, in order to share his dangers; his brothers and the principal nobility of the kingdom, accompanied him. Nor was the French monarch left to contend with the enemy single-handed. Prince Edward, the valiant son of the king of England, followed with a large train of English noblemen. Having arrived on the coast of Egypt, the army made good their landing, and marched for Damietta, A.D. 1246. Margaret led the troops in person, and the city was carried by storm. The intrepid conduct of the leaders, and the success which had hitherto crowned their arms, seemed to show that the decisive moment was now at hand when the subjection of Egypt was to secure the conquest of Judea. But a sudden and dreadful pestilence which raged in the Christian camp, a dearth of provisions, and the imprudent ardour of the count of Artois, who was surrounded by the enemy, and perished with the flower of the nobility, gave a most unhappy turn to its prosperous commencement. Louis was attacked near Massoura, and, notwithstanding his heroic behaviour, his army sustained a signal discomfiture, and he himself was made prisoner: A.D. 1250. Such was the fate of the last crusade for the recovery of Palestine.

CHAPTER XI.

From the Time of Genghis Khan, to that of Tamerlane.

WHILE the crusaders were fighting in the western parts of Asia, the nations of the more easterly parts were threatened with extermination by Genghis Khan, the greatest as well as the most sanguinary conqueror that ever existed. The rapidity of his conquests seemed to emulate those of Alexander; but the cruelties he committed were altogether unparalleled. The Moguls, or Monguls, over whom this tyrant assumed the sovereignty, were a people of Eastern Tartary, divided, as at the present day, into various petty governments, but acknowledging a subjection to one sovereign, whom they called Vang-Khan, or the Great Khan. Temujin, afterwards Genghis Khan, one of the minor princes, had been unjustly deprived of his inheritance at the age of thirteen, and could not recover it till twenty-seven years after, A.D. 1201, when he totally reduced the rebels, and caused seventy of their chiefs to be thrown into as many cauldrons of boiling water. In 1202 he defeated and killed Vang-Khan himself (known to Europeans by the name of Prester John of Asia); and possessing himself of his vast dominions, became thenceforward irresistible. In 1206 he was declared king of the Moguls and Tartars, and took upon him the title of Genghis Khan, or the great Khan of Khans. This was followed by the reduction of the kingdoms of Hya in China, Tangut, Kitay, Turkestan, Karazim, or the kingdom of Gazna, Great Bukharia, Persia, and part of India; all of which vast regions he conquered in twenty-six years. It is computed that upwards of fourteen millions of human beings were butchered by him during the last twenty-two years of his reign, and that his conquests extended

eighteen hundred leagues from east to west, and a thousand from south to north. He died in 1227. One of his sons subdued India; another, after crossing the Wolga, devastated Russia, Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia; while a third advanced into Syria, and conquered all the maritime provinces of the Turkish empire. The caliphate of Bagdad, and the power of the Turks in that quarter, were finally destroyed by this sudden revolution. In the meantime the Mamelukes, a body of militia formed by the sultan of Cairo, expelled the Turkish conquerors, and seized the throne of Egypt.

The vast empire of Genghis Khan, however, had the fate of all others: being too extensive to be governed by any one of ordinary capacity, it split into a multitude of small kingdoms as before: but they all owned allegiance to the house of Genghis Khan till the time of Timur Bek, or Tamerlane. The Turks at this time, urged forward by the inundation of Tartars who poured in from the East, were forced upon the remains of the Greek empire; and at the time of Tamerlane they had almost confined this once mighty empire within the walls of Constantinople.

We must now again cast our eyes upon the transactions of Europe. After the death of Frederic II. the empire of Germany fell a prey to anarchy. An interregnum took place on the death of the emperor Richard, in 1271, which continued two years, and completed the destruction of the imperial domain. The tributary nations, Denmark, Poland, and Hungary, absolutely shook off the yoke; each of them taking possession of what lay the most convenient for them; freeing themselves from quit-rents and every obligation by which they thought themselves under restraint; and leaving nothing to the emperors but their paternal inheritance. Formerly taxes were paid to the emperor by the imperial cities; from which they endeavoured to free themselves, by taking advantage of the anarchy that prevailed at this time, and assumed the title of *free cities*, to distinguish them from a great number of imperial cities which they admitted into their body; and thus the Hanseatic league was formed. At length they grew tired of anarchy; and Gregory X. having threatened to name an emperor if they did not, they elected Rodolph, count of Hapsburg, the descendant of an old count of Alsace; from which election, humble as it was, the lustre of the House of Austria is derived. The new emperor was seated on a throne with nothing but an empty title to support the dignity; he had neither troops nor money; he was in subjection to the clergy; surrounded by vassals more powerful than himself, and in the midst of an enthusiastic people who were ripe for sedition and anarchy. His first care therefore was to conciliate the affections of the people, and by that means he happily appeased the spirit of faction. He also studied how to increase his dominions, so as to make them respectable; with this view, he artfully blended the idea of glory and the rights of the empire with his own interest; and having united the forces of the Germanic body against Ottocar, king of Bohemia, that prince was compelled to yield Austria to the conqueror, who also obtained Suabia: so that he was enabled to leave his son Albert in possession of a rich and powerful state.

From the time of Rodolph of Hapsburg the amazing power of the popes began to decline. The form of government remained the same in Germany; but it was materially altered in England and France, where the middling classes of society had obtained a voice in the assemblies of each nation. The manners of the lower classes of society were still rude and barbarous in the extreme; but those of the nobility exhibited a singular mixture of devotion, gallantry, and valour, in which originated the several orders of knighthood, such as the order of the garter in England, of the golden fleece in Spain, of St. Michael in France, of Christ in Portugal, &c. To this strange combination of religion with war and with love, may be traced the origin of judicial combats, jousts, and tournaments, and that spirit of chivalry which pervaded all the upper classes of society. Painting, sculpture, and architecture arose in Italy through the exertions of the fugitive Greeks. The arts of printing and engraving were also enlightening the world: and the science of navigation, and consequently geography, were much advanced by the discovery of the mariner's compass.

CHAPTER XII.

From the Time of Tamerlane, to the Sixteenth Century.

We now revert to the East. In 1362 Tamerlane invaded Bukharia, which he reduced in five years. Proceeding from conquest to conquest, he successively subdued Persia, Armenia, Georgia, Karazim, and great part of Tartary. He then turned his course westward, and having subjugated all the countries to the Euphrates, next poured his hordes over the fertile plains of India, plundering Delhi, and pursuing the flying Indians to the banks of the Ganges. The cities of Asia Minor then felt his power; and among his cruelties may be numbered a general massacre of the inhabitants of Bagdad. In 1393 he invaded and reduced Syria. In 1402 he brought an army of 700,000 men against the Turks, under the sultan Bajazet, who with a force of 120,000 engaged him; but it ended in the total rout of the Turkish host, and the captivity of its leader. At length, while on his way to China, in 1405, the conquest of which empire he meditated, his progress was arrested by a sudden death; and most of the nations he had vanquished were able ere long to regain their independence, or had to submit to new masters.

The civil contentions that arose among the sons of Bajazet revived the hopes of the Greek emperor Manuel Palæologus; but they were speedily annihilated. Amurath II. after overcoming his competitors, took Thessalonica, and threatened Constantinople, which owed its salvation to the Hungarians under John Hunniades. Amu

ruth having obtained a truce, immediately resigned the crown to his son Mahomet II., but an unexpected attack from Uladislaus, king of Hungary, induced him again to take the field. After the battle of Varna, in which the Christians were completely defeated, he finally abandoned the throne, A.D. 1444. In Mahomet II. were combined the scholar, the warrior, and the politician; and he proved the most determined as well as formidable enemy of Christendom. He, however, met with some signal reverses, particularly when engaged against the celebrated Scanderbeg, prince of Albania. After making immense preparations, Mahomet, in the full confidence of success, undertook the siege of Constantinople. The defence was obstinate; but having obtained possession of the harbour, by having, with the most indefatigable perseverance, drawn his fleet overland the distance of two leagues, the city surrendered; and thus an end was put to the eastern empire.

Russia had long languished under the heavy yoke of the Tartars, when Demetrius Iwanowitz made a desperate effort to effect the deliverance of his country: and having defeated his oppressors, he assumed the title of grand duke of Russia. But the ferocious Tartars returned with an immense force, his troops were routed, and their gallant leader fell in the conflict. His death was, however, shortly after revenged by his son, Basilius Demetriwitz, who expelled the ferocious enemy, and conquered Bulgaria, A.D. 1450. Much confusion arose after his death; but Russia was saved from anarchy by John Basilowitz, whose sound policy, firmness, and singular boldness rendered him at once the conqueror and the deliverer of his country. Freed from every yoke, and considered as one of the most powerful princes in those regions, he disdained the title of duke, and assumed that of czar, which has since remained with his successors.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Reformation, and Progress of Events During the Sixteenth Century.

AT the beginning of the sixteenth century the popes enjoyed the utmost tranquillity; the commotions excited by the Albigenses, Hussites, &c. were suppressed; and, according to all appearance, they had no reason to fear an opposition to their authority. Yet, in a short time after, a totally unforeseen event produced a singular change in the religious and political state of Europe: this was the opposition of Luther to the doctrines of the church of Rome, or the beginning of what is commonly called *the Reformation*. The publicity with which the sale of indulgences was carried on under the sanction of Leo X., excited the indignation of Martin Luther, an Augustine monk and professor of theology at Wittemberg, in Saxony. Emboldened by the attention which he had gained, not only from the people but from some of their rulers, he pushed his inquiries and attacks from one doctrine to another, till he at length shook the firmest foundations on which the wealth and power of the church were established. Leo, therefore, finding there was no hope of reclaiming so incorrigible a heretic, issued a sentence of excommunication, A.D. 1520: but he was screened from its effects by the friendship of the elector of Saxony. On the election of Charles V. to the imperial throne of Germany, his first act was the assembling a diet at Worms, to check the progress of Lutheranism. In the progress of his arduous work, Luther had the assistance of several learned men, among whom were Zuinglius, Melancthon, Carolstadius, &c.: and there was the greatest probability that the papal hierarchy would have been overturned, at least in the north of Europe, had it not been for the opposition of the emperor Charles V., who was also king of Spain. On the death of Frederic, his brother John succeeded to the electorate of Saxony, by whose order Luther and Melancthon drew up a body of laws relating to the form of ecclesiastical government, the mode of public worship, &c., which was proclaimed by heralds throughout the Saxon dominions: this example was immediately followed by all the princes and states of Germany who had renounced the papal supremacy. In a diet held at Spires, in 1529, the edict of Worms was confirmed; upon which a solemn *protest* was entered against this decree by the elector of Saxony and other reformers; from which circumstance they obtained the name of PROTESTANTS,—an appellation subsequently applied to all who dissented from the doctrines of the Romish church. In the same year the elector of Saxony ordered Luther and other eminent divines to commit the chief articles of their religion to writing, which they did; and, farther to elucidate them, Melancthon drew up the celebrated 'Confessions of Augsburg,' which, being subscribed by the princes who protested, was delivered to the emperor in the diet assembled in that city, in 1530. From this time to the death of Luther, in 1546, various negotiations were employed and schemes proposed, under pretence of settling religious disputes.

Whilst these transactions occupied the public attention in Germany, the principles of the reformers were making a rapid progress in most other countries of Europe: in some they were encouraged by the governing powers, while in others they were discountenanced, and their advocates subjected to cruel persecutions.

The Turks were now menacing Hungary, and Charles V. thought it prudent to forget his differences with the protestant princes and their subjects, for the sake of engaging them to assist him against the general enemy; but on the approach of the emperor at the head of 100,000 men, although the army of Solyman was at least double that number, the latter retired; and Charles returned to Spain, and engaged in an expedition to Tunis, against the famous corsair Barbarossa, whom he deposed from his assumed sovereignty.

A long and obstinate war had been carried on between the rival sovereigns of Ger-

many and France; and the former, at the head of 50,000 men, invaded the southern provinces, while two other armies were ordered to enter Picardy and Champagne. Francis laid waste the country, and fortified his towns; so that after the lapse of a few months, disease and famine so reduced the army of the emperor, that he was glad to retreat, and a truce was effected at Nice under the mediation of the pope, A.D. 1538. Charles had also to quell a serious insurrection in Ghent, and endeavoured in vain to arrange the religious affairs of Germany at the diet of Ratisbon. The progress of the Turks, who had become masters of nearly the whole of Hungary, and his desire to embark in an expedition against Algiers, induced him to make concessions to the protestants, from whom he expected assistance. The conquest of Algiers was a favourite object of Charles; and in spite of the remonstrances of Doria, the famous Genoese admiral, he set sail in the most unfavourable season of the year, and landed in Africa: the result of which was, that the greatest part of the armament was destroyed by tempests, A.D. 1541.

The desire of Charles V. to humble the protestant princes, and to extend his own power, continued to manifest itself in every act. At length, being wholly free from domestic wars, he entered France; but the gallant defence of the duke of Guise compelled him to raise the siege of Metz, with the loss of 30,000 men. In the following year he had some success in the Low Countries; but the Austrians were unfortunate in Hungary. In Germany a religious peace was finally concluded by what is called the 'recess of Augsburg.' It was during the progress of this treaty that Charles V., to the great astonishment of all Europe, resigned the imperial and Spanish crowns, and retired to spend the remainder of his life at the monastery of Yuste, in Spain, where he died three years after, aged 58, A.D. 1566.

Charles was succeeded by his son Philip, and no monarch ever ascended a throne under greater advantages. The Spanish arms were everywhere successful, and the rival nations appearing unanimous in their desire for repose after a series of devastating wars, peace was reestablished between France and Spain, which included in it, as allies on the one side or the other, nearly all the other states of Europe.

At this time Elizabeth filled the throne of England, and Protestantism had there not merely gained the ascendancy, but it was established as the religion of the state. In France also the reformed religion was making considerable progress; but its members, who in that country were called Huguenots, met with the fiercest opposition, from the courts of France and Spain, who joined in a 'holy league,' and a rancorous civil war raged for several years in many of the French provinces. The duke of Anjou commanded the catholics; the protestants were led by Coligni and the prince of Condé. At length a hollow truce was made the prelude to one of the most atrocious acts that stain the page of history—the savage and indiscriminate massacre of the Huguenots throughout France, on the eve of St. Bartholomew (Aug. 24, 1572). The account of this diabolical deed by which 60,000 persons met with a treacherous death, was received in Rome and Spain with ecstacy; and public thanksgivings were offered up in their churches for an event which, it was erroneously supposed, would go far towards the extirpation of a most extensive and formidable heresy.

About this period a serious insurrection of the Moors in Spain broke out, and a most sanguinary war ensued, which raged with great violence in the southern provinces; but the insurgents were at length quelled, and public tranquillity restored. It was not long, however, before the revolt of the Dutch took place, which ended in their final emancipation from the Spanish yoke, in 1572.

But of all the preparations that were made for war and conquest, none equalled that of Philip's 'invincible armada,' which he fondly hoped would conquer England, and thus destroy the great stay of protestantism. But this immense armament, consisting of one hundred and thirty ships, and nearly 30,000 men, after being partly dispersed, and losing several vessels during a violent storm, was most signally defeated by the English; and Philip had the mortification to hear that his naval force was nearly annihilated. The particulars of this event, so glorious to England and so disastrous to Spain, will be found in another part of this work; and we shall here merely observe, that it greatly tended to advance the protestant cause throughout Europe, and effectually destroyed the decisive influence that Spain had acquired over her neighbours: indeed, from the fatal day which saw the proud armada shipwrecked, (1588), the energies of that once powerful country gradually declined, and its inhabitants sank into a state of lethargic indolence.

It is worthy of remark that, in all the states of Europe, towards the latter end of this century, a decided tendency towards the concentration of power in the hands of few individuals was fully perceptible. The republics became more aristocratical, the monarchies were unlimited, and the despotic governments less cautious. The system pursued by the domineering court of Philip served more or less as an example to his contemporary sovereigns; while the recent and rapid increase in the quantity of the precious metals, and the progress of the industrial arts, by producing a multitude of new desires, rendered the court more avaricious and the nobles more dependent.

CHAPTER XIV.

From the Commencement of the Seventeenth Century, to the Peace of Westphalia.

THE seventeenth century, at its commencement, found Spain drained of its treasure, and destitute of eminent men

The colonisation of America, the war in the Low Countries, and the incessant enterprises of Philip II. had produced a pernicious effect on the population; and his successor, Philip III., banished two hundred thousand Moors, who constituted the most industrious portion of the remaining inhabitants.

Portugal was now under the power of Spain; and saw, as the consequence of her subjection, the greater part of the discoveries and conquests of her better days fall into the hands of strangers. The Dutch, who were forbidden, as rebels against the authority of Philip, to purchase in Lisbon the commodities of the East Indies, went to the latter country in search of them, where they found an administration which had been rendered feeble by the influence of the climate, by luxurious and effeminate habits, and by spiritual and temporal tyranny; and while Philip III., after a siege of three years, which cost him from eighty to a hundred thousand men, got possession of Ostend, the Dutch took the isles of Molucca from his Portuguese subjects. In fact, of all the foreign possessions of the Portuguese, Goa, in the East Indies, and Brazil, in America, alone remained; and had our countryman, Sir Walter Raleigh, been adequately supported, the Spanish power in America would probably have been overthrown. Italy endured their yoke with impatience, and even Rome wished to see them humbled. Venice both feared and hated them: and to the dukes of Mantua and Savoy, the overbearing power and the lofty tone of the cabinet of Madrid were insupportable.

The good and great Henry IV., king of France, whose excellent qualities were not thoroughly appreciated in his own age, was assassinated, and his kingdom again became the prey of factions: A.D. 1610. His widow, Marie de Medicis, sacrificed the welfare of the state to her personal inclinations: and her son, Louis XIII., who was a child at the time of his father's death, never became a man of independent character. It has been well remarked, that 'the power of a state depends not so much on the numerical amount of its forces, as on the intelligence which animates their movements;' and certain it is, that France, which in the latter part of the reign of Henry IV. seemed likely to produce a universal revolution in the condition of Europe, had lost much of its political importance.

Free nations are never more powerful than when they are obliged to depend exclusively upon their own resources for defence, and when the magnitude of the dangers which menace them compels the development of their moral energy. This was instanced in the case of Holland. In the midst of its contest for freedom, the republic erected a mighty empire in the East; and its navy rode triumphant on the seas. Its recognition as an independent state was soon after the necessary consequence.

The death of Henry IV. of France was not merely a disastrous event as regarded the prosperity of that kingdom, but one which had a powerful influence on the hopes or fears of the other principal monarchies of Europe; and by none more than by the House of Austria. Rodolph II. was succeeded in the empire by his brother, the archduke Mathias, a man of great activity and an insatiable thirst for dominion. Though originally favourable to the protestants, he now evinced a disposition to oppose them; and being supported by Ferdinand, duke of Styria, and the court of Spain, the protestants took the alarm, and had recourse to arms; which may be considered as the origin of the celebrated 'thirty years' war.'

On the death of Mathias, Ferdinand, who had succeeded him as king of Bohemia and Hungary, was raised to the imperial throne. The Bohemian protestants, dreading his bigotry, chose Frederic V., the elector palatine, for their sovereign. He was supported by all the protestant princes of the Germanic body, while Ferdinand was aided by the king of Spain and the catholic princes of the empire. Their forces proved overwhelming; Frederic, defeated and helpless, abandoned the contest in despair, and forfeited both the crown and his electorate. The emperor Ferdinand, strengthened by victory, and by the acquisition of treasure, now turned the arms of his experienced generals, Wallenstein, Tilly, and Spinola, against the protestants, who had formed a league, with Christian IV., king of Denmark, at its head, for the restoration of the palatinate (A.D. 1625); but the imperialists were victorious, and the protestants were compelled to sue for peace. They subsequently formed a secret alliance with Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden: A.D. 1629.

The father of Gustavus had left him a well-confirmed authority, though without treasure; the nobles who might have endangered his power had been humbled in the preceding revolutions, and there was nothing to fear from Russia, Poland, or Denmark. He was zealously anxious for the success of the protestant cause; he wished also to check the ambitious designs of the emperor; and Germany appeared, in fact, to be the country in which he might seek for power with the greatest prospect of success. His talents, both military and civil, were of the highest order. Together with the lofty character of his genius, which manifested itself in the greatness of his plans, he combined the power of attention to minute details in the organisation of his army, and a calm and penetrating insight into circumstances of the greatest intricacy. His habits were of the most simple kind: and though the boldness of his enterprises astonished the world, he was personally mild, beneficent, susceptible of the warmest friendship, eloquent, popular, and full of reliance on Providence. Richelieu, the minister of France, desirous of curbing the power of the House of Austria, subsidised Gustavus; and England furnished him with 6,000 troops, headed by the marquis of Hamilton. The magnanimous king of Sweden, by his sudden and unexpected appearance in the empire, by his irresis-

sible progress, and finally, by the victory of Leipsic, where he was opposed to the imperialist army under Tilly, revived the confidence of the protestant princes in their own power. He quickly made himself master of the whole country from the Elbe to the Rhine; but having been repulsed with considerable loss, in a furious attack on the intrenchments of the imperialists at Nuremberg, and hearing that their general, Wallenstein, had soon after removed his camp to Lutzen, he proceeded thither to give him battle. The imperial army greatly outnumbered the Swedes and their allies; and from daybreak till night the conflict was sustained with unbated vigour: but though the victory was nobly gained by the Swedes, their gallant king had fallen in the middle of the fight, covered with renown, and sincerely deplored by his brave and faithful soldiers: A.D. 1642. Both the king of Sweden and the court of France had been alarmed at the union of the whole power of Germany, in the hands of a ruler who assumed the tone of a universal sovereign; and the efficacy of a good military system, directed by the energetic genius of a single leader, was never more eminently displayed than on this occasion.

The war was still continued with various success; but the weight of it fell on the Swedes, the German princes having, after the fatal battle of Nordlingen, in 1634, deserted them. In the following year, however, the troops of France simultaneously attacked the Austrian monarchy at every accessible point, in order to prevent the forces of the latter from acting with decisive effect in any quarter. In 1637 the emperor Ferdinand died, and was succeeded by his son Ferdinand III., who pursued the policy of his father; but though there was considerable disunion among the confederates, the great events of the war were generally in their favour. It would be inconsistent, however, with the sketchy outline we are penning, to enter into further details of this memorable war; and, perhaps, limited as our space is, we may have been already too diffuse. We will, therefore, pass at once to the celebrated *Peace of Westphalia*, which was signed at Munster on the 24th Oct. 1648. It was concluded under the mediation of the pope and the Venetians, between the emperor Ferdinand III., Philip III., king of Spain, and the princes of the empire who belonged to their party, on one side; and Louis XIV., Christina, queen of Sweden, the states-general of the United Provinces, and those princes of the empire, mostly protestants, who were in alliance with the French and Swedes, on the other. By this celebrated treaty all differences were arranged between the belligerents, except France and Spain, who continued in hostilities for eleven years afterwards; but it restored tranquillity to northern Europe and Germany, and became a fundamental law of the empire; while Holland and Switzerland acquired a simultaneous recognition and guarantee.

CHAPTER XV.

From the Civil War in England, to the Peace of Ryswick.

AT this period England was convulsed by civil war. During the prosperous age of Elizabeth the Commons had greatly increased in opulence; and, without regard to the resources of her successors, she had alienated many of the crown estates: James was prodigal towards his favourites; and Charles fell into difficulties in consequence of the disordered state of his financial affairs. He was magnanimous, amiable, and learned; but deficient in steadfast exertion, and in the dignity and vigour necessary to the situation in which he stood. His ideas of the royal prerogative were extravagant; but he often showed a timidity and irresolution on the appearance of opposition from his Parliament, which emboldened them to carry their opposition to the most unwarrantable lengths. In order to raise supplies without the authority of parliament, the king exacted the customs and levied an arbitrary tax on ships; many feudal privileges and ancient abuses were exercised with increased severity; contributions and loans, called voluntary, were exacted by force; the forms of law were disregarded by the court of star-chamber; Englishmen were subjected to long imprisonments and exorbitant fines; and their rights treated with contempt. From the discussions to which these grievances gave rise, arose others relating to the nature and origin of political constitutions. The violence of parties daily increased; but as the king conceded, the parliament grew more arrogant in their demands, and the hour was rapidly approaching when it was evident anarchy would trample upon the ruins of monarchy. At length a fierce civil war arose; religion was made a political stalking-horse, and gross hypocrisy overspread the land. Enthusiasts, equally inaccessible to reason or revelation, to a sense of propriety or any moral restraint, exercised the most irresistible influence on the course of events. The high church sunk into misery; the ancient nobility were basely degraded; the whole constitution fell into ruins; a 'solemn mockery,' miscalled the king's trial, took place;—and Charles finally perished by the axe of the executioner, A.D. 1649. His death was soon followed by the usurpation of Cromwell, soon after whose death the nation, weary of tyranny and hypocrisy, restored the son of their murdered sovereign to the throne: A.D. 1660.

From the peace of Westphalia until the death of Ferdinand III., in 1657, Germany remained undisturbed; when considerable ferment prevailed in the diet, respecting the election of his successor. The choice of the electors, however, having fallen on his son Leopold, he immediately contracted an alliance with Poland and Denmark, against Sweden, and a numerous army of Austrians entered Pomerania; but failing in their object, peace was quickly restored. He next turned his arms against the Turks, who had invaded Transylvania, and gave them a signal overthrow. In this situation

of affairs the youthful and ambitious Louis XIV., king of France, disturbed the peace of the empire by an attack upon the Netherlands, which he claimed in right of his queen, sister of Philip IV., the late king of Spain. In a secret treaty, Louis and Leopold had divided the Spanish monarchy; to the former was given the Netherlands, and to the latter Spain, after the demise of Charles II., the reigning monarch. Having prepared ample means, the king and Turenne entered Flanders, and immediately reduced Charleroi, Tournay, Douay, and Lille. Such rapid success alarmed the other European powers, who feared that another campaign would make him master of the Low Countries; and a triple alliance was formed between England, Holland, and Sweden, with a view of setting bounds to his ambition, and of compelling Spain to accede to certain prescribed conditions. A treaty was, accordingly, negotiated at Aix-la-Chapelle, by which Louis was allowed to retain the towns he had taken; and these he secured by entrusting their fortifications to the celebrated Vauban, and by garrisoning them with his best troops: A.D. 1668.

Louis now saw that his designs on the Netherlands could not be carried into effect without the co-operation of England; but believing that the profligate court of Charles II. was open to corruption, he easily succeeded, through the medium of Charles' sister Henrietta, the duchess of Orleans, in prevailing on the prodigal king of England to conclude a secret treaty with him, in which it was agreed that Charles should receive a large pension from Louis, and aid him in subduing the United Provinces. The cabinet of Versailles having also succeeded in detaching Sweden from the triple alliance, both monarchs, under the most frivolous pretences, declared war against the States, A.D. 1672. Without the shadow of a pretext, Louis seized the duchy of Lorraine; and Charles made a base and unsuccessful attempt to capture the Dutch Smyrna fleet, even while the treaty between the two countries existed. The power that was thus confederated against Holland, it was impossible to withstand. The combined fleets of France and England amounted to more than 120 sail; the French army on the frontiers consisted of 120,000 men. The latter, in the first instance, bore down all opposition; but on the command of the Dutch army being given to the young prince of Orange, William III., the spirits and energy of the nation revived; and both the government and the people were united in their determination, rather than submit to disgraceful terms, to abandon their country, and emigrate in a body to their colonies in the East Indies. Meanwhile, their fleets under Van Tromp and De Ruyter engaged the combined French and English fleets under prince Rupert, in three hard-fought but indecisive actions; the emperor and the elector of Brandenburg joined the Dutch cause; and Charles II., distressed for want of money, and alarmed by the discontent of his own subjects, first concluded a separate peace with Holland, and then offered his mediation towards bringing about a reconciliation of the other contending parties.

Louis at the head of one of his armies conquered Franche-Compté in the next campaign; while Turenne was successful on the side of Germany; but disgraced his trophies by the devastation and ruin of the Palatinate. In 1675, he was killed by a cannon-ball; and the French army was forced to recross the Rhine. They were successful, however, in the ensuing campaign; and their fleet defeated De Ruyter, after a series of obstinate engagements off Sicily, in one of which he was slain. In 1677, another campaign was opened, which proved still more favourable to the French. Valenciennes, Cambray, and St. Omer were taken; marshal De Luxemburg defeated the prince of Orange, and several important advantages were gained by the French. At length the Dutch became anxious for peace, and signed the treaty of Nimeguen, in 1678.

Louis employed this interval of peace in strengthening his frontiers, and in making preparations for fresh conquests. He then treacherously made himself master of Strasburg, and some other places in Flanders. By these aggressions the flames of war were nearly rekindled; but the treaty of Ratisbon prevented the continuance of hostilities, and left the French in possession of Luxemburg, Strasburg, and the fort of Khel.

At this time (1683) the imperial arms were occupied in opposing the Turks, who invaded Hungary, and marched towards Vienna, which city was on the point of being carried by assault, when the celebrated John Sobieski, king of Poland, came to its relief at the head of a numerous army. This revived the confidence of the besieged, and their assailants were repulsed; while the main body, which had been led by the grand vizier to meet the Poles, were thrown into confusion at the first charge of the Polish cavalry, and fled in the utmost confusion; leaving in possession of the victors their artillery, baggage, treasures, and even the consecrated banner of the prophet. During the siege of Vienna, Louis had suspended his operations, declaring that he would not attack a Christian power while Europe was menaced by infidels. He was now at the height of his power; and no sooner had the valour of Sobieski overwhelmed the Ottoman force, than he recommenced his war of aggrandisement. He had just before humbled the pirate states of Africa, trampled on the independence of Genoa, concluded an advantageous peace with Spain, and rendered himself obnoxious to the papal court by insulting the dignity of the pope. But while his ambition was alarming the fears and rousing the indignation of Europe, he committed an error which, in a political point of view, the most intolerant bigotry could scarcely be blind enough to excuse. Henry IV. had wisely granted religious freedom to the French protestants, and the edict of Nantes which secured it to them was designed to

be perpetual. But after vainly endeavouring to control their consciences or reward their apostacy, Louis formally revoked the edict of Nantes, and treated his protestant subjects with all the injustice and cruelty that blind fanaticism could dictate, or brutality execute. By this insensate act he deprived his country of half a million of inhabitants, who transferred to other lands their wealth, their industry, and their commercial intelligence.

The Turkish war having been terminated, a league was formed at Augsburg, between the princes of Germany, to resist the further encroachments of the French king. To this league Spain, Holland, Sweden, and Denmark acceded; and Louis having undertaken to restore James II., who had lately been dethroned by William, prince of Orange, England joined the alliance.

We must here briefly allude to the revolution which had placed the prince of Orange on the throne of England. James II., brother of the facetious but unprincipled Charles II., was a zealous proselyte of the Roman Catholic faith. One part of the nation was enthusiastically attached to freedom, and another was chiefly inspired by hatred of the papal ceremonies; but all agreed that the king had no just or constitutional power to dictate to the nation in matters of religion. James had offended many of the nobles; and they, instead of succumbing to the man they despised, addressed themselves to the stadtholder, who was his nephew and successor, and the presumptive heir to the throne. At this juncture the queen of England bore a son; an event which produced different effects on the hopes of the catholics and protestants. The stadtholder, immoveable in all contingencies, was confirmed in his resolution of rescuing England from the tyranny by which it was now oppressed: but he kept his own secret, and preserved his usual character of tranquillity, reserve, and impenetrability. Many of the English nobility repaired to the Hague, where William lamented their situation; and, with great secresy, fitted out an armament that was to effect the deliverance of the English nation from popery and despotism. Though the king of France had sent James information of the proceedings of the prince of Orange, the infatuated king could not be persuaded of his danger until the expedition was on the point of sailing. At length the stadtholder landed in Torbay; and the unfortunate monarch, finding the situation of his affairs desperate, hastily quitted the English shores, and sought an asylum in France. A convention was then summoned, the throne declared vacant, and the prince and princess of Orange, as 'king William III. and queen Mary,' were proclaimed king and queen of England. This was followed by the passing of the 'Bill of Rights' and the 'Act of Settlement,' by which the future liberties of the people were secured.

At the head of the league of Augsburg was the emperor Leopold; but Louis, not daunted by the number of the confederates, assembled two large armies in Flanders; sent another to oppose the Spaniards in Catalonia; while a fourth was employed as a barrier on the German frontier, and ravaged the palatinate with fire and sword; driving the wretched victims of his barbarous policy from their burning houses by thousands, to perish with cold aud hunger on the frozen ground. In the next campaign his troops achieved several important victories, and the French fleet defeated the combined fleets of England and Holland off Beachy-head, A.D. 1690. Thus the war continued for the three following years, exhausting the resources of every party engaged in it, without any important change taking place, or any decisive advantage being gained by either that was likely to produce a cessation of hostilities. With all the military glory that France had acquired, her conquests were unproductive of any solid advantage; her finances were in a sinking state; her agriculture and commerce were languishing; and the country was threatened with the horrors of famine, arising from the failure of the crops and the scarcity of hands to cultivate the soil. All parties, indeed, were now grown weary of a war in which nothing permanent was effected, and in which the blood and treasure of the combatants continued to be profusely and uselessly expended. Accordingly, in 1697, negotiations were commenced, under the mediation of the youthful Charles XII., king of Sweden, and a treaty concluded at Ryswick, by which Louis made great concessions, restoring to Spain the principal places he had wrested from her; but the renunciation of the Spanish succession, which had been the main object of the war to enforce, was not even alluded to in the treaty

CHAPTER XVI.

Commencement of the Eighteenth Century, to the Peace of Utrecht.

THE declining health of Charles II. king of Spain, who had no children, engaged the attention of the European powers, and kept on the alert those princes who were claimants of the crown. The candidates were Louis XIV., the emperor Leopold, and the elector of Bavaria; and it was manifestly to the interest of those who wished to preserve the balance of power in Europe that the choice should fall on the latter; but he was unable to contend with his rivals. A secret treaty of partition was therefore signed by France, England, and Holland, by which it was agreed that Spain, America, and the Netherlands should be given to the electoral prince of Bavaria; Naples, Sicily, and the Italian states to the dauphin; and the duchy of Milan to the emperor's second son, the archduke Charles. This treaty coming to the knowledge of the king of Spain, he was naturally indignant that his possessions should thus be disposed of during his life; and he immediately made a will in favour of the electoral prince. This well suited the views of England and Holland; but the intention was scarcely made known, when the favoured prince died suddenly, not

without suspicion of having been poisoned. The prince's death revived the apprehensions of England and Holland, and they entered into a new treaty of partition. But the king of Spain bequeathed the whole of his dominions to the duke of Anjou, second son of the dauphin, who was universally acknowledged by the nation after the death of Charles, who died in 1701; and the young king was crowned under the title of Philip V.

The emperor Leopold being determined to support the claims of his son, war immediately commenced, and an army was sent into Italy, where he met with great success. Prince Eugene having expelled the French from the Milanese, a grand alliance was formed between Germany, England, and Holland. The avowed objects of this alliance were 'to procure satisfaction to his imperial majesty in the case of the Spanish succession; obtain security to the English and Dutch for their dominions and commerce; prevent the union of the monarchies of France and Spain; and hinder the French from possessing the Spanish dominions in America.'

James II., the exiled king of England, died at St. Germain's, in France, on September 7, 1701; and was succeeded in his nominal titles by his son, James III., better known by the appellation of *the Pretender*. With more magnanimity than prudence, Louis XIV. recognised his right to the throne his father had abdicated, which could not be considered in any other light than that of an insult to William and the English nation; and the parliament strained every nerve to avenge the indignity offered to the monarch of their choice: but before the actual commencement of hostilities, William met with his death, occasioned by a fall from his horse, A.D. 1702.

Anne, second daughter of James II. and wife of George, prince of Denmark, immediately ascended the vacant throne; and, declaring her resolution to adhere to the grand alliance, war was declared by the three powers against France, on the same day, at London, the Hague, and Vienna. Her reign proved a series of battles and of triumphs. Being resolved to pursue the plans of her predecessor, she entrusted the command of the army to the earl of Marlborough, who obtained considerable successes in Flanders; while the combined English and Dutch fleets captured the galleons, laden with the treasures of Spanish America, which were lying in Vigo bay, under the protection of a French fleet. Meanwhile the French had the advantage in Italy and Alsace; but in Flanders the genius of Marlborough (now raised to a dukedom) continued to be an overmatch for the generals opposed to him. Having secured his conquests in that country, he resolved to march into Germany, to the aid of the emperor, who had to contend with the Hungarian insurgents as well as the French and Bavarians. He accordingly crossed the Rhine, and meeting prince Eugene at Mondlesheim, a junction was agreed on and effected with the imperialists under the duke of Baden; and, thus united, they advanced to the Danube. The rival armies each amounted to about 60,000 men. The French and Bavarians were posted on a hill near the village of Blenheim, on the Danube; but though their position was well chosen, their line was weakened by detachments, which Marlborough perceiving, charged through, and a signal victory was the result. The French commander, Tallard, was made prisoner, and 30,000 of the French and Bavarian troops were killed, wounded, and taken; while the loss of the allies amounted to 5,000 killed, and 7,000 wounded: A.D. 1704. By this brilliant victory the emperor was liberated from all danger; the Hungarian insurgents were dispersed; and the discomfited army of France hastily sought shelter within their own frontiers. In Spain and Italy the advantage was on the side of the French; but the victory of Blenheim not only compensated for other failures, but it greatly raised the English character for military prowess, and animated the courage of the allies.

Among other great exploits of the war was the capture of Gibraltar by admiral Sir George Rooke and the prince of Hesse. This fortress, which had hitherto been deemed impregnable, has ever since continued in possession of the English, who have defeated every attempt made by the Spaniards towards its recovery.

In the following year (1705) the emperor Leopold died, and was succeeded by his son Joseph. In Italy the French obtained some considerable advantages; while in Spain nearly all Valencia and the province of Catalonia submitted to Charles III. The hopes and fears of the belligerents were thus kept alive by the various successes and defeats they experienced. Louis appeared to act with even more than his usual ardour: he sent an army into Germany, who drove the imperialists before them; while his Italian army besieged Turin, and marshal Villeroy was ordered to act on the offensive in Flanders. This general, with a superior force, gave battle to Marlborough at Ramillies, and was defeated, with a loss of 7,000 killed, 6,000 prisoners, and a vast quantity of artillery and ammunition. All Brabant, and nearly all Spanish Flanders, submitted to the conquerors. The allies, under Prince Eugene, were also successful in Italy; while, in Spain, Philip was forced for a time to abandon his capital to the united forces of the English and Portuguese. Louis was so disheartened by these reverses that he proposed peace on very advantageous terms; but the allies, instigated by the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene, rejected it, although the objects of the grand alliance might at that time have been gained without the further effusion of blood. Thus refused, Louis once more exerted all his energies. His troops having been compelled to evacuate Italy, he sent an additional force into Spain, where the duke of Berwick (a natural son of James II.) gained a brilliant and decisive victory at Almanza, over the confederates

who were commanded by the earl of Galway and the marquis de las Minas; whilst the duke of Orleans reduced Valencia, and the cities of Lerida and Saragossa. The victory of Almanza restored the cause of the Bourbons in Spain; and marshal Villars, at the head of the French army in Germany, laid the duchy of Wirtemberg under contribution.

The general results of the war hitherto had miserably disappointed the English; Marlborough felt that a more brilliant campaign was necessary to render him and his party popular. He therefore crossed the Scheldt, and came up with the French army, under Vendome, at Oudenarde. They were strongly posted; but the British cavalry broke through the enemy's lines at the first charge; and though the approach of night favoured the retreat of the French, they were put to a total rout, and 9,000 prisoners fell into the hands of the English. Shortly after, Lisle was forced to surrender; and Ghent and Bruges, which had been taken by Vendome, were retaken. About the same time the islands of Sardinia and Minorca surrendered to the English fleet, and the pope was compelled to acknowledge the archduke Charles as the lawful king of Spain: A.D. 1708.

The treasury of Louis being greatly exhausted, and his councils distracted, he again expressed his willingness to make every reasonable concession for the attainment of peace, offering even to abandon the whole of the Spanish monarchy to the archduke; but his proffers being rejected, except on terms incompatible with national safety or personal honour, the French king, trusting to the affection and patriotism of his people, called upon them to rise in defence of the monarchy, and in support of their humbled and aged king. His appeal was patriotically responded to. Every nerve was strained to raise a large army, and the salvation of France was confided to marshal Villars. The allied army was formed on the plains of Lisle; the French covered Douay and Arras. Eugene and Marlborough invested Mons. Villars encamped within a league of it, at Malplaquet. Elated with past success, the confederates attacked him in his intrenchments: the contest was obstinate and bloody: and though the allies remained masters of the field, their loss amounted to about 15,000 men; while that of the French, who retreated, was not less than 10,000: Sept. 11, 1709. Louis again sued for peace; and conferences were opened at Gertruydenburg early in the following spring; but the allies still insisting upon the same conditions, the French monarch again rejected them with firmness. The war continued, and with it the successes of the allies in Flanders and in Spain, where the archduke again obtained possession of Madrid. But the nobility remaining faithful to Philip, and fresh succours arriving from France, the duke of Vendome compelled the allies to retire towards Catalonia, whither they marched in two bodies. The English general Stanhope, who commanded the rear division, was surrounded at Brighuega, and forced to surrender, with 5,000 men; and though the principal division, led by Staremberg, compelled Vendome to retreat, and continued their march in safety, they were unable to check the victorious progress of Philip's arms.

The expenses of a war so wholly unproductive to England had by this time exhausted the patience of the nation; and a change had taken place in the British cabinet that was unfavourable to Marlborough and his designs. Through the death of the emperor Joseph, which had just occurred, the archduke Charles succeeded to the imperial dignity; thus giving a new turn to the politics of the sovereigns of Europe, who were in alliance to prevent the union of the Spanish and German crowns: a great obstacle to the restoration of peace was therefore removed. Hostilities however continued, but with so little energy, that no event of importance occurred during the whole campaign. At length the English and French plenipotentiaries concurring in the same desire for peace, preliminaries were signed between England and France, at London, Dec. 1712. The following year a congress was held at Utrecht for the general pacification of Europe; and a definite treaty of peace was signed on the 31st of March, 1713, by the plenipotentiaries of all the belligerent powers, except those of the emperor and the king of Spain. It was stipulated that Philip should renounce all title to the crown of France, and the dukes of Berri and Orleans to that of Spain; that if Philip should die without male issue, the duke of Savoy should succeed to the throne of Spain; that the Spanish Netherlands, Naples, Milan, and the Spanish territories on the Tuscan coast should be secured to Austria; that the Rhine should be the boundary between France and Germany; and that England was to retain Gibraltar and Minorca. In the following year the emperor signed the treaty of Rastadt, the conditions of which were less favourable to him than those offered at Utrecht; and Philip V. acceding to it some time after, Europe once more enjoyed tranquillity. Shortly after having thus extricated himself from all his difficulties, the long and eventful reign of Louis XIV. was terminated by his death; and his great-grandson, Louis XV., being a minor, the duke of Orleans was made regent of France.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Age of Charles XII. of Sweden, and Peter the Great of Russia.

Though we have confined our attention to the wars which occupied the south and west of Europe at the latter end of the 17th century, we must not overlook the events which took place in the north and east, through the rivalry and ambition of two of the most extraordinary characters that ever wielded the weapons of war, or controlled the fate of empires: these men were Charles XII. of Sweden, and Peter the Great of Russia.

It is here necessary to retrace our steps

for a few years. In 1661 the people of Denmark, disgusted with the tyranny of their nobles, solemnly surrendered their liberties to the king; and Frederic, almost without any effort of his own, became an absolute monarch. His successor, Christian V., made war on Charles XI. of Sweden, who defended himself with great ability, and, dying in 1697, left his crown to his son, the valiant and enterprising Charles XII.

During the reign of Alexis, Russia began to emerge from the barbarism into which it had been plunged by the Mongolian invasion and the civil wars occasioned by a long course of tyranny on the part of its rulers. His son Theodore pursued an enlightened policy, reforming the laws, encouraging the arts, and introducing the manners and customs of more civilised nations. At his death he bequeathed the crown to his younger brother Peter, in preference to his imbecile brother Ivan, who was several years his senior. Through the intrigues of their ambitious sister Sophia, a rebellion broke out; and owing to the incapacity of one brother and the youth of the other, she continued to exercise the whole sovereign power. Being accused, however, of plotting the destruction of her youngest brother, she was immediately arrested and imprisoned; and Ivan having retired into private life, Peter became sole and undisputed master of the Russian empire, which was destined, through his efforts, to acquire eventually an eminent rank among the leading powers of Europe.

Endowed with an ardent thirst for knowledge, gifted with the most persevering courage, and animated by the hope of civilising his nation, Peter I., deservedly surnamed the Great, exhibited to the world the unusual spectacle of a sovereign descending awhile from the throne, for the purpose of rendering himself more worthy of the crown. Having regulated the internal affairs of Russia, Peter quitted Moscow, and visited France, Holland, and England *incognito*; investigating their laws, studying their arts, sciences, and manufactures, and everywhere engaging the most skilful artists and mechanics to follow him into Russia. But his desires did not end there: he wished also to become a conqueror. He accordingly, in 1700, entered into an alliance with Poland and Denmark, for the purpose of stripping the youthful Charles XII. of the whole, or of a part of his dominions. Nothing dismayed, the heroic Swede entered into alliance with Holland and England, laid siege to Copenhagen, and compelled the Danish government to sue for peace. The Russians had in the meantime besieged Narva with 80,000 men. But Charles having thus crushed one of his enemies, in the short space of three weeks, immediately marched to the relief of Narva, where, with only 10,000 men, he forced the Russian intrenchments, killed 18,000 and took 30,000 prisoners, with all their artillery, baggage, and ammunition. Peter being prepared for reverses, coolly observed, 'I knew that the Swedes would beat us, but they will teach us to become conquerors in our turn.'

Having wintered at Narva, in the following year Charles defeated the Poles and Saxons on the Duna, and overran Livonia, Courland, and Lithuania. Elated with his successes, he formed the project of dethroning Augustus, king of Poland. Combining policy with the terror of his arms, he entered Warsaw, and, through the intrigues of the primate of Poland, he obtained the deposition of Augustus, and the election of his friend, the young palatine Stanislaus Leczinski: A.D. 1704. Though Peter had been unable to afford his ally Augustus much assistance, he had not been inactive. Narva, so recently the scene of his discomfiture, he took by storm, and sent an army of 60,000 men into Poland. The Swedish king, however, drove them out of the country; and, at the head of a noble and victorious army, he marched onwards with the avowed intention of dethroning his most formidable enemy, the czar of Russia. Peter endeavoured to avert the storm by sending proposals of peace; which being haughtily rejected, he retreated beyond the Dnieper, and sought to impede the progress of the Swedes towards Moscow, by breaking up the roads, and laying waste the surrounding country. Charles, after having endured great privations, and being urged by Mazeppa, hetman or chief of the Cossacks, who offered to join him with 30,000 men, and supply him with provisions, penetrated into the Ukraine. He reached the place of rendezvous; but the vigilance of Peter had rendered the designs of the hetman abortive, and he now appeared rather as a fugitive, attended with a few hundred followers, than as a potent ally.

The Swedish army had still greater disappointments to meet with. No supplies were provided; and general Lewenhaupt, who had been ordered to join the king with 15,000 men from Livonia, had been forced into three engagements with the Russians, and his army was reduced to 4,000. Braving these misfortunes, Charles continued the campaign, though in the depth of winter. In the midst of a wild and barren country, with an army almost destitute of food and clothing, and perishing with cold, he madly resolved to proceed. At length he laid siege to Pultowa, a fortified city on the frontiers of the Ukraine, which was vigorously defended. His army was now reduced to 30,000 men; and he was suffering from a wound which he had received while viewing the works. The czar, at the head of 70,000 men, advanced to the relief of Pultowa; and Charles, carried in a litter, set out with the main body of his army to give him battle. At first the impetuosity of the Swedes made the Russians give way; but Charles had no cannon, and the czar's artillery made dreadful havoc in the Swedish lines. Notwithstanding the desperate valour of the troops, the irretrievable ruin of the Swedes was soon effected; 8,000 were killed, 6,000 taken prisoners, and 12,000 fugitives were forced to surrender on the banks of the Dnieper, from want of boats to cross the river. The Swedish army was thus wholly destroyed. Charles, and about three hundred men, escaped with much

difficulty to Bender, a Turkish town in Bessarabia, where he was hospitably received, and where he remained inactive during several years, buoyed up with the hope that the Ottoman Porte would espouse his cause, and declare against the czar of Russia. In one fatal day Charles had lost the fruits of nine years' victories; and the shattered remnant of that army of veterans, before whom the bravest troops of other countries quailed, were transported by the victorious czar to colonise the wild and inhospitable deserts of Siberia.

But the inflexible king of Sweden had not even yet abandoned all hope of humbling the power of his hated rival. At length, in 1711, war was declared against Russia by the Porte, and the vizier Baltagi Mehemet advanced towards the Danube at the head of 200,000 men. By this immense force, the Russian army on the banks of the Pruth was closely surrounded and reduced to a state of starvation. At this critical juncture, the czarina Catherine, who accompanied her husband, sent a private message to the vizier, and procured a cessation of hostilities preparatory to opening negotiations, which were speedily followed by a treaty of peace. Charles, who had calculated on the total destruction of the czar, felt highly incensed at the disappointment of his most ardent hopes, and eventually procured the dismissal of the vizier. His successor, however, still less favourable to the views of the royal warrior, persuaded the sultan Achmet III. to signify his wish that Charles should quit the Ottoman empire. But he resolved to remain, and the Porte had recourse to compulsory measures. His house was invested by Turkish troops, and after a fierce defence on the part of himself and his few attendants, he was taken and conveyed as a prisoner to Adrianople.

The enemies of Sweden were, in the meantime, prosecuting their successful career. Stanislaus, whom Charles had placed on the throne of Poland, had been compelled to yield it to Augustus; and the Swedish frontiers were threatened on every side. General Steinbock, after having gained a brilliant victory over the Danes and Saxons at Gadebusch, and burnt Altona, was besieged in Tonningen, and forced to surrender with the whole of his army. Roused at this intelligence, the king of Sweden quitted Turkey, and after traversing Germany without any attendant, arrived safely at Stralsund, the capital of Swedish Pomerania.

At the opening of the next campaign (A.D. 1715), Stralsund was besieged by the Prussians, Danes, and Saxons, and though obstinately defended by the king, was forced to capitulate, while he narrowly escaped in a small vessel to his native shores. All Europe now considered that his last effort had been made, when it was suddenly announced that he had invaded Norway. He had found in his new minister, baron de Goertz, a man who encouraged his most extravagant projects, and who was as bold in the cabinet as his master was undaunted in the field. Taking advantage of a coolness that existed between Russia and the other enemies of Sweden, Goertz proposed that Peter and Charles should unite in strict amity, and dictate the law to Europe. A part of this daring plan was the restoration of the Stuarts to the throne of England. But while the negotiations were in progress, Charles invaded Norway a second time, and laid siege to Frederickshall; but while there a cannon-ball terminated his eventful life; and his sister Ulrica ascended the throne: A.D. 1718.

By the peace which Peter signed with Sweden, he obtained the valuable provinces of Carelia, Ingria, Esthovia, and Livonia. On this glorious occasion he exchanged the title of czar for that of emperor and autocrat of all the Russias, which was recognised by every European power. One year after (A.D. 1725) this truly extraordinary man died, in the 53rd of his age, and the 43rd of a glorious and useful reign, Peter the Great must be considered as the real founder of the power of the Russian empire; but while history records of him many noble, humane, and generous actions, he is not exempt from the charge of gross barbarity, particularly in his early years. He must not, however, be judged according to the standard of civilised society, but as an absolute monarch, bent on the exaltation of a people whose manners were rude and barbarous.

Catherine I., who had been crowned empress the preceding year, took quiet possession of the throne, and faithfully pursued the plans of her illustrious husband for the improvement of Russia; obtaining the love of her subjects by the mildness of her rule and the truly patriotic zeal she evinced for their welfare. She died in the second year of her reign, and left the crown to Peter II., son of the unfortunate Alexis, and the regency to prince Menzicoff, who was afterwards disgraced and banished to Siberia. After a short and peaceable reign Peter II. died, and with him ended the male line of the family of Romanof: A.D. 1730.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Affairs of Europe, from the Establishment of the Hanoverian Succession in England, to the year 1740.

ARRIVED at a period of comparative repose, we may now take a retrospective glance at the affairs of Great Britain. In 1707, Scotland and England had been united under this appellation; and the act of union introduced equal rights, liberties, commercial arrangements, and a parliament common to both nations. During the life of William III. the protestant succession had been decided, by act of parliament, in favour of the countess palatine Sophia, duchess of Hanover, wife of the first electoral sovereign of that territory and mother of George I. This princess died a short time before queen Anne; and George I., upon that event, took the oath of succession, by which he engaged to observe and maintain the laws and liberties of Britain; not to engage that kingdom even in defensive wars, on account of his electorate; and to employ no other than British ministers

and privy counsellors in the administration of government.

As George I. in a great measure owed his succession to the crown to the Whig party, he openly avowed himself their friend and patron; and they were no sooner in office than they used their power to crush their political adversaries, the Tories. One of the first acts of his reign was the impeachment of the duke of Ormond, and the lords Oxford and Bolingbroke. Oxford was committed to the Tower; but Bolingbroke and Ormond made their escape to the continent. The evident partiality of the monarch for the Whigs, and their vindictive proceedings, gave great umbrage to many persons, and roused the anger of all who were favourable to the Stuart dynasty. These feelings more especially prevailed in the Highlands of Scotland, and a plan was formed for a general insurrection in favour of the Pretender, whom they proclaimed, under the title of James III. By the authority of the prince, the earl of Mar had raised his standard, and the clans quickly crowded to it, so that he was soon at the head of 9,000 men, including several noblemen and other persons of distinction. But their plans were prematurely formed, and their want of unanimity in conducting the necessary operations proved fatal to the cause in which they were embarked. They were attacked and completely routed by the royal forces at Preston Pans, A.D. 1716. The Pretender and the earl of Mar effected their escape; but most of the insurgent chiefs and officers were doomed to suffer death as traitors. The rebellion being thus suppressed, an act was passed for making parliaments septennial, instead of triennial.

We now return to the affairs of Spain and other continental states. We have seen that the death of the emperor and the accession of the archduke Charles to the imperial throne, left Philip V. undisputed master of Spain and of its colonies. His first queen being dead, he married Elizabeth Farnese, heiress of Parma, Tuscany, and Placentia; a woman of masculine spirit, who, having a powerful influence over the mind of her husband, and being herself directed by the daring cardinal Alberoni, his prime minister, indulged in the prospect of recovering those possessions which had been wrested from Spain, and confirmed by the peace of Utrecht. The schemes of Alberoni, in fact, went much farther; by the aid of Charles XII. of Sweden, and Peter I. of Russia, he designed to change the political condition of Europe; he desired to restore the Stuarts to the throne of England; to deprive the duke of Orleans of the regency of France; and to prevent the interference of the emperor by engaging the Turks to assail his dominions. These ambitious projects were defeated by what was termed the 'quadruple alliance' (A. D. 1716) between Austria, France, England, and Holland. The court of Spain for a time resisted this powerful confederacy; but its disasters, by land and sea, compelled Philip to accede to the terms which were offered him, and Alberoni was dismissed A.D. 1720. A private treaty was afterwards concluded between the king of Spain and the emperor; and another, for the express purpose of counteracting it, was concluded between England, France, Holland, Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden. This led to a short war between England and Spain: the English sent a fleet to the West Indies to block up the galleons in Porto Bello, and the Spaniards made an unsuccessful attack on Gibraltar. Neither party having gained by the rupture, the mediation of France was accepted, and a treaty was concluded at Seville, by which all the conditions of the quadruple alliance were ratified and confirmed. One of its articles providing that Don Carlos, son of the queen of Spain, should succeed to Parma and Placentia, the Spanish troops now took formal possession of those territories. It was also agreed that the 'pragmatic sanction,' or law by which the emperor secured the succession of the Austrian dominions to his female heirs, in failure of male issue, should be guaranteed by the contracting powers.

George I., king of England, died in 1727; but his death made no change in the politics of the cabinet, Sir Robert Walpole continuing at the head of affairs after the accession of George II. Some few years previous to the death of his father, the nation had experienced much loss and confusion by the failure of the 'South-sea scheme,' a commercial speculation on so extensive a scale that it had well-nigh produced a national bankruptcy. It was a close imitation of the celebrated 'Mississippi scheme,' which had a short time before involved in ruin thousands of our Gallic neighbours.

The pacific disposition of cardinal Fleury, prime minister of France, and the no less pacific views of Walpole, for nearly twenty years secured the happiness and peace of both countries. But the pugnacious spirit of the people, and the remembrance of old grievances on both sides, led to new altercations with the Spaniards, which were greatly aggravated by their attacking the English employed in cutting log-wood in the bay of Campeachy. A war was the consequence, and France became the ally of Spain, A.D. 1739. A small force being sent to the West Indies, under admiral Vernon, the important city of Porto Bello was captured; which success induced the English to send out other armaments upon a larger scale. One of these, under commodore Anson, sailed to the South Seas, and after encountering severe storms, by which his force was much diminished, he ravaged the coasts of Chili and Peru, and eventually captured the rich galleon annually bound from Acapulco to Manilla. The other expedition was directed against Carthagena; but it proved most disastrous, owing to the mismanagement and disputes of the commanders, and to the unhealthiness of the climate, not less than 15,000 troops having fallen victims to disease.

CHAPTER XIX.

From the Accession of the Empress Theresa, of Austria, to the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

We now return to the state of affairs in northern Europe. On the death of the emperor, Charles VI., his daughter, Maria Theresa, by virtue of the pragmatic sanction, took possession of his hereditary dominions; but she found that she was not likely to retain peaceable possession of them. The kings of Poland, France, and Spain exhibited their respective claims to the whole Austrian succession; and Frederic the Great, king of Prussia, who had just ascended his throne, looking only to the aggrandisement of his dominions, joined her enemies in the hope of obtaining a share of the spoil. At the head of a well-appointed army, he entered Silesia, took Breslau, its capital, and soon conquered the province; and in order to retain his acquisition, he offered to support Maria Theresa against all her enemies, A.D. 1741. This proposal was steadily and indignantly rejected by the princess; though she was well aware that the French and Bavarians were on the point of invading her territories, for the express purpose of elevating Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, to the imperial dignity. Under the command of the prince, assisted by the marshals of Belleisle and Broglio, the united armies entered Upper Austria, took Lintz, and menaced Vienna. Maria Theresa being compelled to abandon her capital, fled to Hungary; and having convened the states, she appeared before the assembly with her infant son in her arms, and made such an eloquent appeal, that the nobles with one accord swore to defend her cause till death. 'Moriamur pro REGE nostro Maria Theresa.' Nor were these mere idle words: her patriotic subjects rushed to arms; and, to the astonishment of her enemies, a large Hungarian army, under the command of Prince Charles of Lorraine, marched to the relief of Vienna, and the elector was obliged to raise the siege. A subsidy was at the same time voted to her by the British parliament, and the war assumed a more favourable aspect. The Austrians took Munich, after defeating the Bavarians at Menlberg; and the prince of Lorraine expelled the Prussians and Saxons from Moravia. The elector, however, had the gratification, on retiring into Bohemia, to take the city of Prague; and having been crowned king of Bohemia, he proceeded to Frankfort, where he was chosen emperor under the name of Charles VII., A.D. 1742.

The king of Prussia having obtained a brilliant victory over the Austrians at Czarslau, took immediate advantage of his position, and signed a separate treaty with the queen of Hungary, who ceded to him Lower Silesia and Glatz, on condition of his remaining neutral during her contest with the other powers. The conduct of Frederic gave just cause of offence to the court of France; for, thus deprived of its most powerful ally, the French army must have been inevitably ruined, but for the superior abilities of marshal Belleisle, who effected one of the most masterly retreats through an enemy's country that has been recorded in the annals of modern warfare. Louis XV. now made offers of peace on most equitable terms; but the queen, elated with success, haughtily rejected them. In consequence of a victory gained by prince Charles of Lorraine, she had also soon the gratification of recovering the imperial dominions from her rival Charles VII., who took refuge in Frankfort, and there lived in comparative indigence and obscurity.

England had now become a principal in the war; and the united British, Hanoverian, and Austrian forces marched from Flanders towards Germany. The king of England had arrived in the allied camp; and the French commander, marshal de Noailles, having cut off all their supplies, the destruction of the British and Austrian army was anticipated either by their being cut to pieces if they attempted a retreat, or by their surrender. They commenced their retreat; and, fortunately for them, the good generalship of Noailles, who had taken possession of the village of Dettingen, in their front, was counteracted by the rashness of his nephew, the count de Grammont, who advanced into a small plain to give the allies battle; but the impetuosity of the French troops was met by the resolute and steady courage of the allies, which obtained for them the victory of Dettingen. The marshal retreated; but the allies, owing to the irresolution of George II., obtained no farther advantage.

The haughty and ambitious conduct of the empress, who avowed her intention of keeping Bavaria, gave great offence to several of the German princes; and France, Prussia, and the elector palatine united to check the growing power of Austria. The French arms were victorious in Flanders: the king of Prussia, who had invaded Bohemia, was defeated with great loss, and forced to make a precipitate retreat into Silesia: A.D. 1744. Not long after this the death of the elector of Bavaria removed all reasonable grounds for the continuance of hostilities, his son having renounced all claims to the imperial crown, while Maria Theresa agreed to put him in possession of his hereditary dominions.

During the campaign of 1745 the imperialists lost Parma, Placentia, and Milan. In Flanders a large French army, under marshal Saxe, invested Tournay; while the allies, under the duke of Cumberland, though greatly inferior in numbers, marched to its relief. The king of France and the dauphin were in the French camp, and their troops were strongly posted behind the village of Fontenoy. The British infantry displayed the most undaunted valour, carrying everything before them; but they were ill supported by their German and Dutch allies, whose indecision or want of courage lost the day. The capture of Tournay, Ghent, Ostend, and Oudenarde by the French, was the immediate consequence of this important victory.

In England the fatal battle of Fontenoy

disappointed the expectations of the people, and produced great irritation in the public mind; while it at the same time revived the hopes of the Jacobites, who thought it a fortunate time to attempt the restoration of the Stuart family. Charles Edward, the young Pretender, accordingly landed in Scotland, where his manly person and engaging manners won the hearts of the Highlanders, who were everywhere ready to give him a hearty welcome and join his standard. Thus supported by the Highland chiefs and their clans, he took possession of Dunkeld, Perth, Dundee, and Edinburgh. Having proclaimed his father, he marched against Sir John Cope, the royal commander, over whom he obtained a victory at Preston Pans. After receiving some reinforcements he crossed the English border, took Carlisle and Lancaster, and marched boldly on to Derby. But being disappointed in his hopes of powerful assistance from the English Jacobites, he took the advice of the majority of his officers, and retraced his steps. On his return to Scotland his forces were considerably augmented; and, receiving a supply of money from Spain, he prepared to renew the contest with spirit. But though he was at first successful, by taking the town of Stirling, and defeating the troops sent against him at Falkirk, the approach of a larger army, commanded by the duke of Cumberland, soon compelled the prince to retreat to the north. On reaching Culloden Moor, near Inverness, he resolved to make a stand. As usual, the Highlanders made a furious onset; but their desperate charge was received by a close and galling fire of musketry and artillery, which in a very short time proved decisive. Giving up all for lost, Charles Edward desired his partisans to disperse, and became himself a wretched and proscribed fugitive, in the hourly dread of falling into the hands of his merciless pursuers; who, after their victory, with fiend-like barbarity, laid waste the country with fire and sword. After wandering in the Highlands for several months, and receiving numerous proofs of the fidelity of his unfortunate adherents, whom the reward of 30,000*l.* for his capture did not tempt to betray him, he escaped to France; A.D. 1746.

In the meantime the French troops under marshal Saxe were overrunning the Netherlands. Brussels, Antwerp, and Namur were captured; and the sanguinary battle of Roucoux ended the campaign. In Italy, the arms of France and her allies were not equally successful; and after a series of battles in Germany and the Low Countries, in which the fortune of war was pretty equally balanced, conferences were opened at Aix-la-Chapelle, and preliminaries of peace signed: A.D. 1748. The basis of this treaty was the restitution of all places taken during the war, and a mutual release of prisoners. Frederic of Prussia was guaranteed in the possession of Silesia and Glatz; the Hanoverian succession to the English throne was recognised, and the cause of the Pretender abandoned.

We brought our notice of Russia down to the death of Peter II. in 1730. When that occurred, a council of the nobles placed on the throne Anne Iwannowa, daughter of Ivan, Peter's eldest brother, who soon broke through the restrictions imposed upon her at her accession. She restored to Persia the provinces that had been conquered by Peter the Great; and terminated a glorious war against Turkey, in conjunction with Austria, by surrendering every place taken during the contest: A.D. 1735. She is accused of being attached to male favourites, the principal of whom was a man of obscure birth, named John Biren, who was elected duke of Courland, and who governed the empire with all the despotism of an autocrat. Previously to her death, Anne had bequeathed the throne to the infant Ivan, and appointed Biren regent; but the latter enjoyed his high dignity only twenty-two days, when he was arrested and sent into exile in Siberia. Russia has ever been noted for its cabals, intrigues, and revolutions. The soldiery had been induced to espouse the cause of Elizabeth, daughter of Peter the Great. Anne was arrested and imprisoned; the infant emperor was confined in the fortress of Schusselburg; and Elizabeth was immediately proclaimed empress of all the Russias. This princess concluded an advantageous peace with Sweden; and lent her powerful assistance to Maria Theresa, in her war with the king of Prussia, for whom Elizabeth felt a violent personal enmity.

CHAPTER XX.

Progress of events during the Seven Years War in Europe, America, and the East Indies.

DURING the period we have been describing, in which the west and the north of Europe resounded with the cries of distress or the shouts of victory, the throne of Hindostan was filled by Mahmoud Shah, a voluptuous prince; who, in order to avoid becoming the object of personal hatred, confided all public business to the nobles and his ministers: these officers offended or neglected the subahdar of the Deccan, who invited Nadir Shah to invade the East Indies. In 1738 the Persian warrior marched into that country at the head of an army inured to war and greedy of plunder, and defeated with the utmost ease the innumerable but disorderly troops of the mogul. The crown and sceptre of Mahmond lay at the feet of his conqueror: Delhi, his capital, was taken; every individual whose appearance rendered it probable that he was acquainted with concealed treasures, was subjected to the most horrid tortures; and it is asserted that 100,000 persons were massacred in one day! He plundered the country of upwards of thirty millions sterling, and extended the bounds of his empire to the banks of the Indus. After committing the most revolting acts of cruelty, he was assassinated by his own officers, who placed his nephew, Adil Shah,

on the vacant throne: A.D. 1747. We will now take a view of European interests in that distant region.

Among other stipulations in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, it was agreed that the English settlement of Madras, which during the war of the succession had been taken from the English by the French, should be restored. Dupleix, the French governor of Pondicherry, had long sought an opportunity for adding to the dominions of his countrymen in India; and the continual disputes of the native princes favoured his schemes, inasmuch as the interference of the French was generally solicited by one of the parties, who remunerated their European allies by fresh concessions of territory on every such occasion. This naturally roused the jealousy of their English rivals; who adopted a similar line of policy; so that whenever there was a rupture between the native princes, they each found allies in the European settlers. A fierce contention arose for the nabobship of the Carnatic. The French supported the claims of Chunda Sahib; the English being applied to by Mohammed Ali, son of the late nabob of Arcot, espoused his cause: A.D. 1751. It was at this time that Mr. Clive (afterwards lord Clive) appeared in the capacity of a military leader. He had been originally in the civil service of the East India Company; but he now exchanged the pen for the sword, and soon proved himself more than a match for all the talents which were brought into play against him. With a small force he took Arcot; and he afterwards successfully defended it against Chundah Sahib, who besieged it with a numerous army. Many brilliant victories followed on the side of the English and their allies. The Rajah of Tanjore and other independent chiefs joined them. The French lost most of their acquisitions: Mohammed Ali's claim was acknowledged; and a treaty was entered into between the French and English, that neither party should in future interfere with the affairs of the native princes. Time proved how useless was such a stipulation!

The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was not of long duration. France and England were still at war in the East Indies, and their differences in respect to the boundaries of their respective colonies in North America still remained for adjustment. Another war in Europe was the inevitable consequence; and from the term of its duration it obtained the name of 'the seven years' war.' England united with Prussia; and an alliance between the emperor, France, Russia, Sweden, and Saxony was immediately concluded: A.D. 1756. The commencement of the campaign had a discouraging aspect for the king of Prussia; the Russians were advancing through Lithuania, a Swedish army occupied his attention in Pomerania, and the united forces of the French and imperialists were advancing through Germany. With his characteristic boldness, Frederic anticipated the attack of his numerous foes, and invaded both Saxony and Bohemia; making himself master of Dresden, routing the Austrians at Lowesitz, and compelling 17,000 Saxons to lay down their arms at Parma.

In the ensuing campaign the marshal d'Estrees crossed the Rhine, with 80,000 men, to invade Hanover. The Hanoverians and Hessians, under command of the duke of Cumberland, were driven out, and the French became masters of the electorate. Unawed by the formidable preparations of his enemies, Frederic again assumed the offensive, and penetrated into Bohemia; but a victory obtained at Kolin, by the Austrian general Daun, compelled him to retreat hastily into his dominions, which were now threatened in every direction. The French had rapidly advanced upon Magdeburg; the victorious Russians threatened the north of Silesia, whilst the Austrians had attacked the south, and even penetrated to Berlin, where they levied heavy contributions; and the prince of Brunswick Bevern had delivered up Breslau. In this extreme emergency, Frederic could scarcely expect to acquire any further fame; but, with his accustomed energy, he hastened to Dresden, assembled an army, and with half the number of his French and German opponents, gave them battle at the village of Rosbach, and obtained over them a most brilliant victory. His loss amounted to only five hundred men, while that of the enemy was nine thousand, in killed, wounded, and prisoners. In four weeks after he had obtained the far more important victory of Lissa, and recovered Breslau.

During the campaign of 1758, the Prussian monarch recovered Schweidnitz, and invested Olmutz. In the meantime prince Ferdinand of Brunswick crossed the Rhine, defeated the French at Crevelt, and penetrated to the very gates of Louvain in Brabant. No commander, perhaps, ever endured the vicissitudes of fortune in more rapid succession than did Frederic in this campaign; but though he was several times in the most imminent peril, he at length compelled his formidable rival, marshal Daun, to raise the sieges of Dresden and Leipsic, and to retire into Bohemia, while Frederic himself entered the former city in triumph.

It is in crises like these that the destiny of states is seen to depend less upon the extent of their power, than upon the qualifications of certain eminent individuals, who possess the talent of employing and increasing their resources, and of animating national energies. This was in an especial degree the case of Frederic the Great. He was engaged with the powerful and well-disciplined armies of Austria; with the French, whose tactics and impetuosity were undisputed; with the immovable perseverance of the Russians; with the veterans of Sweden, and with the admirably organised forces of the empire. In numerical strength they far more than trebled the Prussians; yet he not only kept them constantly on the alert, but frustrated their combined attacks, and often defeated them with great loss.

At the opening of the next campaign (1759) the fortune of war was on the side

of the Prussians. They destroyed the Russian magazines in Poland, levied contributions in Bohemia, and kept the imperialists in check. Prince Ferdinand, in order to protect Hanover, found it necessary to give the French battle at Minden, where success crowned his efforts. And had it not been for the unaccountable conduct of lord George Sackville, who commanded the cavalry, and disobeyed or misunderstood the order to charge the discomfited French, a victory as glorious and complete as that of Blenheim would, in all probability, have been the result. A decided reverse soon succeeded: the combined Austrian and Russian army of 80,000 men attacked the Prussians at Cunersdorf, and after a most sanguinary conflict the latter were defeated. Frederic soon retrieved this disaster, and the war continued to proceed with dubious advantage; but the English grew tired of this interminable kind of warfare, and turned their attention from the actions of their intrepid ally to matters affecting their colonial interests in the East and West Indies, and in America.

The bold and skilful operations of Clive in the East Indies attracted great notice. Having reinstated the nabob of Arcot, his next great exploit was the recapture of Calcutta, which had been taken by the nabob of Bengal. This was followed by the unexampled victory of Plassy, and the final establishment of the British in northern India.—In America, admiral Boscawen burned the enemy's ships in the harbour of Louisburg, and compelled the town to surrender; the islands of St. John and Cape Breton were taken by general Amherst; and brigadier Forbes captured fort Du Quesne; while the French settlements on the African coast were reduced. The island of Guadaloupe, in the West Indies, was also taken by the English. Crown Point and Ticonderago were conquered by general Amherst, and Sir William Johnson gained possession of the important fortress of Niagara. The French, thus attacked on every side, were unable to withstand the power and enthusiasm of their enemies: and general Wolfe, who was to have been assisted in his attack on Quebec by Amherst, finding that the latter general was unable to form a junction with him, resolved to attempt the arduous and hazardous enterprise alone. With this view he landed his troops at night under the heights of Abraham, and led them up the steep and precipitous ascent; so that when morning dawned, the French commander, the marquis de Montcalm, to his astonishment saw the English occupying a position which had before been deemed inacessible. To save the city a battle was now inevitable; both generals prepared with ardour for the conflict. Just as the scale of victory was beginning to turn in favour of the British, the heroic Wolfe fell mortally wounded. With redoubled energy his gallant troops fought on, till at length the French fled in disorder; and, when the intelligence was brought to the dying hero, he raised his head, and, with his last breath, faintly uttered, 'I die happy;' nor was the death of Montcalm less noble or soldier-like. He had been mortally wounded; and he was no sooner apprised of his danger than he exclaimed, 'So much the better; I shall not live to witness the surrender of Quebec.' The complete subjugation of the Canadas quickly followed. And, amidst the exploits of his army and navy, George II. expired suddenly at Kensington, in the 34th year of his reign, and was succeeded by his grandson, George III., A.D. 1760.

On the European continent the last campaigns were carried on with less spirit than before: both sides were exhausted by their previous efforts, and the party which was desirous of peace endeavoured to avert such occurrences as might revive the hopes of the enemy. A family compact was now concluded between the courts of Versailles and Madrid; and seeing no chance of gaining any colonial advantages over Britain while its navy rode triumphant on the ocean, they resolved to try their united strength in attempting the subjugation of its ancient ally, Portugal. That country was defended more by its natural advantages than by its military force; the progress of the Spaniards being retarded by the miserable condition of the roads, and by the neglect of all provision for their sustenance. An English force of 8000 men, with a large supply of arms and ammunition, was sent to assist the Portuguese; and, though several towns at first fell into the hands of the Spaniards, the British and native troops displayed a decided superiority throughout the campaign, and compelled them to evacuate the kingdom with considerable loss. In Germany, prince Ferdinand and the marquis of Granby not only protected Hanover, but recovered the greater part of Hesse. At the same time Frederic experienced an unexpected stroke of good fortune. The empress Elizabeth of Russia died; and Peter III., who had long admired the heroic king, and who had never forgotten that the influence of Frederic had especially contributed to the foundation of his hopes and greatness, had no sooner ascended the throne than he made peace with him, and restored all the conquests of the Russians. From that time the king was not only enabled to concentrate his whole force against the Austrians, but was supported by Peter, who concluded an alliance with him, and despatched to his aid a corps of 20,000 men. The reign of Peter III. was, however, of very brief duration; and Catherine II., although she confirmed the peace, recalled the auxiliary Russians from the Prussian army.

Meanwhile the English were extending their conquests in the West Indies. They took Havannah and Manilla from the Spaniards; with Martinique, St. Lucie, Grenada, and St. Vincent from the French. Tired of a war which threatened the whole of their colonies with ruin, the cabinets of France and Spain were glad to find that the British minister was equally anxious to bring the war to a close. Peace, which was now the universal object of desire to all parties, was concluded at Versailles, on

the 10th of February, 1763, between Great Britain, France, and Spain; and five days later, at Hubertsburg in Saxony, between Austria and Prussia. This memorable contest, which had required such an extraordinary expenditure of blood and treasure, —a war in which the half of Europe had been in arms against England and Prussia, —was concluded with scarcely any alteration in the territorial arrangements of Germany, and without producing any great or lasting benefit to either of the belligerents, so far, at least, as their interests in Europe were concerned. But in the East and West Indies, as well as in America, it had added greatly to the colonial possessions of Great Britain.

CHAPTER XXI.

From the Conclusion of the Seven Years' War, to the final Partition of Poland.

THE 'seven years' war,' the principal features of which we have given, left most of the contending powers in a state of great exhaustion, but none had been more affected by it than France. While that country, however, was declining, Russia, under the empress Catherine II., was rapidly acquiring a preponderating influence among the nations of Europe; and no opportunity of adding to her already extensive territories was ever neglected. On the death of Augustus III., king of Poland, the diet assembled at Warsaw to choose a successor. Catherine espoused the cause of Stanislaus Poniatowsky; and as the discussions were not conducted with the temper which ought to characterise deliberative assemblies, the prudent empress, as a friend and neighbour, sent a body of troops thither to keep the peace. This had the desired effect, and Stanislaus ascended the throne. But Poland had long been agitated by disputes, both religious and political; and the new sovereign was unable to control the elements of discord by which he was surrounded. The animosity which existed between the catholics and the *dissidents*, as the dissenting sects were called, had risen to a height incompatible with the safety of the kingdom. The dissidents, who had been much oppressed by the catholics, claimed an equality of rights, which being refused, they appealed to foreign powers for protection — those of the Greek church to the empress of Russia, and the Lutherans to the kings of Prussia and Denmark. A civil war now arose in all its horrors; and its miseries were greatly aggravated by the insolence and brutality of the Russian troops which Catherine had sent to the aid of the dissidents. The catholic nobles formed a confederacy for the maintenance of their privileges and their religion: but it was useless to contend against the overwhelming forces brought against them. Cracow, where they for a long time held out against famine and pestilence, was at length taken by storm, and the unhappy fugitives were pursued beyond the Turkish frontiers.

The protection which the confederates received in Turkey, and mutual complaints concerning the incursions of the wandering hordes of Tartars and Cossacks, had, some years before, furnished a pretence for war between the Porte and the Russians. It was impossible that Mustapha III. could any longer contemplate with indifference the transactions which took place in Poland: not only was the security of his northern provinces endangered, but he felt justly indignant at the violation of his dominions. He, accordingly, remonstrated with the empress; and she speciously replied, that having been requested to send a few troops to the assistance of her unhappy neighbour, in order to quell some internal commotions, she could not refuse. But a body of Russians having afterwards burned the Turkish town of Balta, and put all its inhabitants to death, war was declared, and the European and Asiatic dominions of the Porte summoned to arms. While all the officers who were to compose the suite of the grand vizier were preparing at Constantinople for their departure, the multifarious hordes of militia assembled themselves out of Asia, and covered the Bosphorus and Hellespont with numerous transports. On the other hand, the different nations composing the extensive empire of the autocrat of all the Russias, most of whom were but a few degrees removed from barbarism, put themselves in motion; and a body of troops selected from among the corps dispersed over Poland was assembled on the side of the Ukraine. The capitation tax of the Russian empire was raised, and a war contribution of 20 per cent. levied on all salaries. Large armies on both sides advanced against the Danube; and in the spring of 1769 the Turkish standard was displayed on the frontiers of Russia, where the Ottoman troops committed frightful ravages, and drove the enemy across the Dneister: they, however, suffered a severe defeat at Choczim; and a more decisive blow was soon after struck by the Russians, who twice defeated the Turkish fleet, and at length burnt fifteen of their ships of the line in the bay of Chesmé. Meantime, the Russian land forces were equally successful; the grand Ottoman army was totally overthrown near the Pruth, and the capture of Bender, Ismail, and other places, quickly followed.

Greece, long accustomed to subjection, was but ill-provided with troops, and the inhabitants pursued their own affairs unmolested: but when they received intelligence of the enterprise of the Russians—a Christian people of the Greek church — to deliver the Greeks from the yoke of the barbarians, the love of liberty was rekindled in many of their hearts. All Laconia, the plains of Argos, Arcadia, and a part of Achaia, rose in insurrection, and spared none of their former rulers. The Turks, in the meantime, crossed the isthmus in order to relieve Patras; and the pasha of Bosnia, with 30,000 men, advanced with little resistance into the ancient Messene: at Modon the Greeks were defeated with great loss, and it was evident that their hope of regaining their liberty was a decisive one. At the end of the campaign the plague

broke out at Yassy, and spread to Moscow, where it carried off 90,000 persons, at the rate of nearly 1000 victims daily.

The Crimea was seized by the Russians, and the grand vizier was forced to retreat: the janizaries rose, put their aga to death, and set fire to their camp. The Porte in the meantime was delivered from Ali Bey, the Egyptian pasha, who fell in battle against his brother-in-law, Mohammed. Europe had taken a more lively interest in his adventures, because he appeared to be elevated above national prejudices; but his fault consisted in his manifesting his contempt for those errors too early, and in too decided a manner. The Russians at length crossed the Danube, and the janizaries gave way. They were twice compelled to abandon the siege of Silistria, and they lost a great part of their artillery near Varna. But a reverse of fortune was nigh: for not long after, Hassan Pasha, a man of great courage and intelligence, by birth a Persian, and who was high in the favour of the sultan, swore that not a Russian should pass the autumnal equinox on the Turkish side of the Danube; and he faithfully kept his word.

Mustapha III. died in 1774, and was succeeded by his brother, Abd-ul-Hamed. But neither the sultan nor his people appeared inclined to prosecute the war. About the same time, Pugatcheff the Cossack, at the head of many warlike hordes, broke into open rebellion; and this convinced Catherine that peace was not less desirable for Russia than for the Porte. A treaty was accordingly entered into, by which the latter ceded a considerable portion of territory to the empress, together with a right to the free navigation of the Black Sea.

We now return to notice the melancholy fate of Poland. An attempt on the personal liberty of Stanislaus having been made by the turbulent and bigoted nobles, it served as a pretext for the empress of Russia first to send an army into the country, and afterwards, in conjunction with Prussia and Austria, to plan its dismemberment. Each party to the compact had some old pretended claims to urge in behalf of the robbery; and as the other nations of Europe were not in a condition to wage war against the powerful trio, their mediatorial interference would have been ineffectual. A diet was called to give a colour to the transaction, and a majority of votes being secured, the armies of the spoilers severally took possession of the districts which had been previously parcelled out; and little else remained of Poland — independent Poland — but its language and its name: A.D. 1773.

CHAPTER XXII.

From the Commencement of the American War, to the Recognition of the Independence of the United States.

To describe, with chronological order, even a limited portion of the momentous events of the period to which we are now approaching, would be impossible in an *outline sketch* of GENERAL HISTORY. We shall therefore content ourselves with merely giving some of the leading features which present themselves; and then enter upon our series of SEPARATE HISTORIES.

The first great event, then, which in this place demands our attention is the American war. Our notice of it, as a matter of course, will be most brief and cursory. Among the earliest settlers in North America were many who emigrated from Great Britain on account of civil or religious persecution—men, who being of Republican principles, and jealous of the smallest encroachments of their rights, naturally instilled those principles into the minds of their children; and thus laid the foundation of that spirit of resistance to arbitrary acts of power, which kindled the flames of war between the mother country and the colonies, and ended in the establishment of a powerful republic. The constitution of the American colonies bore the original impress of liberty. Under the protection of Great Britain, North America stood in fear of no foreign enemy; and the consciousness of her native strength was already too great to permit her to feel much apprehension even of her mother country. Religion was everywhere free from restraint; agriculture was held in honour; and peace and order were protected against the attempts of parties, and wild and lawless men. The people, like the country they inhabited, appeared to be in the full vigour of youth; ardent, independent, and capable of astonishing exertions when aroused by the stimulus of the passions.

In 1765 a stamp-duty on various articles was imposed by the British parliament on the colonists; but on their remonstrating, the act was soon after repealed. Subsequently a duty was laid on tea: this was resisted, and at Boston the tea was thrown into the sea. Coercive measures were then tried; and in 1775 a civil war began. In the following year the Americans issued their declaration of independence. Many battles were fought, but nothing very decisive took place till the year 1777, when general Burgoyne, the British commander, was surrounded at Saratoga, and compelled to surrender, with about 4000 men.

With a blind infatuation, little dreaming of the danger of espousing principles professedly republican, and with no other view, indeed, than that of humbling a powerful neighbour,—France now entered the lists as the ally of the Americans; and Spain no less blindly followed the example. But England had augmented the number of her troops, and placed them under the command of lords Cornwallis and Rawdon, who defeated the American general Washington; while admiral Rodney displayed his superiority in a naval engagement with the Spaniards. But it was not merely the hostility of the French and Spaniards that the English had to cope with: the jealousy of the continental powers displayed itself by their entering into an armed neutrality, the avowed object of which was to resist the right of search which England's long established naval superiority had taught her to exer-

cise as a right over the vessels of other nations. Holland was now added to the list of enemies, the faithless conduct of that state having induced the British government to declare war against it; and many of the Dutch possessions in South America and the West Indies were taken from them. Meantime the war in America, as well as on its coasts, was carried on with increased vigour; the French exerting themselves not as mere partisans in the cause, but as principals. It was evident that, although the war might be long protracted, the recovery of the North American colonies was not likely to be accomplished: and as the English had been several times out-generaled, and the last loss on their part consisted of 6000 men at York-town, under Cornwallis, who had been compelled to surrender to a powerful combined French and American army commanded by Washington, England began to think seriously of making up the quarrel with her rebellious sons.

During the latter part of the war admiral Rodney gave the French fleet, commanded by count de Grasse, a memorable defeat in the West Indies; whilst general Elliot showed the French and Spaniards how futile were their attempts against Gibraltar. In short, great as were the disadvantages with which the English had to contend, the energies and resources of the nation were still equal to the task of successfully coping with its enemies in Europe; while in the vast empire of British India fresh laurels were continually gathered, and the French were there dispossessed of all their settlements.

On the 20th of January, 1783, the independence of the United States was formally acknowledged by England; and George Washington, the man who had led the armies and directed the councils of America, was chosen president.

CHAPTER XXIII.

From the Commencement of the French Revolution, to the Death of Robespierre.

THE most eventful period of modern history now bursts upon our view. In the course of the ages that have passed successively before us, we have witnessed sudden revolutions, long and sanguinary contests, and the transfer of some province or city from one sovereign to another at the termination of a war. These have been ordinary events. We have also marked the gradual rise and fall of empires, the subjugation of kingdoms, and the annihilation of dynasties; but they bear no comparison to the terrific era of anarchy and blood familiarly designated 'the French Revolution.' The history of that frightful period will be elsewhere related; we shall not here attempt to describe its causes, or notice the rise of that stupendous military despotism which so long threatened to bend the whole civilised world under its iron sceptre. The apologists of the French revolution tell us that it was owing to the excesses of an expensive and dissipated court; to the existence of an immense standing army in the time of peace; to the terrors of the Bastile; to *lettres de cachet* (or mandates issued for the apprehension of suspected individuals), and to a general system of espionage, which rendered no man safe. Others ascribe it partly to the 'spirit of freedom' imbibed by the French soldiers during the American war; but, still more, to the general diffusion of political, philosophical, and infidel writings, which, replete with sarcasm and wit, were levelled equally at the pulpit and the throne, and thus, by unsettling the minds of the people, destroyed the moral bonds and safeguards of society.

But whatever might have been the true causes, certain it is, that vague ideas of freedom beneath republican institutions had unsettled the minds of men, not merely in France, but throughout Europe. It was in that country, however, that public discontent was most strongly manifested. The people were ripe for innovation and change; and Louis XVI. though amiable as a man, had not the necessary energy or abilities to counteract public feeling or direct the storm.

In 1789, when the public income of France was inadequate to the wants of the state, it was thought advisable to convoke the states-general, or representatives of the three orders—nobles, clergy, and *tiers-état* or commons. At first some salutary reforms were agreed to: but the commons wished to assume too great a share of the power; and, being the most numerous body in this *national assembly*, they carried their favourite measures in spite of the court and privileged orders. To check the rising spirit of turbulence and faction, the king was advised to collect a large body of troops in the environs of Paris, and he also dismissed Necker, his minister of finance Both these measures were highly unpopular; and the mob, excited by the democrats, committed great excesses. Among other acts of outrage, they seized the arms deposited in the hotel of the Invalides, attacked the Bastile, and levelled that ancient fortress with the ground. From that hour may be dated the fall of the monarchy. The terrified king tried every mode of concession; but the infuriated populace, led by artful and interested demagogues, and now familiar with scenes of blood and tumult, were not to be appeased. The capital was divided into sections; and the national guard was formed, and placed under the command of the marquis de La Fayette, who had earned his popularity in the American war. Meanwhile the assembly abolished the privileges of the nobility and clergy: confiscated the property of the church; divided the kingdom into departments; and subverted all the ancient forms and institutions: A.D. 1790.

A very general emigration of the nobles and clergy took place; and Louis, abandoned even by his own brothers, was virtually a prisoner, or a mere tool in the hands of his enemies. And now arose that democratical society, afterwards famous in the blood-stained annals of the revolution under the name of *Jacobins*. From

this focus of rebellion issued numerous emissaries, who founded similar societies, or clubs, in every part of France; and thus their contaminating influence spread around till the whole political atmosphere became one corrupt mass. Surrounded on every side by enemies, the king and the royal family at length resolved to seek refuge in one of the frontier towns; but they were discovered at Varennes, and brought back to Paris amidst the insults of the rabble. The most violent Jacobins loudly demanded his death: A.D. 1791.

War had commenced on the part of Austria and Prussia, and the French at first met with some severe checks; but on the advance of the Prussians, the duke of Brunswick published a violent manifesto against the French nation, which did much injury to the cause it advocated. A decree was issued for suspending the king from all his functions, as well as for the immediate convocation of a national convention. He and his family were closely confined in the tower of the Temple; and the *commune* of Paris, at that time under the control of Danton, Robespierre, and Marat, began its tyrannical reign. Under a pretence that the royalists who were confined in the different prisons were domestic enemies of France, the forms of justice were dispensed with, and they were inhumanly butchered. Royalty was next formally abolished; and it was resolved ere long to bring the king to the scaffold. Meantime two powerful parties appeared in the assembly; the Girondists, or Brissotines, led by Brissot, who were sincere republicans; and the Jacobins, or *mountain* party, so called from the upper seats which they occupied, acting under Robespierre and his friends, whose sole objects were anarchy and bloodshed.

Dumouriez, at the head of the French army, had found it impossible to prevent the entrance of the duke of Brunswick into Champagne; but disease and famine arrested his progress, and he was compelled to abandon all his conquests. The Austrians were also obliged to retreat. Savoy was conquered by a republican force, and Germany invaded. The Austrians were signally defeated at Jemappe; and this was quickly followed by the reduction of Brussels, Liege, Namur, and of the whole of the Netherlands, which were declared free and independent states.

In December 1793, the royal captive was led to the bar of the Convention, where, after undergoing a long and insulting examination, he was unanimously declared guilty of conspiring against the national liberty, and sentenced to die by the guillotine. He conducted himself with dignity, and heard the decision of his fate with firmness and resignation. Thus perished, in the 39th year of his age and the 19th of his reign, Louis XVI., the amiable and unfortunate descendant of a long line of kings. Soon after this judicial murder, a decree of the national Convention promised assistance to every nation desirous of throwing off the yoke of its rulers. This was naturally regarded as a virtual declaration of war against all the kings of Europe; and England, Holland, and Spain were now added to the list of its enemies. The war for a time assumed a new feature; a British army, commanded by the duke of York, reduced Valenciennes, and attacked Dunkirk; and the French lost their conquests as rapidly as they had acquired them. But before the close of the year 1793, the fortune of war was again in their favour; the duke of York was obliged to raise the siege of Dunkirk, with great loss; while the Austrians were driven within their own frontiers.

The horrors of civil war now raged in France with unmitigated fury. The ferocious Robespierre was at the head of the fiercest Jacobins; and Paris daily witnessed the execution of the most respectable of its citizens. Nearly all, indeed, who were remarkable either for rank, property, or talents, were the victims of the reign of terror; and among the number who fell by the axe of the guillotine was the unfortunate queen, Marie Antoinette, who had been for some time immured within the dungeon of the Conciergerie. The royalists in La Vendée dared to oppose the revolutionary decrees; but the cities which resisted the regicide authorities, particularly Lyons and Nantes, were visited with the most horrid persecutions. Hundreds of victims were daily shot or guillotined, and the whole country was laid waste with demoniac vengeance. In the meantime extraordinary measures were taken by the convention to increase the armies by levies *en masse*; and private property was arbitrarily seized to support them. The English took possession of Toulon, but were soon forced to abandon it to the troops of the Convention. It is worthy of remark, that on this occasion the talents of Napoleon Buonaparte were first signally distinguished; this young officer having the command of the artillery of the besiegers. The war in the Netherlands was carried on with vigour, victory and defeat alternately changing the position of the allied armies.

The progress of the French revolution was naturally watched with feelings of intense interest by the people of England, but with sentiments very opposite in their nature; and it required all the talents and vigour of those who were at the helm of state to uphold our ancient institutions, and direct the national councils with safety.

During the year 1794 the French armies were pretty generally successful. But whilst they spread terror abroad, the French nation groaned under the sanguinary despotism of Robespierre and his ruthless associates. The time had at length, however, arrived when this monster was to pay the forfeit of his own wretched life for the outrages he had committed, and the unparalleled misery he had caused. Being publicly accused of treason and tyranny by Tallien, he was arrested, and executed the following day, along with twenty-two of his principal accomplices, amidst the merited maledictions of the spectators. In a few days, above seventy members of the commune also shared a similar fate.

CHAPTER XXIV.

From the Establishment of the French Directory, to the Peace of Amiens.

A GREAT naval victory over the French was achieved by lord Howe on the 1st of June; and several West India islands were taken from them. The French troops were uniformly successful in Holland; the stadtholder was compelled to seek an asylum in England; and the country, under the new name of the Batavian republic, was incorporated with France. Soon after this, France received a new constitution, which placed the executive power in the hands of five directors, and the legislative in a council of elders, and a council of 'five hundred.'

In 1795 Prussia and Spain made peace with France, which gave the republicans an opportunity of bearing with their whole force on the frontiers of Germany. The royalists in La Vendée again rose, but were speedily reduced. About the same time the Cape of Good Hope and several of the Dutch East India possessions were taken by the English, whilst admirals Bridport, Hotham, and Cornwallis defeated the French fleets.

Once more let us revert to Polish affairs. The late partition of Poland had opened the eyes of Europe to the probable future encroachments of the courts of Vienna, Petersburgh, and Berlin; and the Poles, aware of their impending fate, resolved to oppose the designs of their enemies by a vigorous and unanimous effort. Under the brave Kosciusko they gave battle to the Russians, and maintained a long and sanguinary contest, which ended in their driving the enemy out of Warsaw, with immense slaughter. But the armies of Austria, Russia, and Prussia invaded Poland on every side; and Suwarrof, at the head of 50,000 men, annihilated their army, recaptured Warsaw, which they pillaged, and, sparing neither age nor sex, put to the sword nearly 30,000 individuals. The final partition of the kingdom then took place.

The campaign of 1796 opened with great vigour on the part of the allies as well as on that of the French, and numerous severe battles were fought in Germany, the advantage inclining rather to the side of the allies. Moreau, who had pursued his victorious career to the Danube, there received a check, and was forced to retrace his steps to the Rhine; but though often nearly surrounded by the Austrians, he effected one of the most masterly retreats of which we have any record in modern times.

But it was in Italy that the most brilliant success attended the French arms. The command had been given to Buonaparte. Having routed the Austrians and Piedmontese at Monte Notte and Millesimo, he compelled the king of Sardinia to sue for peace. Then followed his daring exploit at the bridge of Lodi, and his seizure of Bologna, Ferrara, and Urbino; till, at length, finding himself undisputed master of the north of Italy, he erected the Transpadane and Cis-padane republics.—Among the other events of the year may be noticed the capture of St. Lucia and Granada, in the West Indies, by Sir Ralph Abercrombie, the failure of a French expedition sent to invade Ireland, which was dispersed by adverse winds; the abandonment of Corsica by the British; some fruitless negotiations for peace between England and France; and the demise of the Empress Catherine II.

The papal states were next overrun by the French; and the pope was under the necessity of purchasing peace, not only with money and the surrender of many valuable statues, paintings, &c., but by the cession of part of his territories. Buonaparte then resolved to invade the hereditary states of the emperor; and the French armies having gained considerable advantages over their adversaries, the French directory took advantage of their position, or offered terms of peace, and a definitive treaty was eventually signed at Campo Formio. By this treaty the Venetian states, which had been revolutionised by Buonaparte during the negotiations, were ceded to Austria, while the Austrian possessions in the north of Italy and the Netherlands were given to France in exchange. Genoa about the same time was revolutionised, and assumed the name of the Ligurian republic.—At the latter end of this year lord Duncan obtained an important victory over the Dutch fleet off the coast of Holland.

The French having no other power than Great Britain now to contend with, the year 1798 was ushered in with rumours of a speedy invasion; and large bodies of troops, assembled on the opposite shores of France, were said to be destined for this grand attack, which was to be under the direction of the victorious general Buonaparte. These preparations were met in a suitable manner by the English, whose effective male population might almost literally be said to be embodied for the defence of the country. At the same time a dangerous and extensive rebellion broke out in Ireland; but the vigilance of the government defeated the intentions of the rebels, and they submitted, though not without the severest measures being adopted, and the consequent effusion of blood.

A secret naval expedition upon a large scale, with a well-appointed army on board, under the command of Buonaparte, had been for some time preparing. It at length set sail from Toulon, took possession of Malta on their way to Egypt, and, having eluded the vigilance of Nelson, safely landed near Alexandria, which town they stormed, and massacred the inhabitants. The veteran troops of France everywhere prevailed over the ill-disciplined Mamelukes, and the whole of Egypt soon submitted to the conqueror. Meanwhile admiral Nelson discovered and totally destroyed the French fleet in the bay of Aboukir. Whilst these events were passing in Egypt, the French government prosecuted its revolutionary principles wherever its emissaries could gain admittance. Rome was taken by them, the pope imprisoned, and a republic erected. Switzerland was also invaded, and notwithstanding the gallant efforts of the Swiss patriots, the country was united to France under the title of the Helvetian re-

public. The territory of Geneva was also incorporated with France. These unjustifiable invasions showed so plainly the aggrandising policy pursued by the French directory, that the emperors of Russia and Austria, the king of Naples, and the Porte united with England to check their ambitious designs.

The year 1799 presented a continued scene of active warfare. The Neapolitans, who had invaded the Roman territory, were not only driven back, but the whole kingdom of Naples submitted to the French, and the king was compelled to seek refuge in Sicily. The French armies also took possession of Tuscany and Piedmont: but the operations of the allies were conducted with vigour and success. The archduke Charles routed the French under Jourdain in the hard-fought battles of Ostrach and Stockach; and the Austro-Russian army obtained a decisive victory at Cassano, and drove the enemy to Milan and Genoa. The arms of the republic were equally unfortunate in other parts. Turin, Alessandria, and Mantua were taken; and the French, under Joubert and Moreau, were totally routed at Novi. Switzerland afterwards became the principal scene of action; and there also the army of Suwarrof was successful; but another Russian army, commanded by Korsakoff, was attacked and defeated by Massena, and Zurich taken by storm. In Italy, however, success still attended the allies. The French were expelled from Naples and Rome, and the papal chair was soon after occupied by Pius VII.

While these important military operations were occupying the armies in Europe, Buonaparte had reduced Egypt, and formed the resolution of invading Syria. El-Arish, Gaza, and Jaffa had surrendered; and, with the confidence of certain success, Acre was invested; but there, as in days of old, a British warrior was its defender. The courage and activity of Sir Sidney Smith resisted the repeated assaults of the French during a siege of sixty-nine days; and Buonaparte, though at the head of 12,000 veterans, was completely foiled in all his attempts, and was obliged to retreat into Egypt. He was afterwards successful in several encounters with the Turks, particularly at Aboukir; but foreseeing that the expedition would ultimately prove disastrous, he confided the command to general Kleber, and secretly returned to France. Buonaparte's invasion of Egypt was considered as preparatory to an attempt on India; where, at the very time, the British arms were crowned with great success—Seringapatam having been taken, and our formidable enemy, Tippoo Sahib, being found among the slain.

Discord and anarchy reigned throughout France, under the weak, yet arbitrary, administration of the directory; and the sudden appearance of Buonaparte was the signal for a new revolution in the government. At the head of the conspiracy was his brother Lucien, president of the council of five hundred, who was supported by Cambaceres Talleyrand, Sièyes, Fouche, &c. The directory was speedily overturned, a senate and three consuls were appointed, and Buonaparte was chosen first consul.

One of his first acts was that of making pacific overtures to England, which were rejected. He then put himself at the head of the army, crossed Mount St. Bernard, and marched from victory to victory, till the memorable battle of Marengo decided the fate of Italy. The successes of the French in Germany were of a less decisive nature; but the defeat of the allies at Hohenlinden induced Francis II. to sign the treaty of Luneville, by which he ceded some of his possessions in Germany, and transferred Tuscany to the duke of Parma.

At the beginning of 1801 England was without an ally, and had to contend with another formidable opponent in Paul I. of Russia, who had induced Sweden and Denmark to unite with him in forming an armed neutrality. To crush this northern confederacy in the bud, a large fleet was sent to the Baltic, under the command of Sir Hyde Parker and lord Nelson; Copenhagen was attacked, and the whole of the Danish ships were either taken or destroyed. This victory gave a fatal blow to the northern confederacy, which was eventually annihilated by the death of Paul, and the accession of his son Alexander, who immediately released the British vessels detained in his ports, and otherwise showed his inclination to be on amicable terms with England.

In Egypt general Kleber had been assassinated, and the command of the French troops devolved on Menou. An English army, under Sir Ralph Abercrombie, had now arrived; and a decisive victory was gained by them at Alexandria; but they had to lament the loss of their gallant commander, who fell in the action. Cairo, Rosetta, and Alexandria soon after surrendered, and the French agreed to evacuate the country. The other events of the year 1801 were of minor importance; and in the spring of the following year peace was signed at Amiens. England consented to surrender all its conquests, with the exception of Ceylon and Trinidad; the Ionian islands were to form a republic; and Malta was to be restored to its original possessors.

A new constitution was given to France in 1802, by which Buonaparte was declared chief consul for life; the whole of the executive authority, and even the appointment of his two colleagues being vested in him. New constitutions were also given to Switzerland and the Italian republics. About this period Buonaparte sent a considerable force to reduce the island of St. Domingo, where Toussaint L'Ouverture, a negro, had erected a republic. After an obstinate and sanguinary contest, the rebellious negroes submitted, and Toussaint was treacherously seized and sent to France; but the French were unable fully to recover the island.

CHAPTER XXV.

From the Recommencement of Hostilities, to the Treaty of Tilsit.

THE treaty of Amiens was little better than a hollow truce; and many disputes arising respecting its fulfilment, the war was resumed. In open violation of the law of nations, Buonaparte immediately commanded the arrest of all the English whom business or pleasure had drawn into France. Hanover was invaded and plundered; and an immense force was collected on the French coast, for the avowed purpose of annihilating the British power: but this, as before, proved an empty boast. Holland, being placed under the control of France, was dragged into the war, and soon lost her colonies. St. Domingo threw off its forced allegiance to France, and Dessalines, the successor of Toussaint, was made president of the republic of Hayti, the ancient name of the island. The English at this time were very successful in India, under the government of the marquis of Wellesley.

The personal ambition of Buonaparte was every day more evident, and he at length resolved to annihilate the republic and crown himself with an imperial diadem. Having procured the assassination of the duke d'Enghien, and by the basest arts impressed on the minds of the people an idea that treasonable practices were carrying on against him, the servile senate, desirous, as they said, of investing him with the highest title of sovereignty, in order the more effectually to establish his authority, proclaimed him emperor of the French,—a title which was acknowledged immediately by all the sovereigns of Europe, Great Britain and Sweden alone excepted: A.D. 1804.

During the following year Buonaparte assumed the iron crown of Lombardy, under the title of king of Italy, which aroused the indignation of Francis II., who united with England and Russia. But an event which of all others was most calculated to raise the hopes of the allies, was the unexampled victory gained by Nelson off Trafalgar (Oct. 21) over the combined fleets of France and Spain.

In Germany the Austrian army was doomed to suffer great loss. At the head of 140,000 soldiers, Napoleon crossed the Rhine; and at Ulm, the Austrian general Mack surrendered his whole force, consisting of 140,000 men. Vienna was soon after entered by Napoleon, and at length the Austrians were completely defeated at the battle of Austerlitz. This induced Francis to sue for peace; and a treaty was concluded at Presburg, by which he ceded to France the states of Venice, and resigned the Tyrol, &c., to the newly created king of Wirtemburg.

Early in 1806 the English retook the Cape of Good Hope from the Dutch. About the same time Naples was invaded by the French, and Napoleon gave his brother, Joseph Buonaparte, the crown of that kingdom, its legitimate sovereign having previously retired to Sicily. Holland was also erected into a kingdom, and given to his brother Louis. Amidst these and other important changes for the aggrandisement of his family, Buonaparte formed the 'confederation of the Rhine,' the name given to those states whose rulers renounced the ancient laws of the empire. The continued encroachments of France now roused the king of Prussia, who rushed precipitately into a war, and imprudently staked his fortune on the chance of one battle. This was the celebrated battle of Jena, where 110,000 Prussians and Saxons contended with 150,000 of the French, and were defeated and closely pursued. Berlin fell into the hands of the victors, and the Prussian general Blucher, after a brave resistance, was forced to capitulate. Prince Hohenlohe and his army surrendered at Prentzlau. Silesia was overrun by the French, who penetrated into Poland, and excited the Poles to assert their independence. The Russians, who were now advancing, met and defeated the French at Pultusk; and, notwithstanding the combined efforts of Murat, Lasnes, and Ney, they were also successful at Golomyn. In the insolence of power, Napoleon, at Berlin, issued his famous decree, prohibiting all commercial intercourse with the British isles, and commanding the confiscation of every article of British manufacture; which scheme of exclusion he dignified with the name of the 'continental system.'

The grand Russian army under Benningsen, encountered a superior French force near Eylau, where a sanguinary but indecisive conflict ensued. Dantzic surrendered to Lefevre; and a complete victory, gained by the French at Friedland, was shortly followed by the treaty of Tilsit. The Russians and Prussians submitted to all the imperious demands of Napoleon; but Gustavus, king of Sweden, alone refused to treat with him, or to recognise his imperial dignity.

The Danes having yielded to the influence of France, an expedition was sent thither by England for the purpose of preventing the Danish fleet from falling into the hands of the French. Copenhagen surrendered after a few days' siege, and the ships and naval stores were delivered to the English. This act of aggression was resented by the emperor of Russia, who declared war against England. Among other remarkable events of this year, were the departure of the prince regent of Portugal and his court to the Brazils; the conquest of Portugal by the French; and the erection of Saxony into a kingdom.

CHAPTER XXVI.

The French Invasion of Spain, and subsequent Peninsular War.

WHAT open force could not effect, was carried by intrigue and treachery. Napoleon having invited Charles IV., king of Spain, to a conference at Bayonne, seized his person, compelled him to abdicate, and transferred the crown to Joseph Buonaparte, whose place at Naples was soon after

occupied by Murat, Napoleon's brother-in-law. Spain was filled with French troops, and no opposition was dreaded; but as soon as the Spaniards recovered from their consternation, the people rose in all parts, and proclaimed Ferdinand VII. The patriots began the war with great spirit; the usurper fled from Madrid; whilst Palafox and the brave inhabitants of Saragossa gained immortal honour by the invincible courage they displayed in defending their town against the furious attacks of the French, who were eventually compelled to retreat.

The Portuguese followed the example of the Spaniards; and a British army, commanded by Sir Arthur Wellesley, landed and defeated the French general Junot at Vimiera. But Sir Hugh Dalrymple arriving to assume the command, the convention of Cintra was entered into, by which the French army, with all its baggage, artillery, &c., were to be conveyed to France. An English army of 30,000 men, under Sir John Moore, landed in Spain, and advanced as far as Salamanca; but the French force in that country amounted to 150,000. Madrid was taken; and the English, not being well supported by the Spaniards, were compelled to retreat. At Corunna a severe battle was fought, and Sir John Moore was mortally wounded.

Austria having declared war against France, Napoleon entered the field; repulsed the Austrians at Eckmuhl, and took possession of Vienna. The archduke Charles gave him battle near Essling, which was desperately contested, and terminated in favour of the Austrians; but soon after, at Wagram, the French gained an important victory. The brave Tyrolese in this campaign made the most heroic efforts against the French; but the patriot Hofer was taken and shot.

A most unsuccessful expedition was undertaken by the English against Antwerp. It was composed of nearly 40,000 men; great numbers of whom were swept off by a pestilential fever while in possession of the island of Walcheren: and the remainder returned without effecting any useful object. In other parts the English were more successful, having taken Cayenne, Martinique, and three of the Ionian islands.

In Turkey the sultan Selim had been assassinated; Mahmoud was seated on the throne; and peace was concluded between the Porte and Great Britain. After a protracted negotiation with Napoleon, the emperor of Austria signed the treaty of Vienna, by which he was obliged to surrender to France, Bavaria, and Russia a considerable portion of his dominions.

Sir Arthur Wellesley had now the chief command in the Peninsula. He forced the passage of the Douro, recovered Oporto, and drove Soult out of Portugal. He then defeated the French, with great slaughter, at Talavera; but the enemy being reinforced, he was obliged to retreat. His great services were, however, duly appreciated, and he was created baron Wellington. At the close of 1809 the Spanish patriots sustained some severe defeats, and Gerona was taken by them. Marshals Junot and Ney commenced the ensuing campaign with the capture of Astora and Cuidad Rodrigo; while Massena entered Portugal, and took Almeida. At Busaco lord Wellington defeated him; and, reaching the impregnable lines of Torres Vedras, he took up a strong position, from which the French could not dislodge him; and Massena soon afterwards commenced a disastrous retreat.

The campaign of 1811 was distinguished by a series of battles, in which the contending armies displayed great bravery, but without any decided advantage to either in the end. Among those in which the allies were most successful, were Badajoz, Albuera, and Barrosa. The year 1811 was also memorable as the period when the Spanish American colonies began to renounce their allegiance to Spain, and struggle for independence.

In 1812 the events of the war assumed a new complexion. A change had taken place in the government of Spain, and more earnestness and energy was displayed in its councils. Lord Wellington commenced with the capture of Cuidad Rodrigo and Badajoz; then advancing into Spain, he gained a decisive victory over Marmont near Salamanca; which was followed by his entrance into Madrid, where he was received with the most enthusiastic acclamations. In the meantime the patriot armies in the north of Spain were eminently successful; and in the south the French were compelled to raise the siege of Cadiz, and evacuate Granada, Cordova, Seville, &c.

CHAPTER XXVII.

From the Invasion of Russia by the French, to the Restoration of the Bourbons.

We must now take a rapid review of those extraordinary scenes in the North which riveted the attention of all Europe, and filled every breast with anxious expectation. The emperor Alexander felt himself humiliated, and his country injured, by that rigid observance of the 'continental system' which Napoleon had insisted on; and the boundless ambition of the latter, added to his hatred of all that was English, led him to attempt the subjugation of the Russian empire. He concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Austria, Prussia, and the confederation of the Rhine, whose forces were destined to swell his ranks. The immense army, amounting to above 475,000 men, now marched towards the Russian frontiers; and the Russians gradually retired at the approach of the enemy, who, though checked and harassed in every way possible, pressed onward with amazing rapidity. At length a tremendous battle was fought under the walls of Smolensko, and the city was quickly after evacuated, the Russians retreating on Moscow. Having received daily accessions of troops, among whom were numerous bodies of Cossacks, Kutusoff, the Russian commander, determined on hazarding a grand

battle; when a most sanguinary contest ensued, in which the French lost about 40,000 and the Russians 30,000 men. But Napoleon being reinforced, he was enabled to take possession of Moscow; he had scarcely, however, taken up his headquarters in the Kremlin, before he discovered that the city was set on fire in several places, by order of Rostopchin, its patriotic governor, and the greater part of it was soon reduced to a heap of ruins. Thus being in a moment, as it were, deprived of shelter, and feeling the severity of a Russian winter fast approaching, Napoleon endeavoured to negotiate; but Alexander, who, at the commencement of the French invasion, had declared that 'now the sword was drawn he would not again sheath it as long as an enemy remained in his dominions,' indignantly rejected every proposition. Cut off from all supplies, and exposed to the incessant attacks of the exasperated Russians, among whom were hordes of Cossacks, the wretched troops commenced one of the most disastrous retreats every recorded in history. Again and again had they to sustain the vigorous attacks of their pursuers, till the whole route was strewn with baggage, artillery, and ammunition, and with the mangled and frozen bodies of men and horses. Of the mighty force that invaded Russia, only 30,000 returned to France; 400,000 perished or were made prisoners; while the author of all their unparalleled sufferings basely deserted his army, travelled through Poland and Germany in disguise, and reached his capital in safety.

The unexampled reverses of Napoleon were hailed by the nations on the continent as the signal for their deliverance from his iron grasp. Alexander concluded an alliance with Sweden and Prussia, and they prepared for hostilities. Some sanguinary but indecisive battles were fought, and a short armistice was agreed upon, during which time Austria joined the league, and all parties prepared for the renewal of the contest with increased vigour. The greatest unanimity prevailed in the councils of the allied sovereigns. Their armies made a formidable attack on Dresden, though they failed in their object of taking the city by a *coup-de-main*; but the veteran Blucher defeated the enemy at Katzbach, and thereby delivered Silesia. Vandamme was beaten at Culm, and Ney at Jutterbock. It was now resolved that the whole of the allied armies should make a simultaneous effort to crush the common enemy. The forces of Napoleon were concentrated at Leipsic, and there it was that the allies attacked and totally defeated him. The sanguinary battle raged from dawn of day till night; both sides suffered immense loss, but that of the French was by far the greatest. Consulting his own personal safety, as in his retreat from Russia, Buonaparte hastily reached Paris: while the French garrisons which occupied the Saxon and Prussian fortresses were abandoned to their fate. The victory of Leipsic aroused every nation yet in alliance with France to throw off the oppressor's yoke. Among the number was Holland, whose inhabitants expelled the French, and recalled the prince of Orange.

The Russian campaign and the war that now raged in Germany, had proved beneficial to the Spanish cause, by withdrawing many of Napoleon's experienced generals and veteran troops. Lord Wellington crossed the Douro, and, marching northwards, came up with the French army, commanded by marshal Jourdain, at Vittoria, where he obtained a decisive victory, June 21, 1813. The memorable siege of St. Sebastian, and the defeat of marshal Soult, to whose skill the task of defending the frontiers of France was confided, were the other most prominent events of the campaign; and France was soon after entered on the south-west by the English and Spaniards, and on the north-east by the combined armies of Russia, Prussia, and Austria.

In the meanwhile the French emperor obtained a levy of 300,000 men, to oppose the threatened invasion. Several engagements took place; but the allies marched steadily on, by different routes, and at length approached the city of Paris, which capitulated. On the following day (March 31, 1814), the emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia, accompanied by their generals and staff, made their triumphal entry into Paris, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants, who, whether sincere or not, made the air resound with reiterated cries of 'Vive l'Empereur Alexandre;' 'Vivent les Bourbons;' 'A bas le tyran,' &c. In the meantime the marquis of Wellington had defeated Soult near Toulouse, and was advancing towards the capital. Napoleon, finding that the senate had deposed him, and that the allied powers were determined not to enter into any treaty with him as sovereign of France, abdicated his usurped crown at Fontainbleau; and the isle of Elba, with a suitable income, was assigned him for his future residence. Louis XVIII. was placed on the throne of his ancestors; the other sovereigns who had been deprived of their dominions were restored: and all Europe once more hailed a general peace.

We must not omit to notice, that the Americans having been dissatisfied with the British orders in council, resulting from the Berlin and Milan decrees of Napoleon, thought proper, in 1812, to declare war against England, and forthwith invaded Canada: they were, however, speedily driven back; but the war was prosecuted with more of animosity than energy, and was chiefly confined to conflicts on the lakes, and actions between frigates. At length, some of the regiments which had served in the peninsular campaigns were sent across the Atlantic: the city of Washington was taken; and a peace was concluded at the latter end of 1814.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

From the Return of Buonaparte from Elba, to the general Peace.

In March, 1815, whilst the plenipotentiaries and the allied sovereigns were occu

pled at the congress of Vienna in laying the foundation of a permanent peace, the astounding news arrived that Napoleon had left Elba, and landed in France, with about 1,150 followers. Such was the encouragement he received, that when, on the 19th, he reached Fontainbleau, he was at the head of 15,000 veterans, with the certainty that numerous corps were advancing on every side to join his standard. Preparations were made to arrest his progress; but on his march he was powerfully reinforced, and he reached Paris unmolested. Louis had previously quitted the capital, and now sought an asylum in the Netherlands. The allied sovereigns in the meantime issued a manifesto, in which it was declared, that Napoleon Buonaparte, by violating the convention in virtue of which he had been settled at Elba, had forfeited every claim to protection, and he was solemnly pronounced an outlaw.

In answer to this manifesto Napoleon published a declaration, asserting that he was recalled to the throne by the unanimous wish of the French people. Large armies were assembled with all possible expedition; and Buonaparte, with extraordinary celerity, opened the short but ever-memorable campaign, by attacking the advanced posts of the Prussians on the 15th of June. On that and the following day considerable success attended his arms; but on the field of Waterloo (June 18) the genius of Wellington and the steady valour of the British troops gave a death-blow to his hopes, and once more rescued Europe from its degrading thraldom. Having witnessed the irretrievable ruin of his army, he fled with the greatest precipitation from the field of battle; while the residue of his discomfited troops were pursued by the Prussians under Blucher. The combined armies now rapidly advanced towards Paris; and Buonaparte, finding that his reign was at an end, fled to the sea-coast, in the hope of making his escape to America. In this, however, he was foiled by the vigilance of the British cruisers; and he at length surrendered to Captain Maitland, of the Bellerophon, who, at his request, brought him to the British shores, though he was not permitted to land. After some discussion it was resolved that he should be imprisoned for life in the island of St. Helena, whither, accompanied by a small train of attendants, he was forthwith sent. Louis XVIII. was a second time restored to his throne. An act of amnesty was passed; from which a few of Napoleon's most strenuous supporters were excluded; whilst Ney and Labedoyère were shot.

By the terms of the treaty entered into between France and the allied powers, it was agreed that sixteen of the frontier fortresses of France should be garrisoned by the allies for five years, and that 15,000 allied troops, under the duke of Wellington, should be maintained in that kingdom for the same space of time. The following arrangements were also concluded at the congress of Vienna; Prussia was enriched by the annexation of a portion of Saxony, and recovered Lusatia; Russia received a large part of Poland; the Venetian territories were given to Austria; Genoa was assigned to the king of Sardinia; the Papal dominions were restored; while the United Provinces and the Netherlands were formed into a kingdom for the prince of Orange. England restored to the Dutch some of the colonies she had taken from them, and various minor changes also took place. A confederation was then entered into by the sovereign states of Germany for mutual defence and the prevention of internal war. And, to crown the whole, the emperors of Russia and Austria, with the king of Prussia, bound themselves by a solemn compact, called the Holy Alliance; the professed object of which was to preserve the peace of Europe, and to maintain the principles of Christianity in their respective dominions.

Having brought our 'Outline Sketch of General History' down to a period so momentous, we shall leave all subsequent events for narration in the Histories of separate countries which follow. In the brief and cursory Introduction we have given, the reader has had a rapid view of the rise and fall of empires, the excesses of despotic power, and some of the countless evils attendant on a state of anarchy. Still it must be remembered that in this slight sketch we have only pioneered the way.

EUROPE.

EUROPE lies almost entirely in the northern temperate zone; a small part of it at the northern extremity is extended beyond the arctic circle, but it does not approach nearer to the equator than 35½ degrees. On the east and south-east it is bounded by Asia; on the west, north-west, and south-west, by the Atlantic Ocean; on the north, by the Frozen Ocean; and on the south, by the Mediterranean Sea. It is about 3,400 miles in length, from Cape St. Vincent in Portugal, to the Uralian mountains in Russia; and 2,500 miles in breadth, from Cape Matapan, to the North Cape in Lapland.

In proportion to its size, Europe is the most populous of all the great divisions of the globe: and, except in its northern states, it enjoys an agreeable temperature of climate. The soil, though not equal in luxuriance to that of the tropics, is well adapted to tillage and pasturage; so that it affords a copious supply of the necessaries of life, whilst its mines produce the most useful metals, and its seas teem with fish.

In no part of the world are manufactures carried to such perfection as in several of the European countries, especially in Great Britain, France, and Germany; and that

commercial intercourse which of late years has so very greatly increased, is gradually obliterating national prejudices, exciting emulation, rewarding industry, cultivating feelings of mutual esteem, and increasing the comforts, conveniences, and luxuries of all. To the commerce of Europe, in fact, there appears to be no limits; its traders are to be seen in every country, and every sea is filled with its ships. Moreover, as the seat of art and science; as the region where civilisation is ever in active progress, and where Christianity is extending its benign influence far and wide, Europe indeed maintains a proud preeminence; and, judging from present appearances, its inhabitants bid fair, at no distant day, to extend their dominions, already vast, by colonising and giving laws to nations now scarcely emerging from barbarism.

ASIA.

THE general history of this division of the world carries us back to the creation. The cradle of our first parents, and the portion of the earth where the most stupendous acts of divine power and wisdom have been displayed, Asia presents a most interesting subject for the contemplative mind. It was here that the world before the flood, as far as we know, was concentered. It was here that the antediluvian patriarchs settled, and spread abroad the families of the earth. After the flood, Asia was the heart of life, the source of all that population which has since covered the globe with its myriads of inhabitants. The present race of Asiatics is deduced from the Hebrews, the Indians, and the Tartars. It is foreign to our purpose to follow the series of the various tribes of population, which, from the great fountain, overspread the earth, and especially Europe. Indeed, the whole of Europe, however elevated in the scale of reason and intelligence above their primitive sources, derived its people and language from Asia; whilst from Asia Minor have flowed arms, arts, and learning.

AFRICA.

AFRICA is situated to the south of Europe, and to the west and south-west of Asia. It is separated from the former by the Mediterranean Sea and the Straits of Gibraltar; and from Asia by the Red Sea, at the most northerly extremity of which it is united to Asia by the isthmus of Suez.

The history of this immense peninsula, like several of the kingdoms of which it is composed, is involved in much obscurity. Interesting as are the monuments of former greatness to be found in this part of the world, especially in Egypt, there are no memorials on which the eye of science rests with more intensity of attention than upon those tablets which have enshrined the names of her several martyrs, from the time of Pharaoh Necho, to the inhuman murders of many an enterprising European traveller. The sun of civilisation, which once illumined with all its splendour one portion of this division of the world, has been greatly obscured; and of the greater part of it we may say,

'Shadows, clouds, and darkness rest upon it.'

AMERICA.

THIS vast continent, or, New World of the Western Hemisphere, lies between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, the former separating it from Europe and Africa, and the latter from Africa and Australia. Its immense rivers and prodigious mountain chains are quite unequalled in the world; and the bays, lakes, cataracts, and forests are also of unrivalled extent and grandeur. It is divided into North and South America, and is in length above 9,000 miles; possessing, of course, every variety of climate, from the burning heat of the torrid zone, to the intense cold of the arctic circle.

Since its discovery by Columbus, vast numbers of Europeans have made this continent their home, the generality being attracted hither by the capabilities it seemed to afford them of enriching themselves; America has also been an asylum for the victims of political and religious persecution. But, though abounding with every production necessary for the comfort and convenience of man, the avarice of its European settlers has not only driven its original inhabitants from their native homes, but stamped the land with the curse of African slavery.

A SERIES OF SEPARATE HISTORIES.

THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF EGYPT.

It would be an idle task to draw up any continuous narrative of Egyptian history before the time when the country was thrown open to Greek commerce, in the seventh century B.C. Herodotus himself 'draws a marked distinction between the history of Egypt before Psammetichus and the following period. The former he gives as the narrative of the priests, without professing to guarantee it; the latter he evidently believes to be well ascertained. And we find that from Psammetichus downwards, Herodotus and Manetho are in tolerable harmony, whereas even for the sovereigns occupying the last fifty years before Psammetichus, there are many and irreconcilable differences between them.'* For times still earlier, these contradictions become hopelessly bewildering. It is true that Baron Bunsen, in his great work on Egypt's Place in Universal History, claims to have reconstructed the history of that country for nearly ten thousand years before the Christian era: but this result has been confessedly attained without that contemporary evidence which is held to be indispensable in verifying the events of modern history. Baron Bunsen thinks that he has succeeded in his efforts partly from the evidence of language, partly from that of architecture, taken along with the claims of the Egyptians themselves, and the further proofs furnished by hieroglyphical inscriptions. On all these points Sir Cornewall Lewis has joined issue with Baron Bunsen; but for the whole controversy we can only refer the reader to Sir C. Lewis's Astronomy of the Ancients (chapter vi.). His main arguments lie in the fact that the notices given by foreign writers of the earlier Egyptian history, all profess to be derived from the same source, and are all utterly contradictory; that the description which they give of the sacred writings of the Egyptians cannot be reconciled with the modern account of the hieroglyphical inscriptions; that owing to a long interrupted tradition the modern Coptic can furnish very little, if any, aid in the interpretation of them; and that, unless a building can assert its own date, an inscription found on a building is worth nothing more than a manuscript. If these inscriptions have been rightly deciphered, they would seem only to add one more to many contradictory versions already in existence. We may take the great name of Egyptian antiquity, Sesostris, who is said to have extended his conquests into Thrace and beyond the Ganges. Now in Herodotus, Sesostris comes next after Mœris, 1046 B.C. In Manetho, he is the third king of the twelfth dynasty, 3404 B.C. In Diodorus, he is separated from Mœris by seven generations, and appears under the name of Sesoosis. Baron Bunsen settles the difficulty by cutting him up into three kings belonging to three different dynasties; to do this, he claims, like Niebuhr, a certain faculty of historical divination; but to the reader such a claim resolves itself into a demand of implicit submission to the verdict of an arbitrary authority. With regard to the Egyptian buildings, Sir Cornewall Lewis is of opinion that there is no sufficient historical ground for placing any of them at a date anterior to that of the building of Solomon's Temple, 1012 B.C. Whatever may be the value of this opinion, there can be no doubt that the Egyptian claim to be the source whence the Greeks derived their scientific knowledge is utterly unfounded. If tradition says that Thales got his science from Egypt, another states that he taught the Egyptians how to measure the Pyramids. The sojourn of Anaxagorus in Egypt is a mere fiction, and Democritus of Abdera affirms his own superiority, whether to Egyptians or others, in geometrical demonstrations. Plato, who speaks of some of the planets as being first named by Egyptians, yet calls them by names which are distinctively Greek. Aristotle makes no mention of Egyptian astronomical treatises, or indeed of anything received from them in writing. Cæsar, it is said, received instruction in Egypt; but he received it not at the hand of Egyptian priests, but in the Greek school of Alexandria.

If there is little or no evidence that Egypt exercised an influence on the art

* Grote, History of Greece, Part II. ch. xx. vol. iii. p. 435.

and science of the Greeks, the fact of Egyptian colonisation in Greece is at once set aside. The legends of Cecrops and his colony from Sais were invented to account for this influence; but, as Grote has urged,* 'If we examine the character and aptitude of the Greeks as compared either with Egyptians or Phœnicians, it will appear that there is not only no analogy, but an obvious and fundamental contrast; the Greek may occasionally be found a borrower from these ultramarine contemporaries, but he cannot be looked upon as their offspring or derivative.'

It would seem, then, that we are unable to determine from whence or how Egyptian institutions first took their rise; but we can accept at once, on the testimony of Herodotus, the description which he gives of Egyptian society in his time as being substantially true. The population was classified into certain castes or hereditary professions, of which the lower were kept in a state of abject submission to those of the priests and warriors,† and were employed in executing those enormous works which still remain as the special monuments of Egyptian power. From the time when the Greeks first knew anything about the country, Memphis was the first city in Egypt. In earlier times, as the architectural evidence would go far to prove, Thebes had been the chief seat of Egyptian power, and Upper (or Southern) Egypt the place 'to which the land tax from the productive Delta was paid, and where the kings and priests who employed it resided.'

Long before the establishment of the Greeks at Naucratis, Egypt had had a caravan trade with Phœnicia, Palestine, Arabia, and Assyria. Towards the close of the eighth century B.C., the aggressions of Salmaneser and Sennacherib, kings of Assyria, changed the relations which previously subsisted between these countries. Sennacherib is related by Herodotus to have been miraculously repulsed in Egypt. About the middle of the 7th century B.C., Psammetichus became king of Egypt, (on the overthrow, it is said, of the dodecarchy or confederacy of twelve chiefs, who shared the supreme power after the death of king Sethos,) and proceeded to open the country to Greek trade and enterprise. The discontent thus caused, we are told, drove 240,000 of the caste of warriors to migrate into Ethiopia, leaving their wives and children behind them; but these numbers are in no way to be relied on.‡ Psammetichus was succeeded by his son (Pharaoh) Necho, who invaded Judæa in his quarrel with Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon. The issue of this invasion was the death of king Josiah in battle at Megiddo (Herodotus says Magdolon), and the conquest of Jerusalem by the Egyptians. Necho was, however, defeated at Carchemish by Nebuchadnezzar, who attacked the Phœnician cities, and besieged Tyre for thirteen years. He was succeeded by his son Psammis, and the latter by Apries (Pharaoh Hophrah) who was dethroned by Amasis, a Saitic Egyptian of low birth. Towards the close of the reign of Amasis, the Persians invaded Egypt under Cambyses, the son of Cyrus. Amasis himself died before the fall of the kingdom, but his son Psammenitus fell into the hands of the conqueror, and was by him put to death, B.C. 525.

The Persians remained masters of Egypt until the year 327 B.C., when it was conquered by Alexander the Great, who was received with joy by the Egyptians; the Persians having made themselves odious to the people by their exactions, and by their contempt of the Egyptian religion.

Alexander, as great in the cabinet as in the field, permitted the conquered to enjoy their own laws and customs. He founded Alexandria, which soon became the deposit of the commerce of the East; and it ceased not to flourish until the discovery of a passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope. After the death of the Macedonian hero, Ptolemy Soter, one of his generals, took upon himself the government of Egypt, and his descendants enjoyed it till the year 30 of the Christian era, when it was conquered by the Romans; and it became a province to that empire after the defeat of Marc Antony, and the death of Cleopatra.

The Ptolemies governed Egypt for 293 years. The four first of the family were active and wise princes, who promoted the prosperity of their country, and encouraged literature and the arts.

Ptolemy Soter, the son and successor of Ptolemy Lagus, established an academy of learned men at Alexandria, and founded the celebrated library at that city, which, by the time of the Roman conquest, contained 700,000 volumes. It was in part accidentally destroyed by fire in Julius Cæsar's attack on Alexandria; but the losses were replaced in succeeding centuries, until the 7th after Christ, when it was totally destroyed by order of the Mohammedan caliph Omar.

For nearly seven centuries Egypt belonged to the Roman and Greek empires, and was for a lengthened period the granary, as it were, of Rome. It then remained under the power of the Mohammedan caliphs till the beginning of the 12th century, when they were expelled by the Turcomans, who in their turn gave way to the Mamelukes, in 1250.

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* History of Greece, vol. ii. p. 357.
† Ibid. vol. iii. p. 428. ‡ Ibid. p. 440.

THE HISTORY OF PERSIA.

THE limits of this most ancient and celebrated empire have been variously stated. In the books of Daniel, Esdras, &c., it is called by the names of Pars or Pharas, whence the modern name of Persia; but from what those names were derived is now uncertain.

From the accounts of those who have most studied the subject it would appear that the ancient kingdom of Persia was situated more to the east and north-east than the present; whence, until its authority extended over Media and Assyria, it was but little known to the nations of Europe. It is sometimes spoken of as the kingdom of Bactria, from Balhica, or Balkh, its capital; but is termed by Oriental writers, Iran. The country beyond it, constituting modern Tartary, the Scythia of the ancients, is called by the orientals, Turan; and between these two, Iran and Turan, collisions were frequent in early times.

The history of Persia first emerges from the obscurity of antiquity with Cyrus. With him (559—529 B.C.) began the period of Persian power in the west. By uniting the Persians and Medes under his sceptre, he made them the ruling nation in western Asia; he conquered Crœsus, took Babylon, and reduced Asia Minor.

Although the history of Cyrus is very obscure, it is certain that he not only founded a vast empire, but established it by his genius and valour. He defeated the Babylonians, together with all their numerous allies, at the famous battle of Thymbra, overturned the monarchy, and made himself master of Babylon. He afterwards considerably extended his conquests; and the boundary of his vast empire was the river Indus on the east, the Caspian and Euxine Seas on the north, the Ægean Sea on the west, and the Arabian or Persian Gulf, on the south.

Cyrus was succeeded by his son Cambyses (529—522), who conquered Tyre, Cyprus, and Egypt. After him, a Magian ruled for a short time, who gave himself out as Smerdis, brother of Cambyses. He was dethroned, and Darius Hystaspes obtained the crown by lot, or the choice of his colleagues (521–487 B.C.). He reduced the revolted kingdom of Babylon, and subdued Thrace, Macedonia, and a small part of India; but his attempt to conquer the Scythians beyond the Danube was unsuccessful. He reduced the Greek colonies in Asia Minor, which had attempted to shake off the Persian yoke (501 B.C.): but he was unfortunate in his war against the European Greeks, and Egypt revolted from him. His son Xerxes (487–467 B.C.) effected the submission of Egypt, but was defeated by the Greeks at Salamis, and was obliged to defend himself against their attacks in a disastrous war.

Under Artaxerxes Macrocheir, or Longimanus (the *Ahasuerus* of the Scriptures), the first symptoms of decline became visible. Egypt again revolted, and was again conquered, after a bloody struggle. The Greek war terminated disadvantageously, in 449 B.C.; and Megabyzus excited a dangerous insurrection. The next changes of government were rapid and violent. Xerxes II., his only legitimate son, was murdered, after a reign of forty-five days, by his natural brother, Sogdianus, who suffered the same fate six months afterwards, by the hands of another illegitimate son of Artaxerxes—Ochus, who assumed the name of Darius II., and reigned until 404 B.C. under the influence of his wife Parysatis. The revolts of his satraps hastened the decline of the empire and the Persians were obliged to acknowledge independent kings in Egypt. But the internal troubles in Greece, of which the Persians artfully took advantage, saved them, for a time, from a united attack by the Greeks. Artaxerxes (or Mnemon) was entirely subservient to the will of his mother, Parysatis. His brother Cyrus, who had been made governor of Asia Minor, supported by 10,000 Greeks, under Xenophon, attempted to dethrone him (400 B.C.), but he was defeated and killed.

The army of Cyrus comprised a body of Greek mercenaries, who, after the death of the prince, effected their retreat through the heart of Persia, in defiance of all attempts to cut them off. A particular account of this has been given by their commander, Xenophon, and is known as 'the retreat of the ten thousand.'

Artaxerxes III. secured his throne by putting to death his numerous brothers He reestablished the Persian supremacy over Phœnicia and Egypt, but was a luxurious and cruel prince. After a reign of 23 years, he was poisoned by his minister, Bagoas, an Egyptian, in revenge for the indignities he had heaped on the religion of his country. Bagoas then gave the crown to Darius Codomannus, a prince of the blood, who was conquered by Alexander in three decisive actions, on the Granicus, at Issus, and at Arbela, and lost his life (330 B.C.); after which Alexander made himself master of the whole empire.

After the battle of Arbela, Alexander took and plundered Persepolis, whence he marched into Media, in pursuit of Darius, who had fled to Ecbatana, the capital. This prince had still an army of 30,000 foot, among whom were 4,000 Greeks, who continued faithful to the last. Besides these he had 4,000 slingers and 3,000 horse, most of them Bactrians, commanded by Bessus. When Darius heard that Alexander had marched to Ecbatana, he retired into Bactria, with a design to raise another army; but soon after he determined to ven-

ture a battle with the forces he still had left. On this, Bessus, governor of Bactria, and Nabarzanes, a Persian lord, formed a conspiracy to seize his person, and, if Alexander pursued them, to gain his friendship by betraying their master into his hands; but if they escaped, their design was to murder him and usurp the crown. The troops were easily gained over; but Darius himself, when informed of their proceedings, and solicited to trust his person among the Greeks, could not give credit to the report. The consequence was, that he was in a few days seized by traitors; who bound him with golden chains, and, shutting him up in a covered cart, fled with him to Bactria. After a most extraordinary march in pursuit of Darius, Alexander was informed that the Persian monarch was in the custody of Bessus and Nabarzanes, and that he himself was within one day's march of the conspirators, whom, indeed, he soon afterwards overtook, as they were marching in great confusion. His unexpected appearance struck them, though far superior in number, with such terror, that they immediately fled; and, because Darius refused to follow them, Bessus, and those who were about him, discharged their darts at the unfortunate prince, leaving him wallowing in his blood. After this they all fled different ways, and were pursued by the Macedonians with great slaughter.

In the meantime, the horses that drew the cart in which Darius was shut up, stopped; for the drivers had been previously killed by Bessus; and Polystratus, a Macedonian, being distressed with thirst, was directed by the inhabitants to a fountain near the place. As he was filling his helmet with water, he heard the groans of a dying man; and, looking round him, discovered a cart with a team of wounded horses, unable to move. Approaching it, he perceived Darius lying in the cart, having several darts in his body. He had enough of strength, however, left to call for some water, which Polystratus brought him; and, after drinking, he turned to the Macedonian, and with a faint voice told him, that, in the deplorable state to which he was reduced, it was no small comfort to him that his last words would not be lost: he then charged him to return his hearty thanks to Alexander for the kindness he had shown to his wife and family, and to acquaint him, that, with his last breath, he besought the gods to prosper him, and make him sole monarch of the world. He added, that it did not so much concern him as Alexander to pursue and bring to condign punishment those traitors who had treated their lawful sovereign with such cruelty. Then taking Polystratus by the hand, 'Give Alexander your hand,' said he, 'as I give you mine, and carry him, in my name, the only pledge I am able to give, in this condition, of my gratitude and affection.' Having uttered these words, he expired in the arms of Polystratus. Alexander coming up a few minutes after, bewailed his death, and caused his body to be interred with the highest honours. The traitor Bessus being at last reduced to extreme difficulties, was delivered up by his own men, naked and bound, into the hands of the Macedonians; on which Alexander gave him to Oxyathres, the brother of Darius, to suffer what punishment he should think proper. The manner of it is thus described by Plutarch:—Several trees being by main force bent down to the ground, and one of the traitor's limbs tied to each of them, the trees, as they were suffered to return to their natural position, flew back with such violence that each carried with it a limb. Thus ended the ancient empire of Persia, 209 years after it had been founded by Cyrus, and leaving Alexander its sovereign, B.C. 329.

THE HISTORY OF PALESTINE

AND, MORE PARTICULARLY, OF

THE JEWS.

By the various names of Hebrews, Israelites, or Jews, was known this most illustrious people of ancient times, who dwelt in the land then called Canaan. Contrary to the obscurity in which the origin of other nations is veiled, we have the evidence of Holy Writ for the rise, progress, decline, and fall of the Jews. They deduced their descent from Arphaxad the son of Shem; and we have it on record, that Abraham the sixth in descent from Eber, the grandson of Arphaxad, dwelt in Assyria, but removed into Canaan or Palestine, with his family, to the intent that the true religion of God should be preserved by them, his 'chosen people,' amid the idolatrous corruptions of other nations by whom they were surrounded.

The period of which we are now speaking was about two thousand years before the birth of Christ. At that time the inhabitants of Mesopotamia and Syria appear to have been partly nomadic, or wandering, like the Tartars or Scythians; for we find that Abraham and his descendants sojourned in different parts of Canaan and

Egypt, until the time of their protracted residence in the latter country. Abraham at his death transmitted the inheritance of the 'promised land' to his son Isaac; and Isaac was succeeded in the patriarchate by his younger son Jacob, also called Israel.

Jacob had twelve sons; the descendants of whom remaining distinct, constituted the twelve tribes of the Israelites in after-time. Joseph, the youngest but one of these sons, having unconsciously excited the jealousy of the rest, was sold by them as a slave, to some Arabian merchants, by whom he was carried into Egypt: there, as we read, he became known to the king, and was made his chief minister; and in a time of famine, for which his foresight had provided, he was the happy means of providing his aged father and the whole of his family an asylum in the fertile district of Goshen (B.C. 1705).

As peaceful dwellers in the rich and fertile valleys of Goshen, the Israelites in process of time became sufficiently numerous to excite the envious alarm of the Egyptians; and they accordingly underwent many persecutions, until the Almighty raised up Moses as their deliverer. The miracles he was empowered to work, the murmurings and backslidings of the people, their idolatrous propensities and all other particulars relative to them while wandering through the parched and arid deserts of Arabia, form interesting portions of the sacred volume; we shall therefore pass on briefly to the death of Moses, and the delegation of power to Joshua, the acknowledged chief of the Jewish nation, B. C. 1451.

Joshua was now ninety-three years of age, and had under his command six hundred thousand men capable of bearing arms, besides the aged and infirm, women, children, and servants. On every side were warlike nations, some of them represented as containing men of gigantic stature and immense personal prowess; their towns were well fortified, and every necessary preparation had been made to repel invasion. The veteran leader was, however, undismayed; and, relying on that protecting Power who had delivered the people from Egyptian bondage, and brought them safely to the frontiers of Canaan, he went on 'conquering and to conquer.' At length, after subduing the 'promised land,' and establishing its tranquillity, he divided it among the twelve tribes; charging them, at the same time, to give a tenth part of their goods to the tribe of Levi, who were consecrated solely for the priesthood: and hence proceeds the origin of *tithes*. Having ruled Palestine as wisely as he had conquered it bravely, and being now one hundred and ten years old, the aged warrior resigned his breath.

Joshua was no sooner dead, than the Jews gave themselves up to anarchy, by which means they shortly fell under the power of Cushan, king of Mesopotamia. After a servitude of eight years, Othniel became judge of Israel; at whose death, Eglon, king of Moab, reduced them to his obedience; and under his yoke they continued eighteen years. Ehud then ruled as judge of Israel, in whose time they fell under the government of Jabin, king of Canaan, who held them twenty-nine years; when Deborah and Barak, jointly, judged Israel for thirty-three years. A fourth servitude, of seven years, then followed under the Midianites. Then Gideon, and his successors, to Jair, ruled Israel as judges thirty-six years; when in the fifteenth year of Jair, the fifth servitude commenced, under the Philistines and the Ammonites. Jephtha succeeded as judge, and was followed in his office by four successors, the last of whom was Samson (whose superhuman strength was exerted with such terrible effect on his enemies, the Philistines). In his time, however, the Israelites fell again under their oppressors' yoke, and were ruled by them forty years. Eli then became judge, but as he was nearly a hundred years old, his two sons, Hophni and Phineas who acted under him, took advantage of his weakness to commit the most profligate abominations. They were, notwithstanding, by no means deficient in bravery. But when they had sustained a great defeat by the Philistines, in which they lost their lives and the sacred ark, their aged parent was so overcome on hearing the fatal tidings, that he fell backward from his chair and instantly expired. Samuel, at that time but a youth, though divinely inspired, was then chosen judge of Israel; and during the latter part of his administration the land was in a more peaceful state than it had been for many previous years.

The judges of Israel are to be considered as the defenders of religion, and the protector of the laws; they decided upon war and peace, and were at all times magistrates and warriors.

When Samuel had been judge of Israel about twenty years, the people, wishing to imitate the example of their neighbours, demanded that they should have a king to rule over them. Samuel accordingly selected Saul for that high office, and on presenting him for their acceptance, 'all the people shouted and said, God save the king!' Although many of the Israelites were afterwards discontented with having a king who had been their companion and equal, the numerous proofs which Saul gave of his military qualifications checked their murmurs. He attacked and defeated the forces of the different nations who harassed the frontiers of his kingdom, and took signal vengeance of their old and implacable enemies, the Philistines. As a warlike monarch he reigned with glory, but put an end to his life.

He was succeeded by David, a shepherd of the tribe of Judah, under whom the government gained considerable strength. He was succeeded by Solomon, his son, celebrated for his wisdom and his magnificence: he rendered the people happy by continual peace, and by the encouragement of commerce; he had the reputation of being a wise prince, and his writings and his laws were received and esteemed in the most distant countries, with all the veneration they deserved. His son, Rehoboam,

a senseless despot, ruled the Israelites with an iron rod. Ten of the tribes separated themselves from his government, and chose Jeroboam for their king. Palestine now became two kingdoms; the one called Judah, and the other Israel. A difference in religion was soon after introduced: that called the Samaritan, or Israelite, was embraced by the ten tribes; while Judah and Benjamin kept to the ancient usage of their forefathers.

Under Hosea, king of Israel, the ten tribes were carried away captive to Nineveh, by Salmanazer.

Nebuchadnezzar very soon placed the people of Judah in the like unhappy situation of the people of Israel. After having conquered Jerusalem, he transported them to Babylon, the capital of his empire. This captivity lasted seventy years, when Cyrus gave them the liberty of returning to their country. Great numbers accepted the offer, conducted by Zerobabel, Nehemiah, and Esdras. They rebuilt Jerusalem and the temple. They reestablished their state, and lived under their own laws, paying a small tribute to the kings of Persia; and suffered idolatry no more to take place of their devotion to the true God.

The Jews were subject to the kings of Persia at the time Alexander made the conquest of that empire. At his death, his vast dominions were divided between his principal captains; and the king of Syria had a part of Judæa; but lying, as it were, upon the frontiers of both Syria and Egypt, it suffered severely from alternate invasions. Jerusalem, since the Babylonian captivity, had no particular governors who took upon themselves the title of king; the high-priests held the interior administration, and were respected as much as if they had actually been in possession of the throne.

Ptolemy Soter besieged Jerusalem, and carried away one hundred thousand captives, whom he dispersed through Egypt, Libya, and the country about Cyrene, where their posterity for many centuries after continued to exist. During this period, Simon, surnamed the Just, was high-priest: a man not less remarkable for his merits as a governor, than for his eminent piety. Under his direction the canon of the Old Testament was completed, and thenceforward transmitted to future generations without further revisal: B.C. 292. It was about this time that the sect of the Sadducees arose, who denied the existence of a future state. They were, however, inferior in numbers and popularity to the Pharisees, who entertained a decided belief in the resurrection, and in the doctrine of future rewards and punishments. Under the patronage of Ptolemy Philadelphus, the Hebrew Scriptures were translated into Greek, for the benefit of the Jews residing in Egypt. This version is usually called the Septuagint, because, according to tradition, the translation was entrusted to seventy persons.

The situation of the Jews under the Syrians was various. Antiochus Epiphanes, wishing to alter their religious opinions, took into his own hands the power of conferring the high priesthood which he disposed of according to his caprice. He pillaged the temple, and put Eleazer to death; and also the seven brothers, Maccabees, with their mother. He also caused to be put to the sword, on the sabbath-day, all those that had assembled together for the purpose of devotion. This cruel and unjust persecution caused the Jews to rebel: they were headed by Mattathias; and, after his death, by his son, the celebrated Judas Maccabeus, the defender of the religion, and the saviour of his country. That hero being killed in battle, was succeeded by Jonathan, who united in himself the spiritual and temporal powers. His brother Simon succeeded, and was equally celebrated for his wisdom as his virtues, and was the first of his nation who had governed Judæa peaceably and absolutely since the return from Babylon. He was killed at a banquet, and was succeeded by his son, John Hyrcanus, who was succeeded by Judas, surnamed Aristobulus, assuming to himself the title of king.

Alexander Jannæus was the next king, a hero very little inferior to David. He left two sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus. The former held the sceptre during the life of Alexandra, his mother; but, soon after the death of that princess, Aristobulus declared war against his brother, and deprived him of his kingdom.

Judæa having become a Roman province, Pompey the Great, its conqueror, reestablished Hyrcanus in the government, and took with him Aristobulus to Rome, to heighten the glory of his triumph. Phrnates, king of Parthia, deposed Hyrcanus, and put in his place Antigonus, son of Aristobulus. Soon after Herod, surnamed the Great, an Idumean by birth, and patronised by Antony, obtained permission from the Romans to assume the title of king of the Jews.

This prince, although a tyrant to his subjects and to his family, added lustre to the Jewish nation: he repaired Jerusalem, rebuilt the temple, and procured to himself successively the favour of Cassius, Cæsar, Antony, and Octavius; augmenting his power by the art which he possessed of pleasing those of whom he held his crown. In his reign JESUS CHRIST was born.

After the death of Herod, Augustus divided the government of Judæa between the sons of Herod: he bestowed one half upon Archelaus, and the other half upon Herod-Antipas and Philip. Nine years afterwards, Augustus, being dissatisfied with their conduct, sent them into exile, and placed the government of Judæa under the pro-consul of Syria.

The governors appointed by the Romans over the Jews were for the most part tyrants, which served to strengthen in them the propensity for revolt. They had been taught that a descendant of the house of David should deliver them from oppression; they believed that the time was nearly arrived, and their insolence increased as the fulfilment of the prediction, in their opinion, drew near. They were almost

in continual sedition: and although severely punished for their turbulence, their ardour in a cause wherein they supposed their own liberties, and those of their posterity depended, was not the least diminished.

In the year 66 after Christ, the standard of revolt was set up. Jerusalem was besieged by Cestius, whom the Jews compelled to retire. Nero, who was then in Achaia, no sooner heard of that event, than he sent Vespasian into Palestine, for the purpose of effecting that conquest which Cestius had been found unequal to obtain.

Vespasian, who had already distinguished himself in Germany and Britain, entered this devoted country with a well disciplined army; and as he encountered every where a fierce resistance, he put to the sword men, women, and children. All the cities and towns that lay in the way of his march were taken and plundered. Those persons who escaped the cruelty of the conqueror, fled to Jerusalem, then in the hands of two furious parties, each of whom persecuted their opponents with unfeeling cruelty. Civil war and assassination became the consequences of their unbridled rage, and the priests themselves were not exempt from the popular fury.

The siege of Jerusalem was suspended by the death of Nero. Three emperors mounted the throne; Galba, Otho, and Vitellius; all of whom died violent deaths. At length Vespasian was elected to the purple. He immediately sent his son Titus to Jerusalem, to finish a war which he had so successfully begun.

Titus having arrived before Jerusalem previous to the feast of Easter, took his station on the Mount of Olives, and, investing the city, surrounded it with a wall, flanked with thirty towers. The magazines of corn had been destroyed by fire, and a most cruel famine raged within the city; but, notwithstanding their terrible situation, the besieged refused the advantageous conditions offered to them by the Roman general. At length he became master of the city, which was nearly reduced to ashes, and also of the temple. A scene of butchery then commenced, and was continued for several days, until Jerusalem was left utterly desolate.

According to Josephus, eleven hundred thousand persons perished during the siege, and at the capture; and those that were taken prisoners were made slaves. The misfortunes of Jerusalem were not confined to the Jews of that city, but extended to the whole of that people under the Roman power; some were thrown to ferocious beasts at the public games, and others sold into bondage. The sufferings, indeed, of the devoted inhabitants, fraught as some of the scenes are with thrilling interest, are such as humanity shudders to contemplate, and over which pity is glad to throw a veil.

THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF GREECE.

THE several portions of the Greek or Hellenic race inhabited not only the country which is generally known by the name of Greece, but large districts in foreign and sometimes distant lands. Wherever the Greek went he carried his country with him; if he settled in the coasts of Asia Minor, of Sicily, Italy, or Africa, the place in which he chose to dwell became at once a part of Hellas; and hence arose the two-fold division which spoke of continental Greece, as distinguished from the scattered Greece which comprised the islands of the Ægæan and all the colonies which were from time to time sent out from the mother country or state.

Continental Greece, or Greece Proper, lay between the 36th and 40th parallels of north latitude and between the 21st and 29th degrees of east longitude. Its length from the north of Thessaly to the southernmost point of the Peloponnesus was about 250 miles; its breadth from the coast of the Adriatic to that of the Ægæan, between the 39th and 40th degrees of north latitude, was about 120 miles; thus giving an area somewhat less than that of Portugal.* Full of mountains and marshes, it presented scanty means for internal communication; and in many parts of it the chief intercourse between one city and another arose from the transference of the cattle from summer to winter pastures. But the means of transit by sea were so abundant as to determine the general character of the people. Attica had a coast on two sides, indented with many inlets; the Corinthian gulf doubled the coast line between northern and southern Greece; and Corinth itself lay open to a commerce which flowed in at once from Italy and Asia Minor. Almost every part of the country then was within reach from the sea; and in addition to this, intercourse was to be kept up with the islands and colonies whose inhabitants prided themselves on their Hellenic blood, language, and religion. The geographical character of Attica effectually determined the maritime supremacy of Athens. But the physical features of continental Greece, which prevented any constant intercourse by land, fostered that love of local independence which especially characterised the Greek mind. Each town was a unit, which stood aloof from every other, while to each inhabitant his city was his country; and thus while the Greek looked on all who were sprung from the common Hellenic stock as his kinsmen, and drew a broad line of demarcation between them and the *barbarian* world without, he never rose to that idea of national life which it was reserved for Rome to develope. Still, although they could not be said to have a national as distinguished from a civil existence, the Hellenic character was no empty abstraction. It stood out in marked contrast from that of every other people. We can only describe it by its features, but these are very easily discovered. We do not find in any city or state of historical Greece such habits or practices as those of human sacrifices, or the mutilation of criminals, selling of children into slavery, polygamy, and still less the feeling of absolute obedience towards one man. All these customs might be pointed out amongst Egyptians, Persians, Thracians, &c., but, on the other hand, the latter regarded as unseemly the habit of running, wrestling, &c., with the body naked, as was customary especially at the great religious festivals which furnished a powerful bond of union among the Greeks.

Thus then, at the beginning of authentic history, we find a people whose character we can describe with the greatest exactness; but of whose previous condition we can say little positively. We have many names of peoples who are said to have preceded them: Pelasgians, Curetes, Leleges, Caucones, &c.; but they belong rather to legendary than to historical Greece: and we know nothing of the events which immediately brought about that condition of things which we find when Greek history really begins. Undoubtedly the Homeric poems exhibit a real society which had a historical existence, and these nowhere speak of Hellenes, but of a people who are called Argives, or dwellers in Argos, a name which seems to have been almost coextensive with the later Hellas. Of these Argives the ruling order had the name of Achæans, while in reference to their common military service they bore the name of Danai. But somehow or other the society of the Homeric poems passed away before the commencement of Greek history, leaving, however, enough of evidence to prove the identity of the people. Still they do not carry us further back, and still less do they furnish us any grounds for believing in the existence of Phœnician or Egyptian colonies in Bœotia, Attica, or elsewhere. The tale of Cecrops and his Saitic origin is entirely legendary: Cecrops himself is a superhuman being, with a monstrous form, half man, half serpent.† Deucalion, Cadmus, and Phoroneus are to us mere names: Hellen, Dorus, Ion and Æolus are mere abstractions expressive of blood relation between one tribe and another. Some of these belong strictly to the mythical speech which they brought with them from their original Aryan home, and from which was developed their wonderful system of mythology. Cadmus and Europa belong to

* Grote's History of Greece, Part II. ch. i.

† Grote, History of Greece, vol. i. p. 266.

the same class of names with Phœbus and Daphnê, Kephalus, and Procris. In the language of the Vedic hymns these names express simply the Dawn or the Dew, the Sun, the Morning or the Evening. In their western home, the Greeks retained the names, but either wholly or in part they had forgotten their meanings; and so Daphnê, or the Dawn, became a maiden who was loved by Phœbus, who once had been only the Sun. So again the beautiful myth of Dêmêtêr and Persephonê (Ceres and Proserpine) expresses simply the interchange of summer and winter; and its localisation at Eleusis or elsewhere was the inevitable result when that meaning was only in part remembered.*

We may come down to names and events which seem to have something more of an historical character; to the tale of Troy, and the legends of Theseus, Heracles, or Minos. But on examination these become as unsubstantial as the rest. In the opinion of Herodotus, Minos was a superhuman being; and Theseus and Heracles are associated in legends which belong as clearly to the mythical world as those of Zeus, Apollo, or Dêmêtêr. So again what is called the Dorian migration may be the account of some real event, greatly coloured or distorted by the variations of oral tradition. All that we can safely say of it is that it professes to account for the fact that a people called Dorians came at a later time to occupy that country which in the Homeric poems is spoken as being held by the Achæans. It is the same with such names as those of Temenus, Cresphontes, or Lycurgus. That there was at Sparta a body of legislation which was inscribed to the last-named lawgiver, cannot of course be doubted; but this tells us nothing of the man, and the address of the Pythian priestess on his approaching to consult the god at Delphi † pointedly gives him a divine rather than a human character. So also the Trojan war may have been some real event, or course of events, out of which sprung the Greek colonies of Asia Minor. We can neither affirm nor deny this. The tale of the war is essentially a legend from which we cannot strip away what is fabulous or incredible and then believe the rest as history; and its many contradictions and impossibilities did not escape the discernment of Herodotus himself. In short, we know nothing of Achilles or Philoctetes, or Hector, — although we may believe in the real existence of the state of society described in the poems which have made their names familiar to us. Here and there in times long subsequent to the age of the Homeric poems some isolated event may stand out as possessing a historical character, in greater or less degree, — as for example, the Messenian wars; but the continuous history of Greece dates, as Mr. Grote has remarked, from a period much later than even that of the first recorded Olympiad, 776 B.C.

When at length we arrive at a fairly historical time, we see a collection of states some of which are monarchical and aristocratical, but most of which have adopted a republican constitution. Sometimes these republics were overthrown by usurpers who received the special name of tyrants to distinguish them from all lawful and hereditary kings and rulers: but although their condition was in some degree fluctuating, this period marks a time of great and rapid progress.

If the population of any state became too numerous, colonies were sent out; for example, in the seventh and eighth centuries, the powerful colonies of Rhegium, Syracuse, Sybaris, Croton, Tarentum, Gela, Locris, and Messana were planted in Sicily and the southern parts of Italy. The small independent states of Greece needed a common bond of union. This bond was found in the temple of Delphi, the Amphictyonic council, and the solemn games, among which the Olympic were the most distinguished; the institution, or rather revival of which, 776 B.C., furnishes the Greeks with a chronological era. From this time, Athens and Sparta began to surpass the other states of Greece in power and importance.

At the time of the Persian war, Greece had already made important advances in civilisation. Besides the art of poetry, we find that philosophy began to be cultivated 600 B.C., and even earlier in Ionia and Lower Italy than in Greece Proper. Statuary and painting were in a flourishing condition. The important colonies of Massilia (Marseilles), in Gaul, and Agrigentum, in Sicily, were founded. Athens was continually extending her commerce, and established important commercial posts in Thrace. In Asia Minor, the Grecian colonies were brought under the dominion of the Lydian Crœsus, and soon after under that of Cyrus. Greece itself was threatened with a similar fate by the Persian kings, Darius and Xerxes. Then the heroic spirit of the free Greeks showed itself in its greatest brilliancy. Athens and Sparta almost alone withstood the vast armies of the Persian; and the battles of Marathon, Thermopylæ, and Platæa, as well as the sea fights at Artemisium, Salamis, and Mycale, taught the Persians that the Greeks were not to be subdued by them. Athens now exceeded all the other states in splendour and in power. The supremacy which Sparta had hitherto maintained, devolved on this city, whose commander, Cimon, compelled the Persians to acknowledge the independence of Asia Minor. Athens was also the centre of the arts and sciences. The Peloponnesian war now broke out, Sparta being no longer able to endure the overbearing pride of Athens. The war devastated Greece, and enslaved Athens, until Thrasybulus again restored its freedom; and, for a short time, Sparta was compelled, in her turn, to bend before the Theban heroes, Epaminondas and Pelopidas. In spite of these disturbances, poets, philosophers, artists, and statesmen, continued to arise,

* Max Müller, Essay on Comparative Mythology, in Oxford Essays for 1856; Cox's Tales of the Gods and Heroes, Introduction.

† Herodotus, i. 65.

commerce flourished, and manners and customs were carried to the highest degree of refinement. But that unhappy period had now arrived, when the Greeks, ceasing to be free, ceased to advance in civilisation.

A kingdom, formed by conquest, had grown up on the north of Greece, the ruler of which, Philip, united courage with cunning. The dissensions which prevailed among the different states, afforded him an opportunity to execute his ambitious plans, and the battle of Chæronea, 338 B.C., gave Macedonia the command of all Greece. In vain did the subjugated states hope to become free after his death. The destruction of Thebes was sufficient to subject all Greece to the young Alexander. This prince, as generalissimo of the Greeks, gained the most splendid victories over the Persians. An attempt to liberate Greece, occasioned by a false report of his death, was frustrated by Antipater. The Lamian war, after the death of Alexander, was equally unsuccessful. Greece was now little better than a Macedonian province. Luxury had enervated the ancient courage and energy of the nation. At length, most of the states of southern Greece, Sparta and Ætolia excepted, extended the Achæan league, for the maintenance of their freedom against the Macedonians. A dispute having arisen between this league and Sparta, the former applied to Macedonia for help, and was victorious. But this friendship was soon fatal, for it involved Greece in the contest between Philip and the Romans, who, at first, indeed, restored freedom to the Grecian states, while they changed Ætolia, and soon after Macedonia, into Roman provinces; but they afterwards began to excite dissensions in the Achæan league, interfered in the quarrels of the Greeks, and finally compelled them to take up arms to maintain their freedom. So unequal a contest could not long remain undecided: the capture of Corinth, 146 B.C., placed the Greeks in the power of the Romans.

During the whole period which elapsed between the battle of Chæronea and the destruction of Corinth by the Romans, the arts and sciences flourished among the Greeks; indeed, the golden age of the arts was in the time of Alexander. The Grecian colonies were yet in a more flourishing condition than the mother country; especially Alexandria, in Egypt, which became the seat of learning. As they, also, in process of time, fell under the dominion of the Romans, they became, like their mother country, the instructors of their conquerors.

In the time of Augustus, the Greeks lost even the shadow of their former freedom, and ceased to be an independent people, although their language, manners, customs, learning, arts, and taste spread over the whole Roman empire. The character of the nation was now sunk so low, that the Romans esteemed a Greek as the most worthless of creatures. Asiatic luxury had wholly corrupted them; their ancient love of freedom and independence was extinguished; and a mean servility was substituted in its place. At the beginning of the fourth century, the nation scarcely showed a trace of the noble characteristics of their fathers. The barbarians soon after began their ruinous incursions into Greece.

THE HISTORY OF ROME.

If (says Dr. Arnold, in his admirable history) it is hard to carry back our ideas of Rome from its actual state to the period of its highest splendour, it is yet harder to go back in fancy to a time still more distant, a time earlier than the beginning of its authentic history, before man's art had completely rescued the very soil of the future city from the dominion of nature. Here also it is vain to attempt accuracy in the details, or to be certain that the several features in our description all existed at the same period. It is enough if we can image to ourselves some likeness of the original state of Rome, before the undertaking of those great works which are ascribed to the late kings.

The Pomœrium of the original city on the Palatine, as described by Tacitus, included not only the hill itself, but some portion of the ground immediately below it; it did not, however, reach as far as any of the other hills. The valley between the Palatine and the Aventine, afterwards the site of the Circus Maximus, was in the earliest times covered with water; so also was the greater part of the valley between the Palatine and the Capitoline, the ground afterwards occupied by the Roman forum.

But the city of the Palatine hill grew in process of time, so as to become a city of seven hills. Not the seven famous hills of imperial or republican Rome, but seven spots more or less elevated, and all belonging to three only of the later seven hills, that is, to the Palatine, the Cælian, and the Esquiline. At this time Rome, already a city on seven hills, was distinct from the Sabine city on the Capitoline, Quirinal, and Viminal hills. The two cities, although united under one government, had still a separate existence: they were not completely blended into one till the reigns of the later kings. The territory of the original Rome during its first period, the true Ager Romanus, could be gone round in a single day. It did not extend beyond the Tiber at all, nor probably beyond the Anio; and on the east and south, where it had most room to spread, its limit was between five and six miles from the city. This Ager Romanus was the exclusive property of the Roman people, that is, of the houses; it did not include the lands conquered from the Latins, and given back to them again when the Latins became the *plebs*, or commons of Rome.

Well indeed may the enquiring historian exclaim—And now what was Rome, and what was the country around it, which have both acquired an interest such as can cease only when earth itself shall perish? The hills of Rome (he continues) are such as we rarely see in England; low in height, but with steep and rocky sides. In early times the wood remained in natural patches amidst the buildings, as at this day it grows here and there on the green sides of the Monte Testaceo. Across the Tiber the ground rises to a greater height than that of the Roman hills, but its summit is a level unbroken line, while the heights, which opposite to Rome rise immediately from the river, under the names of Janiculus and Vaticanus, then sweep away to some distance from it, and return in their highest and boldest form at the Mons Marius, just above the Milvian bridge and the Flaminian road. Thus to the west the view is immediately bounded; but to the north and north-east the eye ranges over the low ground of the Campagna to the nearest line of the Apennines, which closes up, as with a gigantic wall, all the Sabine, Latin, and Volscian lowlands, while over it are still distinctly to be seen the high summits of the central Apennines, covered with snow, even at this day, for more than six months in the year. South and south-west lies the wide plain of the Campagna; its level line succeeded by the equally level line of the sea, which can only be distinguished from it by the brighter light reflected from its waters. Eastward, after ten miles of plain, the view is bounded by the Alban hills, a cluster of high bold points rising out of the Campagna, on the highest of which (about 3,000 feet) stood the temple of Jupiter Latiaris, the scene of the common worship of all the people of the Latin name. Immediately under this highest point lies the crater-like basin of the Alban lake; and on its nearer rim might be seen the trees of the grove of Ferentia, where the Latins held the great civil assemblies of their nation. Further to the north, on the edge of the Alban hills, looking towards Rome, was the town and citadel of Tusculum; and beyond this, a lower summit crowned with the walls and towers of Labicum seems to connect the Alban hills with the line of the Apennines, just at the spot where the citadel of Præneste, high up on the mountain side marks the opening into the country of the Hernicians, and into the valleys of the streams that feed the Lyris.

Returning nearer to Rome, the lowland country of the Campagna is broken by long green swelling ridges. The streams are dull and sluggish, but the hill sides above them constantly break away into little rock cliffs, where on every ledge the wild fig now strikes out its branches, and tufts of broom are clustering, but which in old times formed the natural strength of the citadels of the numerous cities of Latium. Except in these narrow dells, the present aspect of the country is all bare and desolate, with no trees nor any human habitation. But anciently, in the early times of Rome, it

was full of independent cities, and in its population and the careful cultivation of its little garden-like farms, must have resembled the most flourishing parts of Lombardy. Such was Rome, and such its neighbourhood.

When it can be shown that the accounts of almost every event in Roman history, down to the time of the Punic wars, involve contradictions more or less important, nothing is gained by any attempt to draw up a connected narrative of the first four centuries after the alleged date for the founding of the city. The examination of the accounts handed down to us may yield here and there some historical results; but we must content ourselves with what is so obtained, without seeking for a knowledge of details which is unattainable. Thus, the traditions of the regal period tell us of an Etruscan dynasty which ruled at Rome, and ordered the erection of large public works. This rule of Etruscan kings may or may not be true; but of these works some, as for example the Cloaca Maxima, still exist, and by their magnitude attest conclusively the fact that a very strong government of some kind existed at Rome long before the period of which we have any authentic history. Again, the analogy of Greek history would go far towards showing that Rome was first regal and then republican. So again, it seems not unreasonable to conclude that the traditionary struggles of patricians and plebeians point to some real distinction of orders, although we may not be able to define exactly the distinction between plebeians and clients, or to account for the origin of the Rammes, Titienses, and Luceres, who are called sometimes the three patrician tribes, sometimes the three centuries of horsemen. Still more when we find certain phrases, expressive of old judicial or civil usages, employed by later writers, like Livy, who had a very vague notion of their meaning, we seem to be justified in believing that such phrases were really handed down from a time to which they historically applied. Thus when Livy says that certain laws were passed or acts done by the Plebs with the consent of the Populus, this may be taken as proving that the distinction between the two was not fictitious but strictly historical. Some light, again, is thrown on the early history of Rome by its relations with foreign countries. Thus a treaty was preserved which was made between Rome and Carthage by the consul Spurius Cassius, who is also said to have formed the confederacy of Romans, Latins, and Hernicians. But this treaty proves also that the Romans had at this time a foreign trade of which their traditionary history says little or nothing. Hence to take the traditions of such a time, as Niebuhr did, and in one place to speak of Romulus or Numa as undoubtedly fictitious, and in another to treat them as if they were historical, is most unsafe and deceptive. And, therefore, instead of attempting to determine how much history lies under these traditional tales, it may be of more use to point out some of the contradictions which run through them. The whole narrative has been minutely examined by Sir Cornewall Lewis in his work on the Credibility of Early Roman History; and to that work we must refer the reader who may wish to master thoroughly a question which involves the most momentous consequences.

The history of Romulus is 'with few exceptions a mosaic or patchwork of explanatory legends pieced together and thrown into a narrative form. These legends are partly political and institutional; partly, monumental and local; partly religious and ritual. In spite of his youth (for he is only eighteen when he founds Rome) and his early life passed among herdsmen and in rustic pursuits, Romulus appears from the very commencement of his reign, as a wise legislator versed in all the arcana of political science.'* Hence Cicero attributes the choice of Rome as the site of the future capital, to the wise foresight of the founder; but this runs counter to the legend which affirms it to have been built on the spot where the infants, when exposed, were suckled by the wolf. Thus again, 'the story of the asylum was some local legend: that of the rape of the Sabines illustrated the origin of a festival; that of the intervention of the Sabine women was probably a separate story; but in the narrative as we read it, the asylum is the cause of the rape of the Sabine women, and the rape of the Sabine women is the cause of their interposition between the hostile armies. The three events, once independent of each other, have become continuous links in the same historical chain.' This rape of the Sabine women has been taken, by some modern historical critics, as pointing to a time when there was no reciprocal right of marriage between the Romans and the Sabines, even after they had formed a federation; but Sir G. Lewis remarks that 'those who consider Romulus and Tatius as fabulous and not real personages, as mere names of actors in a fictitious drama, cannot with propriety regard their joint sovereignty as implying the separate existence of a Roman and a Sabine community on the site of Rome, and the rape of the Sabine women as typical of the absence of a right of intermarriage between them.'

The reign of Romulus is said to have been followed by an interregnum in which seventy-three senators filled in turn the regal office during a year of 365 days; but 'that so many transfers of the supreme power should, at a time when all constitutional and legal checks were in a very rude and inefficient state, have been quietly made, is wholly incredible.' Sir G. Lewis adds, however, that 'the existence of the name and institution of the interregnum in the historical age of Rome may be considered as a proof of its derivation from the regal period,' but as implying at the same time 'an elective royalty; for hereditary succession such an institution is not needed.'

Numa is throughout the embodiment of a religious and political idea. He is the

* Sir G. C. Lewis on the Credibility of Early Roman History, ch. xi. sect. 9.

founder of the principal religious institutions, as well as orders of priests; he is the favourite of the nymph Egeria, who imparts to him a superhuman wisdom; beloved by gods and men, he spends life without trouble or disaster, and passes away from it without pain. Other legends in the place of Egeria name Pythagoras as his teacher: but when 'Polybius and other careful historians came to compare the time assigned to Numa with the date of Pythagoras, they perceived that the disciple must have lived above a century and a half before the master, and therefore that the story was false.'

The reign of his successor was signalised by the combat of the Horatii and Curiatii, which was to determine the relations of the Romans and the Albans. Dionysius says that a certain Alban had twin daughters, who were married the one to the Roman Horatius, the other to the Alban Curiatius, and that each of these twins produced three sons at the first birth; but 'Livy knows nothing of their affinity; and he adds that it is even uncertain to which nation each set of brothers belonged.' Throughout the story the accounts of Livy and Dionysius are equally contradictory; and the combat itself is not said to have produced any result. The death of Hostilius is said by one account to have been caused by lightning which smote him for his impiety, but another version states that he was murdered by Ancus Marcius, who set the place on fire, and invented the story of the lightning to screen himself.

The next king, Ancus Marcius, makes war on the Latins, and, according to Livy, drew up for this purpose the ceremonial of declaring war: but Dionysius and Plutarch attribute these ceremonies to Numa, and 'Cicero represents Tullus Hostilius as the author of the forms of demanding redress which Livy ascribes to Ancus.'

His successor is said to have been Tarquinius Priscus, whose wars are described with great minuteness of detail by Dionysius, while other writers seem to know little or nothing about them; 'even if the narrative of his reign were better attested, many circumstances in it would raise a doubt of its credibility; the story of the eagle flying away with his cap, and the cutting of the whetstone by Attus Navius, are purely marvellous: the manner of his introduction into Rome, and of his election to the royal dignity, is improbable; and his triumphant wars against the Latins, without a single important reverse, lie beyond the limits of credibility.'

With Servius Tullius commences a marvellous story, which in the belief of Niebuhr formed part of a great epic poem lost before the time of contemporary historians. Of such loss there is no evidence whatever; but the tale is remarkable as displaying not merely a strong poetical element of great force and beauty, not merely the contradictions which may be looked for in a story full of the marvellous, but a large amount of plausible fiction, in the shape of legislative enactments which are not more romantic than an English act of Parliament. In one version, Servius is the son of a God, born of a slave named Ocresia. Soon after his birth his mother saw his head enveloped in flames; when she awoke him, the fire was extinguished. Another account makes him the posthumous child of a chieftain who was slain in defending Corniculum against Tarquin: a third version represents him as being by birth an Etruscan. On the murder of Tarquin, Tanaquil secures the accession of Servius without an interregnum. The legend in Livy represents him as succeeding to the throne in early manhood; but almost immediately he has children old enough to be married to the children of Tarquin. So again, Servius is said to have been murdered by Tarquin the Proud, when the latter was a young man; but if he was the son of Tanaquil, as Livy believes, he must have been 70 years old when he became king, 95 when he was expelled, and 110 at his death.

Having secured his election, Servius enters on the work of legislation, and inconsistencies in the legislative details take the place of contradictions arising out of prodigies and wonders. The general tradition represents him as a popular reformer, and as consulting chiefly the good of the lower class from a remembrance of his own servile origin. But Dionysius and Livy both distinctly say that before his time the vote of each citizen had an equal value, and the poor were on a perfectly equal footing with the rich. This condition of things he is stated to have altered 'by throwing the chief part of the burden of military service and of war taxes upon the rich, at the same time that he secures to them a decisive preponderance in the suffrage.' For individual voting he substituted voting by centuries, the vote of each century being determined by the majority and reckoning only as one. By making the centuries of the richer classes much more numerous than those of the lower, the votes of the latter (that is, of the great majority), could be neutralised and their influence irretrievably lost. 'In the Servian constitution, this principle was carried to a very great length; for according to Livy and Dionysius, the centuries of the knights and the first class amounted to ninety-eight, being more than a majority of the 193 centuries; and the sixth class, comprehending all the citizens of the lowest assessment, which was doubtless the most numerous of all, formed only one century.' But it follows irresistibly, that 'if the classes of Servius were introduced in the place of a system under which a perfectly equal suffrage existed for all ranks of citizens, he could not be justly regarded as a popular reformer.' Moreover, 'that a full contemporary account of the constitution of Servius, with statistical details of the assessment and obligations of the several classes, should have been preserved, and that all accurate memory of the other events of the reign should have perished, is in the highest degree improbable.' *

* Sir G. C. Lewis, Credibility of Early Roman History, ch. xi. sect. 31.

In the legend of the Tarquinii other elements of fiction enter. The stratagem by which Sextus Tarquinius betrays the men of Gabii into the hands of his father is a repetition of the story in which Zopyrus deceives the Babylonians during the siege by Darius. The previous stratagem, by which Sextus secured his predominance at Gabii, is the same as that which is suggested to Periander of Corinth by Thrasybulus, the tyrant of Miletus.* In the tale of Lucretia there is much which might be received as true if it were supported by fair contemporary evidence. Outrages on women frequently caused the fall of Greek tyrannies; and that of Tarquin may have turned on the same cause: but when we come to examine the details of the story, we find little in its internal contexture to supply the defect of external attestation. The narratives of Livy and Dionysius, though agreeing in substance, differ in many material circumstances. The dispute of the young men about their wives, and their nocturnal ride to Rome and Collatia, which is the foundation of the attempt of Sextus in Livy, is altogether wanting in Dionysius. In the latter, Rome is the place of Lucretia's suicide; in the former it is Collatia. Most of the accounts represent Tarquinius Superbus as having three sons, Sextus, Titus, and Arruns; but Livy and Ovid make Sextus, the ravisher of Lucretia, the youngest; while Dionysius says that he was the eldest of the three. Other writers, again, speak of Arruns as having ravished Lucretia. There are further discrepancies in the events which intervene between the death of Lucretia and the expulsion of the Tarquins. Livy, moreover, represents the king and his family as escaping to Cære, with the exception of Sextus, who repairs to his kingdom of Gabii, where he is put to death. Dionysius, on the other hand, says that Tarquin first took refuge in Gabii, and afterwards removed to Cære. Finally, the change from regal to republican government is described as the acquisition of a liberty such as the Romans had never before enjoyed, and as the escape from a tyranny which had altogether oppressed them for a long series of generations. Yet all the kings except the last are said to have made a popular use of their power; and in Dionysius we find the statement, that from the foundation of the city the senate had the chief power in everything except the election of magistrates, the making of laws, and questions of peace and war,—in all of which the people by its votes was supreme.† The reign of Tarquin lasted, it is said, only twenty-seven years; it is scarcely possible that so short a time should have sufficed to obliterate the traditional feeling of several centuries. So again we are told that the office of the Rex Sacrificulus, who exercised the sacerdotal powers of the king in historical times, was retained to prevent the continuance of any regret for the loss of monarchical government. Sir G. C. Lewis remarks, that such an arrangement is quite conceivable when the regal power has been got rid of by slow stages, but can scarcely be accounted for after the indignant expulsion of a hated dynasty, such as the Tarquins are described to have been. The contradictions with regard to the legislative enactments of the kings are even greater. 'It has been supposed that the oral traditions of the Roman constitution were more faithful and trustworthy than the oral traditions of particular events and exploits. It seems, however, on the contrary, that the traditions of the constitution were indistinct and inaccurate; whereas individual acts of generosity, courage, and patriotism, or of cruelty and oppression, were more likely to live in the popular memory.'

The geographical history of the kingly period is not more satisfactory. One legend represents Romulus as having occupied and fortified the Palatine and Cœlian hills; while the followers of Tatius held the Capitoline and Quirinal. Another version attributes the fortification of the Quirinal hill to Numa. The Cœlian hill, according to Livy, was added to the city by Tullus Hostilius; according to Cicero, Ancus added both the Cœlian and the Aventine. Servius, in one account, is said to have added the Esquiline and Viminal; while another tradition attributes to him the addition of the Quirinal, which is said elsewhere to have been occupied in the time of Romulus.

The alleged change from a kingly to republican government does not add sensibly to the credibility of the history. Some writers speak of an enormous increase of power as accruing from the expulsion of the kings; but the power of Rome, according to the account of the war with Porsenna, is described as being much less than it had been under the kings: and the Carthaginian treaty of Spurius Cassius would bring us to the same conclusion.‡ Again, we read that under the consuls the Romans had as violent a hatred of the word *rex* as the Greeks had of the name of *tyrant*; and we are at a loss to reconcile this with the alleged popular character of the regal government down to the time of the second Tarquin. In the war waged by Porsenna, the Lucumo or chief of Clusium, for the restoration of the Tarquins, Horatius Cocles, after nobly guarding the Sublician bridge, is said to have swum across the Tiber, and to have received from each of the inhabitants, 300,000 in number, then suffering from famine, a supply of food for a single day. Polybius says that Horatius was drowned; and if he followed the story current in his own day, it would seem that the legend of this public gift had not then been invented. It is the same with constitutional changes. 'The detailed account of the creation of the dictatorship and of the appointment of the first dictator is given by Dionysius as if it was as well ascertained as the history of the creation

* Herodotus, v. 92–6.

† Sir G. C. Lewis, Credibility of Early Roman History, ch. xi. sect. 40.

‡ Ibid. ch. xii. sect. 2.

of the presidency of the India Board, and the appointment of the first president under the administration of Mr. Pitt. He knows, not only the causes which led to the creation of the office, but also the various stages of the proceedings, the debates in the senate, the speeches of the senators, the motives of their policy, the mutual feelings of delicacy on the part of the consuls, and all the other material circumstances of the transaction. We are, therefore, somewhat surprised, on comparing the account of Livy, to find the transaction represented in a totally different light. Livy places the creation of the dictatorship three years earlier than Dionysius:' and 'so far is Livy from sharing the great confidence of Dionysius in narrating this event, that he describes it as uncertain in what year and under what consuls the dictatorship was created, or who first filled the office.'

The battle of the Lake Regillus closes the eventful episode of the Tarquinian dynasty. Livy speaks of the expelled kings as fighting and being wounded in the battle. Dionysius will not believe that a man of the age of ninety could take an active share in the fight, and in place of Tarquin puts his sons Sextus and Titus: but Livy says nothing of Titus, and speaks of Sextus as having been killed at Gabii. But the battle is chiefly memorable for the visible intervention of the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux, who fight on behalf of the Romans, and with miraculous speed carry the news of their victory to Rome.* These wonders form an essential part of the story of the battle; and the latter must fall with the former. Thus ends the history of a period, which is involved in such a mass of contradictions that hardly any event throughout it can be received as worthy of credit. The distrust displayed towards Collatinus, the husband of Lucretia, is grounded on his kindred with the Tarquins, and is explained by the existence of a Tarquinian party at Rome. But the outrage which made him their bitter enemy was a sufficient pledge of his fidelity, and the existence of such a party goes against the popular tradition which represents the rule of Tarquin as equally detested by all classes. The facts of the war with Porsenna cannot be ascertained: but all accounts agree that it was undertaken in order to bring about the restoration of the Tarquinii. According to some versions, Porsenna retreats after making a treaty favourable to the Romans: while the expressions of Tacitus and Pliny speak of a conquest and surrender of the city, and a disarming of the population so complete that iron was used for agriculture only. Yet Porsenna, thus successful, makes no effort to restore the Tarquins, for whom he is said to have undertaken the war; nor is it possible to explain the remissness of the Latins and other tribes in not taking advantage of the weakness to which Rome had been reduced, to crush her altogether.†

A few years later, the struggles between the patricians and plebeians, greatly embittered by the deadly severity of the law of debt, led, we are told, to the celebrated secession of the latter to the Sacred Mount. The consuls cannot succeed in raising levies to help the Latins against the Volsci and Æqui; at length they appoint as dictator, Manius Valerius, who prevails on the people to come forward, on the promise that plebeians serving on the legions shall be protected against the creditors. The campaign is brought to a successful conclusion; but the senate refuses to carry out the promises of Valerius, and the legions secede to Mons Sacer; and from this point the narrative in Livy becomes exceedingly simple. The senate sends Menenius Agrippa, who addresses to them the well-known apologue of the Belly and Limbs; the people are pacified by the institution of the tribunes, but nothing is said about the subject of debt which is said to have caused the secession. In Dionysius, on the other hand, we have a narrative as complete and minute as 'the accounts given by Lord Clarendon of negotiations in the civil war, between the king and the parliament, of which he was personally cognisant,' and Menenius Agrippa makes a very long speech in which the apologue of the Belly and Limbs is not found. The fable is reserved till the question has been satisfactorily settled; it is used to illustrate the relation of the orders, not as an argument to bring about their reconciliation. And this singularly minute narrative belongs to a time which is older than the battle of Marathon, and only sixteen years after the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ, 'concerning which event the Athenians had, according to Thucydides, most imperfect ideas in his time.'‡ In this narrative, a certain Lucius Junius Brutus plays a very conspicuous part. Niebuhr believes him to be an imaginary person, and he is not mentioned by any Roman writer. 'What are we to think of a historical narrative, in which a personage of this importance, alleged to have occupied a conspicuous public office, is considered fictitious?' 'If, therefore, it is admitted that a large part of the narrative of Dionysius is false, what good ground have we for believing the rest?' The doubt is increased by the fact that Dionysius represents the relief of the plebeians from debt as having been the result of this secession. Cicero agrees with Livy in limiting the result to the institution of the tribunate, and he further attributes it to the eloquence, not of Menenius, but of the dictator Manius Valerius, while he seems to know nothing of the celebrated apologue on which the story turns in Livy.

The settlement of this quarrel is followed by successful foreign wars; after which, although nothing is said about debt, the struggle between patricians and plebeians

* See the Battle of the Lake Regillus, in Macaulay's Lays of Ancient Rome

† Sir G. C. Lewis, Credibility of Early Roman History, ch. xii. sect. 13.

‡ Ibid. sect. 17.

goes on as vehemently as before. It is unnecessary to examine a long series of events in all of which may be found a greater or less amount of contradiction; a few of the more important may be taken as illustrating the general character of this alleged history. A further result of the secession was the banishment of Coriolanus. This young patrician, by proposing to recover the concession of the tribunate by starving the people, roused the hatred of the plebeians, and brought about his own condemnation. His impulse is to join the Volscians; but the latter are sluggish, and with difficulty induced to enter into his views. When, however, he succeeds in prevailing on them, he converts them into a nation of conquerors, before whom the Roman power is immediately prostrated. 'It would seem as if Coriolanus was the only warrior in Rome, and as if the transfer of his weight from one scale to the other, absolutely determined the inclination of the balance:'* and yet the plebeians would, of course, be only too glad to act vigorously against an enemy whom they so thoroughly detested, and the senate are disinclined to make any concession. The incident of the embassy of the Roman matrons, headed by the mother of Coriolanus, is even more perplexing. 'Coriolanus, thirsting for vengeance on account of his condemnation, leaves home with the deliberate intention of joining the enemies of his country, but takes no steps for withdrawing his mother and wife and children. They therefore remain as hostages in the hands of the Romans. The senate allow them to go as suppliants to the haughty general, at the head of his Volscian army, though they were warned in the debate on the subject that they are parting with their best securities for his forbearance. Coriolanus hates the plebeian body, both as an eager patrician partisan, and as the object of their hostile, and as he thinks unjust, vote: he bears no love to the patricians, whom he charges with selfish cowardice in betraying him to his accusers. The embassy of the women unexpectedly places his mother, and his wife, and children in his power. They are in his camp, alone, unprotected, surrounded by his Volscian legions. The one remaining tie which bound him to Rome is now, by the infatuation of his countrymen and enemies, fortunately severed. Would not his first impulse be to send them to a place of safety in the Volscian territory, and to order the battering rams to be applied to the walls of Rome? What conceivable motive has he for any other course?'† Instead of this completion of a design to which there remained no hindrance, he instantly yields to an appeal to his domestic feelings, which had now lost its force; and withdraws the Volscians from Rome, apparently without a murmur, while they were in the full tide of victory, and had their prize almost within their grasp. As might be expected, the sequel of this strange tale is reported with many variations. By one account he was murdered; according to a second he killed himself; in a third he is represented as living unmolested to a good old age.

The name of Spurius Cassius is historical as that of the consul who ratified the treaty with Carthage. Many years afterwards he is said to have proposed an agrarian law, to divide among the citizens all land which, as being public after conquest, was wrongfully occupied by patricians. In the following year, a charge of aiming at regal power was brought against him. Hereupon one version says that he was condemned to death, and thrown from the Tarpeian rock; another maintains that he was privately executed by his father, who confiscated his goods, levelled his house, and raised a statue on the spot. Later writers spoke of a statue erected by Cassius himself, as being melted down by the censors in the year 158 B.C.: but then it is not easy to understand why this statue should not have been removed when his house was rased to the ground, if the story of the confiscation be a true one.

These agrarian disputes, a few years later, are followed by what is called the secession of the Fabian gens or clan. Niebuhr asserts that it was caused by the failure of the effort made by the consul Kæso Fabius to bring about an equitable division of lands. The traditionary accounts represent it as arising out of a voluntary offer to hold a fort near the banks of the Cremera as an outpost against the hostile incursions of the Veientines. Here in the following year, they were cut off to a man, only one child surviving out of the number of 306 who had left Rome: but the incidents of this catastrophe are reported variously. One story said that they were surprised while on their way to perform a religious sacrifice in Rome: another maintained that they were drawn into an ambuscade by a series of stratagems on the part of the Volscians, and so slain. It is, of course, quite possible that a powerful house should volunteer to hold a frontier post; but the different versions of the catastrophe prove that no contemporary record of the events had been preserved; and the further fact that its anniversary was kept on the same day with that of the battle of the Allia shows that there was no uninterrupted traditional observance of the event.‡

We come now to the Law, assigned to the year 470 B.C., proposed by Publilius Volero, that the plebeian magistrates should be elected in the committee of the tribes. It is a mere piece of constitutional reform, but the narrative does not therefore become more historical. 'Livy on the authority of Piso states the number of tribunes to have been increased by the law of Volero from two, as they had been since their institution, to five: and the names of the five tribunes then elected are given by the same historian. Dionysius, however,

* Sir G. C. Lewis, Credibility, &c. ch. xli. sect. 23.

† Ibid. sect. 30.

‡ Ibid. sect. 23.

conceives their number to have been five before this time: and Cicero says that it had been ten since the second year of their existence.'*

At this point a change comes over the political agitation of the time. Hitherto it has had reference to the struggles between the patricians and the plebeians, to the demands for plebeian offices, or for a redistribution of lands. All this now disappears: and in its place we have an absorbing desire for the compilation of a code of written laws for circumscribing the consular power. Kæso Quinctius vehemently resisted the demand; but withdraws into exile on being accused by Volscius Fictor of a murder committed two years before. Two years afterwards, the consuls undertake to prove that Kæso was absent from Rome when the murder is said to have been committed; the defence was successful, but it came too late. Kæso had already died in exile: but it is hard to understand why, instead of shrinking from a trial, he did not court it, if he could prove his own absence from Rome as well as that the supposed victim had died a natural death.

Two years later, 458 B.C., it is said that Turnus Herdonius, a Sabine, surprised and took the Roman Capitol. Without any authority, it has by some been supposed that Kæso Quinctius was his accomplice; but in the surprise itself there is nothing incredible: nor is it likely that a narrative, not tending to the credit of the Roman people, should be a pure invention. But although the plebeians aid in rescuing the Capitol, their hope of having the Terentillian rogation passed is again disappointed. The dictatorship of Cincinnatus rescues the commonwealth from serious danger; but the postponement of the Terentillian law again provokes the discontent of the people. Once more we hear of the agrarian law, which had been in abeyance for thirty years,† and a veteran named L. Siccius Dentatus is brought forward to fan the flame of plebeian animosity. In a military service of 40 years, he had fought in 120 battles, and received 45 wounds. His harangue roused the fears of the senate; and when it was announced that the Æquians threatened Tusculum, Siccius was sent to its aid, and narrowly escaped falling into the trap which the consuls had laid for destroying him with all his forces. He takes another road, surprises the Æquian camp, slays all his prisoners at night, and marches suddenly to Rome to accuse the consuls and prevent their triumph. But no motive is given to explain this treacherous design of the consuls, to whom Siccius had in no way rendered himself formidable: and that a man, 58 years old, should have taken part in 120 battles, and gained nearly 200 honours, is a fact which has perhaps never been equalled. And again, the troops who, being aware of the ambush lying in wait for them, march unresistingly to their doom, hurry by night, after killing their prisoners, in a state of mutiny to Rome. There is nothing but contradiction throughout. The narrative of Dionysius is given with a circumstantial minuteness which, if true, could only be acquired from contemporary writings, while the history of Livy gives a very short narrative, altogether, as it would seem, ignoring the other. 'Under these circumstances, what certain conclusion can we arrive at, or how can we give credence either to the copious details of the Greek, or to the brief sketch of the Roman historian? What reason have we for preferring one story to the other, or for supposing that either historian derived his information from authentic contemporary testimony?'‡

At length the tribunes, it is said, feeling that the passing of the Terentillian rogation was hopeless, proposed a law that, 'instead of a measure for diminishing the power of the consuls, a body of legislators, composed of both patricians and plebeians, should be formed, for equalising the rights of the citizens:' and thus was inaugurated the famous legislation of the Decemvirs, by the appointment of a commission of three persons to go to various cities in Greece for the purpose of copying their laws. The commissioners return in the following year, and then on the proposal of Appius Claudius, the committee of ten is appointed to consider the laws and draw up the new code. This body of ten superseded all other magistrates, and carried on the whole government of the state. Still within the year they had framed a code which they inscribed upon ten tables; and at the end of the year, they held an assembly for the election of ordinary magistrates. But it seems that the plebeians had imbibed as great a hatred of consuls as they had entertained of kings, and would not hear of their election. According to another account, the patricians wished to prolong the decemvirate from the desire of suppressing the tribunician power. Throughout the first year the conduct of Appius Claudius had been popular and conciliatory, and he now only consented with reluctance to become a candidate. Another version says that he resorted to all mean and unworthy arts to secure his own election. In Dionysius three of the second set of decemvirs are plebeians: in Livy they are all patricians. Both these writers agree, however, in what they say of the general conduct of the body so elected. They displayed at once the fasces and secures, the badges of absolute power, and the people soon found that it was useless to appeal, as they had done in the former year, from one decemvir to another. All security was at an end, and the people were ready for rebellion. The enemies of the city took advantage of this moment of weakness, and the Sabines encamped within twenty miles of Rome. Ten legions were after much difficulty levied, but the conduct of the decemviri in the field only led the more rapidly to their own overthrow. The story of Siccius, a plebeian centurion, although

* Sir G. C. Lewis, Credibility, &c. ch. xii. sect. 31.

† Ibid. sect. 43.

‡ Ibid. sect. 41.

coming to us in no more than one version, shows that Appius resorted to murder in order to get rid of his opponents.* But the measure of his iniquity was filled up by his conduct in the case of Virginia. The beauty of this maiden made him resolve to gain possession of her; and while her father was serving in the camp, he orders one of his own clients to claim her as his slave by birth. She is brought before the tribunal of Appius, who adjudges her to be guarded by this client till the day of trial comes on. But a popular tumult induces him to alter this decision, and he accepts bail for her reappearance. No time is lost by his friends in making Virginius acquainted with the schemes of Appius, and the wretched father hastens to Rome, only to hear the sentence which condemns his daughter to slavery. Having gained permission to bid her farewell, he stabs her to the heart, exclaiming that thus alone can he keep her pure and set her free. The sight of Virginius, with his bloody dagger, rouses the army to vehement indignation, and tearing up their standards, they march directly up to Rome, and occupy the Aventine. The city is in uproar, and Appius is glad to hide himself from the popular fury, while the army from Algidus depose their five decemviral generals, and set up ten military tribunes in their place. The troops from Fidenæ make the same change, and thus the decemviri are displaced by twenty tribunes. The death of Appius follows soon after the election of Valerius and Horatius as consuls, and whether by the latter or by the ædiles, the twelve tables of laws were engraved on brass, and exposed in public.

Such are the outlines of a story which is placed half way between the expulsion of the kings and the burning of the city by the Gauls—a period in all of 120 years, and of which the credibility is not called in question by a single miracle, marvel, portent, or prodigy. But on comparing the arrangement of this period of 120 years with the regal time of precisely 240 years, one element of weakness is laid open to view in an artificial chronology; and the story itself, when examined, shows no lack of internal difficulties. The Terentillian law, which initiated the decemviral movement, aimed at circumscribing the power of the consuls; and the purpose for which (when this was found to be hopeless) the decemviri were appointed, was to provide in part a code of written laws, and still more to equalise the rights of patricians and plebeians. Accordingly the first decemvirate is described as popular, both in its conduct and its legislation. The laws of the ten tables were sanctioned by the popular assembly of the centuries; and Cicero, speaking of these laws as being uniformly wise and just, withholds this praise only from the two last tables of the second decemvirate, which abolished the right of intermarriage between the two classes. Thus the conclusion remains that the ten tables were in favour of the plebeians, and that they served the purpose for which the decemvirate was instituted. Unfortunately the laws of these tables have only come down to us in fragments; yet 'we know enough concerning them to authorise us in saying, that they had not the character of a constitutional code, and that they contained nothing which placed the plebeians on a footing of political equality with the patricians. The political inequality between the two orders remained not less after the decemviral legislation than it had been before. All the great constitutional changes by which the plebeians achieved this equality, are mentioned as separate and successive measures, after the fall of the decemviri.'†

The legend which speaks of the journey of the three commissioners into Greece, is, to say the least, full of improbability. The decemviral code exhibited no resemblance to Greek law, and Cicero held it to be altogether superior to any Greek legislation. We can hardly suppose that the Romans had heard of the laws of Solon, and still less of the reforms of Cleisthenes; while they might more naturally have availed themselves of the legislation of Charondas in Sicily, and still more of Zaleucus, the lawgiver of the Epizephyrian Locrians in Italy. But of these we hear nothing: and Greek writers are equally silent about the arrival of these emissaries in Greece. If they came at all, they arrived during the early campaigns of Pericles, when Thucydides was alive; and it is almost incredible that such an event, if historical, should have remained unnoticed by them.

The colouring thrown on the history of Appius Claudius is not less suspicious. Like his father, he dies by his own hand in prison. An extant fragment of the Capitoline Fasti speaks of the consulship which he resigned in order to become decemvir as his second consulship, and so identify him with his father, to whom the historians attribute that which the Fasti describe as the first consulship of the son. According to both Livy and Dionysius, the decemvir is never heard of till the year before he is appointed to that office. In his political career, he first deserts the patricians, and ingratiates himself with the plebeians; and after his reelection he comes forward as an undisguised despot, having secured the cooperation of a set of oligarchs as unscrupulous as himself. Livy explains these changes by saying that his moderation was only assumed for political purposes: but Sir G. C. Lewis remarks that this will not explain 'why he laid down his office at the end of the year, and why, being already virtual dictator and holding the chief power in his hands, he voluntarily resigned it, and trusted to the chances of a personal canvass.' In Diodorus, moreover, the Claudius of the second decemvirate is a different person from the Claudius of the first. For the contradictions involved in the very position of the decemviral government, we must refer the reader to the work of Sir G. C. Lewis (Credibility, &c. ch. xii. sect. 54);

* Sir G. C. Lewis, Credibility, &c. ch. xii. sect. 51.

† Ibid. sect. 54.

it is enough to remark about these inconsistencies in general, that 'they cannot, without violence to the laws of historical evidence, be removed by arbitrarily selecting some parts of the narrative and rejecting others, or by gratuitously fabricating other facts and interweaving them with the traditionary narrative.'

The story of Virginia is as improbable as any other part of the narrative. We are told that the partisans of the decemvirs had with impunity committed numberless gross outrages on women; why should their chief resort to stratagem? why did he not murder Virginius as he had murdered Siccius? why did he not imprison or get rid of the friends of Virginia? The despot Claudius is here suddenly represented as restrained by legal forms, which are elsewhere trampled under foot. Again, the tale is given with great minuteness by Livy and Dionysius: but in the latter Appius gives both sides a hearing at a formal trial, while the former says that he would hear neither. Livy says that he cannot give the grounds on which Appius based his judgement; Dionysius affirms that he spoke from his own personal knowledge of the case. Finally, the twelve tables, as a whole, received the sanction of the people after the fall of the decemvirs: why were not the two last tables, which Cicero describes as thoroughly unjust, rejected by the plebeians? If they abolished the right of intermarriage, why did not the latter, when holding Mount Aventine, with arms in their hands, insist on the withdrawal of this statute? Instead of this, the popular consuls, Valerius and Horatius, engrave these tables and procure for these the same public sanction with the rest. Sir G. C. Lewis may well conclude by saying that 'the entire subject of the enactment of the decemviral code is in a state of hopeless confusion.'

The subsequent history is full of the same strange accounts which speak of laws passed in favour of the plebeians, yet not put in action; of the plebeians as possessed of power to enforce these laws, yet not using it; of concessions made and again withdrawn; of disputes settled and again renewed. To the year 437 are assigned the intrigues and death of Spurius Mælius. In a time of famine he distributed corn to the people at his own expense; and the jealousy of the patricians saw in his acts a design for making himself king. Like Spurius Cassius, he is said to have been put to death: but one account says that he was killed by Servilius, master of the horse to Cincinnatus, who had been appointed dictator for the purpose of quelling the sedition; another maintains that Servilius acted on the orders of the senate, and that no dictator was appointed at all.

To the year 431 B.C. is assigned an incident which exceeds the severity of Brutus in the execution of his sons for conspiracy. The son of the consul Postumius left his ranks to fight with an enemy: on returning victorious to his father he was put to death by his order. Livy distrusts the story because the proverb which expressed the execution of a son by a father, bore the name not of Postumius, but of Manlius: but his arguments are only indirect. He does not touch on the testimony which might be adduced for any version of the tale. In the same year Livy mentions an expedition of the Carthaginians to Sicily. He can scarcely refer to that of Hamilcar in 480 B.C., and he must therefore mean the great expedition of Hannibal in 409 B.C. As he antedates this event by more than twenty years, his version could not have been formed till after the accurate memory of the expedition had been lost.

The next memorable incident in the Roman traditions before the burning of the city by the Gauls is the siege and fall of Veii. The causes of the war are very obscurely given. The alleged injury for which the Romans demand reparation had taken place more than thirty years before; and since that time there had been two periods of truce: one lasting eighteen years. In this war Livy says that the Roman soldiers first received pay, and that this caused greater satisfaction than even the establishment of the tribunate; but it is at the least strange that the senate should make a concession which is never demanded, while they refuse others which are extorted from them at a later time, and that this concession should have been suggested by the tribunes wishing to secure their own popularity. But if the Romans were elated, the people of Veii were not less depressed at their failure to procure aid from the other Etruscan states. Livy attributes this to their having adopted a regal form of government; but this is inconsistent with the legend that they had lost a king in war more than thirty years before, and as there were kings in other cities also, it can hardly be said that the Etruscans disliked the institution. If, however, the story of the decemvirs is wholly free from miracles and prodigies, we have them abundantly in the legends of the war with Veii. The Alban lake rose above its level, although no rain had fallen. The Romans sent to consult the oracle at Delphi: and an old Veientine was heard to declare that the Romans would never take Veii till the Alban lake was drained of its waters. The response of the god from Delphi agreed with the words of the Veientine soothsayer. The lake was drained, and the doom of Veii sealed. By order of the dictator Camillus, the Romans carried a mine into the heart of the city; and the Veientine king, on offering sacrifice in the temple of Juno, the soothsayer told him that the victory would be with those who should cut the entrails of the victim. The Romans in the mine heard the words, and breaking into the temple seized the entrails, and carried them to Camillus. The city was given over to be plundered; but the dictator had vowed a tenth part of the spoils to Apollo at Delphi. Still he dreaded the jealousy of the gods, and prayed that the retribution for this great success might be as light as possible. As he uttered the prayer he fell; and the warning was fulfilled in the sack of Rome by the Gauls. A sol-

* Credibility, &c. ch. xii. sect. 54.

dier approaching the statue of Juno, asked if she would go to Rome: the goddess signified her assent, and the statue seemed marvellously light to those who moved it. The glory of Camillus was at its height; but the shadow of coming evil was beginning to be felt. The magnificence of Veii suggested to the people the design of migrating thither in a body; Camillus vehemently resisted it, and incurred no little unpopularity. His enemies charged him with embezzling some of the booty, and Camillus was driven into exile.

The tale of the siege will not bear much criticism. It is said to have lasted ten years; yet the town falls not by famine, but by a surprise, which might as easily have been executed in the first year as in the tenth. 'In all ancient history there is scarcely an authentic instance of a town taken in the manner related of Veii. Still the facts that Veii was besieged and taken, and its independence forfeited, cannot reasonably be doubted; of the details we can say little or nothing. Niebuhr supposed that the incidents of the last two years are drawn from a lost epic poem. The great question here would be to determine when this poem was composed (if we had good reasons for believing that it ever existed, which in this case we have not). A poem composed at the time would be much more trustworthy than a written prose narrative dating from a later period.

The prayer of Camillus on his departure into exile was soon fulfilled. His countrymen felt the need of him, when the Gaulish hordes were hastening to the city. On the banks of the Allia the Roman army was cut to pieces, on the aniversary of the destruction of the Fabii at the Cremera. Two, three, or four days afterwards the Gauls were in possession of Rome. The plebeians escaped, as they could, to Veii or elsewhere, the aged of both orders awaited their fate in their own houses. At the vestibules of their homes, according to Livy, on curule chairs in the forum, according to Plutarch, they excited the admiring astonishment of the Gauls, till one of them stroked the beard of a senator named Papirius, and was by him smitten with an ivory sceptre. The blow was the signal for massacre, and the town was immediately sacked and burnt. According to Livy the fire spared nothing; Diodorus admits that a few houses remained standing on the Palatine. The Capitol, however, held out, and Camillus, summoned to the aid of his country, was appointed dictator for the second time. The measure had well-nigh proved useless. The guard of the Capitol had failed to perceive that the Gauls were scaling the rampart, when the sacred geese of Juno gave the alarm by their cackling, and the first assailant was hurled down by Manlius, who had been consul two years before. The gift of half a pound of flour and a quarter of a pint of wine, from each of the garrison, was the reward of his good deed. Meanwhile the Gauls suffered from disease, and hinted that they might be bribed into leaving the city. The bargain was struck for 1,000 pounds of gold. Sulpicius complained that the Gauls used false weights; their king Brennus threw his sword into the scale, saying with scorn, 'Woe to the conquered.' But at this juncture Camillus appeared not less suddenly than the Roman soldiers in the temple of Juno at Veii. He ordered the gold to be removed, and told the Gauls to prepare for a battle: two defeats sufficed for the destruction of the whole horde.

Such is the story of Livy and some other writers. In Diodorus, Camillus does not reappear till the Gauls have left the city, and then he defeats the Volscians and other enemies of Rome, and attacking the Gauls recovers the 1,000 pounds of gold with the standards which had been lost. In his triumph he was drawn in a chariot by four white horses; his presumption roused the anger of the people, and two years afterwards he was in consequence sentenced to a heavy fine.*

The contradictions of the story admit of no reconcilement. If the versions already given speak of the extermination of the invaders, Polybius says that they returned to their own land, where they were afterwards embroiled in intestine wars. In another version, the gold was recovered, not by Camillus, but by the men of Cære. By another story, the Romans made the Gauls drunk with wine, and falling on them while intoxicated, cut them to pieces. But, further, the Allia cannot be identified with any existing river, nor can the spot where the battle was fought be determined: and although the Gauls are said to have followed up their victory quickly, still there was enough time to put the Capitol into a state of defence, and to allow the people to escape. Hence the story of the senators seated on their chairs in the forum becomes very improbable: nor is it more easy to understand why the Gauls should burn a city which they would have to occupy in order to reduce the Capitol, and which they are said to have occupied for six, eight, or nine months. The story of Livy reads like a romance: that of Polybius carries with it a great air of probability: but we cannot tell whence he got his information, or determine the value of his authorities. He wrote his history about 240 years after the capture of the city, and oral tradition could not be depended on for so long a time. It was, however, the first event in Roman history which seems to have attracted the notice of contemporary Greeks. Still Heraclides of Pontus learnt no more than that a city called Rome, which he supposed to be Hellenic, had been taken by an army from the land of the Hyperboreans; and Aristotle says that Rome was delivered by a certain Lucius, whereas Plutarch says that his name was not Lucius, but Marcus. With regard to the date of this event, there is a tolerably close agreement: the dates assigned vary from 387 to 390 B.C.

Livy believed that in entering on the period subsequent to the Gaulish conquest, he had arrived at a time of far greater

* Sir G. C. Lewis, Credibility, &c. ch. xii. sect. 82

clearness and certainty. We cannot indeed tell what were the fuller records which he says were kept from this time; but they must at best have been fragmentary, and certainly did not form a continuous history. Still it may be fairly held 'that the history for the period from the capture of the city to the campaign against Pyrrhus, compared with the period from the expulsion of the kings to the capture of the city, contains a greater proportion of fact, and a smaller proportion of fiction.'* This period is marked by a succession of wars, all of which contributed to increase the power of Rome, in spite of many defeats and disasters. The same end was promoted by the system of Latin colonies, which consisted of Roman citizens sent to occupy conquered lands, and by the confederation of other cities, with privileges varying in degree. The first Samnite war, beginning about 348 B.C., was followed by the Latin war, or great struggle of the Latins for supremacy. In the year 323 Alexander of Epirus landed in Italy, and three years later began the second Samnite war, lasting for more than twenty years, in which occurred the great Roman defeat at the Caudine Fork, 319 B.C. In the third Samnite war, C. Pontius, the general who had defeated the Romans at Caudium, was taken prisoner, and the whole country of Samnium was reduced to submission. In the year 281 B.C., the Tarentines, who had defeated L. Valerius and the Roman fleet before their city, invited Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, to aid them.

Active and restless, Pyrrhus was continually forming schemes, and occupied himself more in the affairs of others than in his own. He was a perfect master of the military art, but totally ignorant of that of governing. In addition to the opposition of his army to that of the Roman, he introduced elephants into the field, which being new to the Roman troops, was the cause of their discomfiture. But, being aware of the unconquerable spirit of his opponents, he solicited an alliance with them through the means of the orator Cineas. He attempted to corrupt, by presents, the virtue of Fabricius. He passed into Sicily, with a view to succour that island against the Carthaginians. And afterwards returning to Italy, he abandoned them entirely, filled with veneration for a people whose courage and constancy he was unable even to shake.

Rome now began to fix the attention of strangers. It received ambassadors from, and accepted an alliance with, Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, the enlightened protector of the arts and sciences. About this time luxury was first introduced among the Roman people, the source of all their future misfortunes. It destroyed republican virtue; it debilitated their courage; and was thus, eventually, the cause of the downfall of Rome.

The siege of Messina by the Carthaginians, and their union with Hiero, king of Syracuse, caused the first Punic war. Hiero soon after formed an alliance with the Romans, and remained ever after faithful to their cause. The love of glory rendered them as unconquerable on the sea as they had before been on the land. Sicily, the object of their ambition, was the witness of their naval victories. Africa herself trembled at the sight of her fleets. However, Xanthippus, the Lacedemonian, whom the Carthaginians, with the basest ingratitude, deprived of his life, defeated and made prisoner the brave but unfortunate Regulus. The Carthaginians demanded peace, and Regulus himself, who was one of the ambassadors, opposed the treaty, and fell a victim to the love of his country: he returned to Carthage to meet, it was said, the most horrid death that the enraged Carthaginians could inflict. Hamilcar was afterwards defeated, and this defeat terminated the first Punic war.

The siege and conquest of Saguntum, a city in alliance with the Romans, gave birth to the second Punic war. Hannibal already famous for his brilliant success in Spain, who had from his infancy been taught to regard the Romans with detestation, advanced towards Italy at the head of an army; crossed the Rhone; traversed the Alps in the midst of winter; defeated Scipio on the banks of the Ticinus; was conqueror at Trebia, Thrasymenus, and Cannæ; and filled Rome itself with alarm. The pleasures of Capua, it is said, where he had the imprudence to winter, saved Rome from destruction. It gave the Romans time to recover from the consternation which his rapid progess had occasioned; they collected all their force, and rose more terrible than ever, by their constancy, their discipline, their courage, and their policy.†

Their numerous victories astonished Spain and Sicily. They declared war against Philip, the ally of Carthage; took Syracuse, Agrigentum, and Capua; defeated Hasdrubal; and all Spain submitted to the younger Scipio. This general went into Africa, and, by his successes, obliged Hannibal to quit Europe and return home. In the battle of Zama, where every manœuvre in the art of war was displayed, Scipio was the conqueror, and the Roman senate dictated the conditions of peace. This victory augmented the already immoderate ambition of Rome, which threatened with slavery the whole of the then known world.

Hannibal, after having passed some time at the court of Antiochus, king of Syria, whom he had engaged to declare war against the Romans, returned to Bithynia; but fearing that he should be delivered up to his inveterate enemy, he put an end to his existence by poison.

The war with Philip, king of Macedon, and afterwards with Perseus, his son, was a remarkable epoch. Philip, after having suffered great loss, made peace with the

* Sir G. C. Lewis, Credibility, &c. ch. xiii. sect. 1.

† See the magnificent narrative of the campaigns of Hannibal in Arnold's History of Rome vol. iii.

Romans; but Perseus, with a view of recovering back what his father had lost, renewed a war which deprived him both of his liberty and life, and reduced his kingdom to a Roman province. Antiochus, king of Syria, who had declared war against the Romans in compliance with the wishes of Hannibal, was likewise obliged, in order to obtain peace, to cede all the country he possessed on the western side of Mount Taurus.

The Romans beheld with pain the existence of Carthage, and eagerly sought an occasion to commence hostilities. An opportunity soon presented itself. The Carthaginians being at war with Massinissa, king of Numidia, the Romans armed in his favour, and sent a strong force against Carthage itself. The Carthaginians defended themselves courageously; but the Roman commander, Publius Cornelius Scipio, becoming master of it, reduced it to ashes, and carried with him its riches to Rome. Thus ended the third Punic war; and thus fell Carthage, the ancient and powerful rival of Rome: B.C. 147.

The destruction of Carthage increased the ambition of the Romans. They marched an army against the cities of Greece, which were in league against their power, and obliged them to submit; but not before the city of Corinth had been taken, and destroyed. The Spaniards, who had revolted about the same time, were defeated; and the taking of Numantia brought all Spain under their power.

To these triumphs abroad, intestine divisions often succeeded. Tiberius Gracchus, and afterwards Caius Gracchus, caused the plebeians to revolt against the aristocracy.

Jugurtha, king of Numidia, being dissatisfied with the manner in which Micipsa, his father, had disposed of his kingdom,—having divided it between himself and his two brothers,—caused them to be put to death; and found means for some time, by presents, to render the Romans favourable to his schemes: Metellus, however, took several places from him, and at length Marius, a man of obscure birth, but of great military talents, being elected consul, put an end to this war; and Jugurtha was led in captivity to Rome, where he died of hunger. Marius defeated the Teutones, and Cimbri, and other northern nations, who had made irruptions into Gaul, Spain, and Italy; and during the war, which was carried on twelve years, signalised himself by his ability and his courage.

The people of Italy took up arms against Rome, for having refused them the rights of citizenship. This insurrection was the more difficult to overcome, as the insurgents were perfectly acquainted with the military discipline of the Romans. The senate disarmed a part of them, by an acquiescence with part of their demands; and this mistaken policy was the occasion of a civil war. It was followed by that of Mithridates of Pontus, the civil war of Marius and Sylla, and that of the gladiators.

Mithridates, king of Pontus, powerful and proud, yet brave and active, and as implacable in his hatred to Rome as Hannibal, determined, if possible, to humble that haughty republic. He began by a general massacre of the Romans within his territory: he next reduced several Roman provinces in Asia, and caused a Roman general to be murdered.

Sylla, the consul, was charged with the conduct of this war; but Marius, by his intrigues, not only caused him to be removed, but obtained the appointment for himself. This proceeding brought on the civil war so destructive in its consequences both to Italy and Spain: to the latter country Sertorius, the partisan of Marius, had retired. Sylla joined to courage and activity immense wealth and a suavity of manners, which gave him considerably the advantage over Marius, who died in the second year of the civil war.

Mithridates having been defeated both by sea and land, solicited peace, which was granted to him: but Murena, one of the lieutenants of Sylla, having infringed the treaty, the war recommenced. Mithridates prevailed upon Tigranes, king of Armenia Major, to engage in the quarrel: by his assistance, he defeated the Romans, and invaded Bithynia. The consul Lucullus then marched against Mithridates, entirely disconcerted his measures, and obliged him to retire into Armenia. Two successive victories, which he gained over the Armenians, would have furnished him with the means of dictating the terms of peace, if Glabrio had not been appointed in his place. Under this consul, Mithridates recovered his losses, and ravaged Cappadocia: but Pompey, already rendered famous for his bravery in the war against the pirates of Cilicia, which he terminated in forty days, being appointed to the command, drove Mithridates out of Pontus, pursued him to Armenia, and defeated him on the banks of the Euphrates, where, in a paroxysm of despair, he put an end to his existence. Thus terminated a war which had lasted, with unabating fury, twenty years. Pompey returned to Rome crowned with laurel, and possessed of immense riches.

During this time of Rome's victories abroad, great dissensions prevailed at home. The slaves, contrary to their inclinations, had been compelled to become gladiators. Spartacus, one of them, found means to escape from the school at Capua, and assembled a considerable army, whose standards bore the word 'liberty,' as a motto. He defeated the Romans in several engagements: but was at length totally routed by Licinius Crassus. Spartacus, perceiving that the alternative was no other than to be made a prisoner, or to die, was killed in battle, fighting heroically.

A new conspiracy exposed Rome to the greatest danger. Lucius Sergius Catilina, a man of high birth, but plunged in debauchery and debt, had formed a design of becoming master of Rome. Cicero, the orator, discovered the plot. The army raised for this nefarious purpose was rout-

ed, Catilina killed, and the greater part of his accomplices taken and beheaded.

Sylla having set a bad example, several Romans there were, who, possessing equally his ambition, but wanting his abilities, aspired at sovereign authority. But Pompey, Crassus, and Cæsar, more bold and more active than their competitors, divided the government between them. This coalition was termed the first triumvirate. Cæsar, however, would have no equal: Pompey disdained to have a superior; and the rivalry of these two powerful men soon occasioned the ruin of the state.

Cæsar obtained the consulate, and with it the government of Gaul for five years. Pompey and Crassus remained at Rome, while Cæsar was busied in extending his conquests, and laying the foundation of his future greatness. He attached Pompey to his interests, by giving him his daughter in marriage; and, joining valour with policy, he signalised himself by the greatest military enterprises. He defeated the Helvetians; subdued Ariovistus, king of the Germans; conquered the Belgians; and reduced, with wonderful facility, the whole of Gaul. He invaded Britain, and imposed a tribute upon the inhabitants. All these achievements were performed in the space of eight years.

Crassus having been killed in a battle with the Parthians, and the daughter of Cæsar, the wife of Pompey, being dead, Pompey beheld with a jealous eye the brilliant actions of his father-in-law, and sought, by every means in his power, to render him obnoxious to the people: he even endeavoured to deprive him of his government. Cæsar, assured of the fidelity of his troops, marched directly to Rome, when Pompey and his partisans immediately abandoned it.

Cæsar had now become perpetual dictator; he gained the people by his bounties, by his valour, and his wisdom, and intimidated his enemies. He pursued Pompey to Greece. After several events, those great rivals met on the plains of Pharsalia; and victory declared in favour of Cæsar, who was as remarkable for his clemency after the battle, as he had been for his bravery during the engagement. The vanquished Pompey retired into Egypt. Ptolemy, king of that country, thinking thereby to make his court to Cæsar, had him assassinated, and sent his head to that conqueror, who could not refrain shedding tears to the memory of so great a man. It was at this period that Cæsar became acquainted with Cleopatra, whom he caused to be proclaimed queen of Egypt; her brother Ptolemy having been drowned in the Nile. He now marched against Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates, whom he conquered with so much ease, that he thought three words were sufficient to announce his victory,—'*Veni, vidi, vici.*' The two sons of Pompey endeavoured to revenge the death of their father; but fortune was unpropitious to their designs: after an obstinate battle, their army was defeated. The elder son was killed: and it was with extreme difficulty that the younger escaped the hands of the conqueror. It was in this war that Cato, disdaining to survive the liberty of his country, put an end to his existence at Utica.

Cæsar returned to Italy; but, inflated with his extraordinary success, displayed more ostentation and pride than he had hitherto done. Rome groaned under the intolerable yoke he had imposed; and a conspiracy having been formed against him, he was assassinated by Brutus in the senate.

Lepidus and Antony, lieutenants of Cæsar, breathed extreme vengeance. Antony examined the will of the dictator; by which it was found that he had adopted Octavius, the son of his sister Julia. He bequeathed his gardens to the people, and a sum of money to each particular citizen. There were likewise legacies to several of the conspirators, particularly to Brutus, with reversion to Octavius.

The funeral oration delivered on this occasion, the appearance of the veteran soldiers, who threw their arms and crowns upon the funeral pile of their illustrious general, and the cries of the Roman ladies, transported the people with rage against the conspirators, whose houses and property they burnt. It was thus that the people laid the foundation of their future misery and slavery.

Octavius, who was in Greece at the time of his uncle's murder, did not, on his return to Rome, find Antony disposed to relinquish the power he had assumed in his absence. Brutus possessed the government of Gaul, which Antony now obtained of the people, contrary to the will of the senate, and he marched, aided by Octavius, against Brutus, in order to dispossess him thereof by force. This conduct offended the senators. Antony being defeated, went to Lepidus, then in Gaul; and the senate confirmed Brutus in his office. Octavius, highly offended at this action of the senate, formed an alliance with Antony and Lepidus; and this union formed the second triumvirate. It was agreed between them, that Italy, and the coast, should be in common; that Antony should command in Gaul, Lepidus in Spain, and Octavius in Africa and Sicily. Lepidus remained at Rome to defend Italy; while Antony and Octavius were employed in combating Cassius and Brutus. Thus all their common enemies were immolated in the cause of the triumvirate, and their particular friends were sacrificed to the resentment of each triumvir. Octavius destroyed Cicero. His head and hands being severed from his body, were fastened to the tribune, where the great orator had so often astonished Rome by his eloquence. Antony abandoned his uncle, Lepidus his brother. Three hundred senators, and 4,000 knights, were proscribed. Thus Rome became the theatre of horror and infamy; and the cruelties were renewed that had been heretofore practised in the contest between Marius and Sylla.

In the meantime, Cassius and Brutus were defeated at Philippi, and each of them put an end to his existence, in order

to avoid falling into the hands of the conqueror. Octavius returned to Rome; Antony went into Asia. He there cited Cleopatra to appear before his tribunal, for having taken part with the assassins of Cæsar: but becoming enamoured of her beauty, he sacrificed thereto his glory and his interest. He did not return to Italy for upwards of a year, when he married Octavia, sister of Octavius, and widow of Marcellus. A new division of power now took place; all the eastern parts were ceded to Antony, the western to Octavius, and Africa to Lepidus, who contested Sicily with Octavius. Lepidus, deserted by his friends, was exiled to a small town in Latium.

Antony, fascinated by the charms of Cleopatra, employed his time in giving superb entertainments, instead of attending to the concerns of his army. He endeavoured to justify his conduct to the senate; but they were incensed at his neglect, and declared war against him. The armies met at Actium, where Octavius gained that celebrated victory, which made him sole master of the Roman republic. Cleopatra, alarmed, set sail for the Peloponnesus; and Antony abandoned his fleet, and the empire of half the world, to accompany his mistress to Egypt. Being pursued by his conqueror, he fell upon his sword, and thereby put an end to his life. Cleopatra shut herself within the temple of Antony, where she applied an asp to her bosom, and expired at the base of the statue of her infatuated admirer.

Octavius now returned to Rome, and had a public triumph during three days. Having become sole master, he feigned a desire to resign his authority, and demanded the advice of Agrippa and Mecænas. The former advised him to reestablish the republic; but the opinion of the latter being contrary, and Octavius abiding by it, the slavery of Rome was decided. He left some appearance of authority yet in the hands of the senate, in dividing with them the provinces of the empire; but reserved to himself all those in which the troops were stationed, that he might at all times be master of the army. Thus commenced the mightiest monarchy that any age has produced.

The Roman Empire.

We have seen Cæsar, the conqueror of Pompey in the fields of Pharsalia, return triumphant to Rome, and assassinated by Brutus and Cassius in the senate. Antony, under the pretence of avenging his death, united himself with Lepidus, and Octavius, the nephew of Cæsar. Octavius, disdaining a division of the empire, found means to quarrel with them both, defeated them in succession, returned crowned with victory to Rome, and assumed the name of Augustus.

From the time of Julius Cæsar, the republic took the name of the Roman empire; and those who were at the head of its government were denominated emperors. The first twelve assumed the name of Cæsar, that is to say, from Julius Cæsar to Domitian.

Augustus, the first emperor, was a most fortunate warrior, and a profound politician. His liberality to the people, his fidelity to his friends, and his love of the arts and sciences, obliterated from the minds of the people the proscriptions which had taken place during the wars which had distracted the empire at the commencement of his career. During his reign, Biscay, Dalmatia, Egypt, Pannonia, Aquitaine, Illyricum, Rhætia, the country of the Vindelicians, and all the maritime towns in Pontus, became subject to the Roman state. He defeated the Germans, the Parthians, and the Dacians, and died with the reputation of a happy monarch.

The reign of Augustus was remarkable for literary characters, amongst whom were Virgil, the author of the Æneid; Horace, of Odes, Satires, and Epistles; and Ovid, of the Metamorphoses, and other poems. It has since become a proverbial expression to call any period, when the literature of a nation is particularly cultivated, its Augustan age. The reign of Augustus was also distinguished by the birth of Jesus Christ, which took place in the seven hundred and fifty-fourth year from the foundation of Rome, and in the thirtieth year of the reign of Augustus.

Tiberius, who had married the daughter of Augustus, and by whom he had been adopted, abandoned himself to voluptuousness, and governed by his ministers. His cruelty and avarice rendered him an object of general detestation. Incapable of distinguishing himself in the field, he left the conduct of his wars to his generals. Germanicus defeated the Germans, and Tiberius rewarded his services by ordering him to be poisoned. This monster of perfidy, ingratitude, and cruelty died at Capreæ, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. In the eighteenth year of his reign Jesus Christ was put to death at Jerusalem.

The Prætorian guards were a body of 10,000 men, under the especial orders of the prætor of Rome, who was usually also one of the consuls, or subsequently the emperor. They were quartered by Augustus, in small detachments, in different parts of Italy; but Tiberius brought them all to Rome, and fixed them in its neighbourhood in a fortified camp. They soon found the unarmed and timid populace of Rome too feeble to oppose them, and took upon themselves the nomination or disposal of the emperors.

Caius Cæsar, called also Caligula, was the son of Germanicus, grandson of Drusus, and great nephew of Tiberius; and succeeded to the imperial dignity in the twenty-fifth year of his age. His life was a continued scene of debauchery, much worse even than that of his predecessor. He made war against the Suabian Germans, without displaying the least promise of military talents. He was killed in his palace, in the twenty-ninth year of his age.

Claudius, uncle and successor to Caligula, gave, by turns, symptoms of good sense and moderation, folly and cruelty. He made war upon Britain, which he reduced:

at his return, he had a triumph, and took the name of Britannicus. He died at the age of seventy-four. He was the husband of Messalina, so dishonoured by her licentious life.

Nero, the son of Domitius Ænobarbus and Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus and sister to Caligula, began his reign by aspiring to virtues which he did not possess. This seeming goodness was, however, of short duration; he threw off the mask, and appeared to the people in his true character. He tarnished the reputation, and diminished the power, of the Roman empire. He never undertook any military expedition; but suffered the Parthians to make themselves masters of Armenia, and oblige the Roman legions to pass under the yoke. He had Rome set on fire; and put his own mother, his preceptor, and several other persons, to death in the most wanton and cruel manner. At length the senate declared him an enemy to his country; and he was condemned to be conducted, quite naked, with his head between the prongs of a pitchfork, through the streets of Rome; then to be whipped to death, and afterwards to be thrown from a high rock into the Tiber. Nero saved himself from this sentence by self-murder, at the house of one of his freedmen in the country, at the age of thirty-two years, and the fourteenth of his reign. In his person the family of Augustus became extinct.

Sergius Galba, a senator, of an ancient and noble family, was, at the age of sixty-three, proclaimed emperor by the Spaniards and the Gauls; and his election was approved by the whole army. He possessed some virtue, but it was eclipsed by his cruelty and his avarice. He fell into the snare which he had laid for Otho, and was killed at Rome in the seventh month from his elevation.

Otho succeeded as emperor. He united in his person the extremes of valour and effeminacy. Having been overcome in battle by Vitellius, his competitor, he stabbed himself, in the thirty-eighth year of his age, and the ninety-fifth day of his reign.

Vitellius mounted the imperial throne after the death of Otho. He reigned without honour, and was cruel in his government. He killed Sabinus, the brother of Vespasian, and burnt him with the capitol. He was an extreme glutton, and was killed by an officer in the service of Vespasian, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, having reigned eight months and one day. His body, after having been dragged through Rome, was thrown into the Tiber.

Vespasian succeeded to the purple. He brought under the Roman yoke many powerful nations: he took Jerusalem, and entered it in triumph with his son Titus. His death was much regretted by the senate and the people. He was good tempered, moderate, humane, witty, capable of friendship, and, on the whole, the greatest emperor since Augustus.

Titus succeeded his father: he was perfectly a master of his passions, and governed the empire so admirably as to gain the name of the '*Love and Delight of the Human Race.*' His eloquence, his valour, and his moderation were the charms by which he gained the hearts of his subjects. He died in the forty-first year of his age, having reigned two years, eight months, and twenty days.

Domitian, the younger brother of Titus, ascended the throne. He abandoned himself to every vice, and was capable of every crime. He raised many considerable edifices in Rome; and was killed in his palace, by his domestics, in the fifteenth year of his reign.

Nerva, already advanced in age, was next elected emperor. He governed with justice, and chose Trajan for his successor. He died at Rome, at the age of seventy, having reigned four months and eight days, regretted by a people whom he had rendered happy.

Trajan, by birth a Spaniard, succeeded Nerva. He was a successful soldier, and extended the bounds of the Roman empire. He was just, and an enemy to flattery and envy; he was friendly, and loved his subjects; and it has been said that his only defects were a love of war and wine. He died in Asia in the sixty-third year of his age.

Adrian was raised to the throne by the means of Plotina, the wife of Trajan. He had a happy disposition; was a protector of the arts, and of artists; and his greatest ambition was to have the reputation of being learned. He was a perfect master of the Greek language, and jealous of those who spoke or wrote better than himself. He abandoned many provinces conquered by Trajan, and built a temple in honour of Venus on Mount Calvary. He died at the age of sixty-two years, and was succeeded by Antoninus Pius, who treated his subjects as his children. Liberality, clemency, and affability formed only a part of the good qualities of this prince: his wit was polished, his sentiments noble. He defeated the Britons by his generals. He repulsed the Moors, and took part of Egypt. His death took place at a country-seat called Lorium, four leagues from Rome, in the sixty-third year of his age.

Marcus Aurelius, the successor of Antoninus, took Lucius Verus as his colleague in the empire: they made war upon the Parthians. Lucius Verus intended to command in person, but stopped at Antioch, and gave his orders to his lieutenants, who defeated the Parthians, and took Seleucia, one of the finest cities in Syria. Lucius Verus returned to Rome, and had a triumph. He died at Venice, of apoplexy, or poison, having reigned nine years.

After the death of Verus, Marcus Aurelius governed alone, with all the wisdom which characterises a good prince. He overcame several northern nations, and sold the most precious part of his property to compensate his soldiers, rather than oppress the people. This crowned philosopher would serve as a perfect model for princes, if his extreme kindness had not sometimes degenerated into weakness. He died at the age of sixty-one years.

Commodus, son of Aurelius, but unworthy

of such a parent, succeeded his father on the throne. He made himself detestable by his debaucheries; but carried on a successful war against the Germans. After having practised the cruelties of a Nero, and the wickedness of a Caligula, by sacrificing the wisest among the Romans, and murdering his wife and his sister, he died, as is supposed, by poison.

Pertinax, prefect of Rome, succeeded Commodus at the age of seventy. He was originally a schoolmaster in Liguria, which he quitted for a military life. In endeavouring to establish discipline in the army, he was killed by the soldiers of his own guard, after a reign of twenty-four days.

Didius Julianus bought the empire after the death of Pertinax; but he was defeated by his rival, Septimus Severus, and was slain in his palace in the seventh month of his reign.

Severus, who had already taken the title of emperor in Illyria, succeeded Julian. He defeated and killed Pescennius Niger, who had been proclaimed emperor in the east. He also defeated Clodius Albinus, who had assumed the title of Cæsar in Gaul. He subjugated the Parthians and the Arabs, and joined to his military skill the reputation of learning. In England he built the famous wall in the north, which extended from sea to sea—and which is in part remaining at this hour—in order to prevent the inroads of the Picts and Scots. He died at York, after having reigned gloriously eighteen years and four months.

Caracalla and Geta, the sons of Severus, were elected emperors. Caracalla having killed Geta, whom the senate had declared an enemy to the republic, reigned alone. He governed tyrannically, and abandoned himself to the most infamous and degrading vices. He carried on a war with some success against the Germans; and was preparing to march against the Parthians, when he was killed at Edessa, at the age of forty-three years; after having reigned six years and two months, the detestation of the Roman people. Here we date the decline of the Roman empire.

Macrinus and Diadumenianus, father and son, were placed on the imperial throne. They were killed by the soldiers, after having reigned fourteen months.

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, surnamed Heliogabalus, priest of the Temple of the Sun, was proclaimed emperor by the army. He was a monster of lasciviousness: and was, with his mother, Soœmias, killed by the soldiers, after having reigned two years and eight months.

Alexander Severus, cousin to the last emperor, mounted the throne at the age of fifteen years. The army gave him the name of Cæsar, and the senate that of Augustus. He gained a signal victory over the Persians; and was noted as a patron of the arts and sciences. He was killed in Gaul, by a soldier whom he had raised from the ranks, after a reign of thirteen years; during which he consoled the empire, by his virtues and his kindness, for the tyranny of the preceding reigns.

Maximinus, of the Gothic race, elected emperor by the soldiers, was the son of a poor peasant, and, from the station of a common soldier, arose, step by step, to the first dignities in the empire. He was eight feet high, and a most voracious glutton. He commenced his reign by the murder of his best friends, and was himself murdered by his soldiers.

Gordian was placed upon the imperial throne by the soldiers. He appointed his son as his colleague, whom he sent into Africa against Capellian, governor of Numidia and Mauritania. The younger Gordian was vanquished and killed by the Numidians, at the age of forty-five years Gordian the elder died with despair, at the age of eighty, in the third year of his reign.

Maximus and Balbinus, the first the son of a smith, and the latter of noble origin, had been during the lifetime of Maximinus elected emperors by the senate, and now assumed the throne. But the soldiers, dissatisfied with their election, entered their palaces, and massacred them. They then set up the grandson of Gordian, whom the senate had also declared Cæsar after the death of his grandfather.

Gordian II., invested with the purple, opened the temple of Janus, and carried on a successful war against the Parthians and Persians. He pursued Sapor to the confines of Persia, where he was killed through the treachery of Philip, whom he had constituted his lieutenant. The Romans, for his virtues, ranked him among the gods.

The two Philips, father and son, were proclaimed emperors. The father was the son of an Arab chief of robbers. Before he came into Italy, he had made his peace with Sapor. He abandoned some of the provinces of the empire: visited Arabia; and built, at the place of his birth, a city, which he called Philippopolis. During the reign of the Philips, was celebrated at Rome, with great magnificence, the year one thousand from the foundation of the city. Philip, the father, was killed at Verona, and the son at Rome, after having reigned about six years.

Decius and his son, who had been sent against the Scythians, being successful, received from the soldiers the imperial crown. Decius possessed the qualities of a good soldier and an honest man. He, however, persecuted the Christians with rigour, on account of what he considered their fanaticism. After having reigned two years, he, together with his son, perished by an ambuscade prepared for them by Trebonianus Gallus, who succeeded Decius in the empire, and divided his power with his son Volusianus. They marched against Emilianus, who had revolted in Mœsia, and were killed at Terano, after having reigned about two years.

Emilianus, an African, was proclaimed emperor by the legions which had revolted against Gallus; but the soldiers having learned that Valerian had taken the purple in Gaul, they killed Emilianus, after a reign of three months.

Valerian, and Gallienus, his son, governed the empire jointly. They were unfortunate

in their wars, particularly in that carried on against Sapor, king of Persia, who defeated Valerian in Mesopotamia, took him prisoner, and treated him with every indignity. Gallienus defeated and killed Ingenuus, who had taken the purple. The weakness of the Roman government had encouraged the Germans, who made irruptions into Gaul and Italy. At the same time the governors of the provinces aimed at becoming independent; and at one time no less than thirty had declared themselves emperors.

Posthumus usurped the empire in Gaul, which he governed ten years by his valour and prudence. He laid siege to Mayence, which had revolted at the solicitation of Lollius, elected emperor by the troops which he commanded. Posthumus and Lollius were killed by their own soldiers.

Marius, originally a blacksmith, elected emperor after the death of Posthumus, was killed on the second day of his reign, by a soldier who had been his boy at the forge. He ran his sword through his body; telling him, at the same time, *that it was of his own forging.*

Victorinus succeeded Marius, and was killed at Cologne, by a writer, whose wife he had seduced. Tetricus succeeded Victorinus, and took the purple at Bordeaux. Gallus succeeded, and was killed with Valerian, his brother, at Milan, in the ninth year of his reign.

Claudius II. succeeded Gallus. He totally defeated the Goths, who had committed great ravages in Greece. His modesty, moderation, equity, and other good qualities, gained him general esteem. He died of a contagious fever, in the second year of his reign. Quintillus, the brother of Claudius, was saluted emperor by the soldiers, but killed on the seventeenth day of his reign.

Aurelian succeeded Quintillus, and was esteemed for his valour and his prudence. He defeated, near Chalons, in Champagne, the army of Tetricus.* He fought a bloody battle with Zenobia, a celebrated princess. This astonishing woman, after the death of her husband, Odenatus, who, under the emperor Gallus, was proclaimed emperor in the east, commanded the army in person with much success. Aurelian took her prisoner, and entered Rome in triumph, making Zenobia walk before his chariot. She possessed extraordinary beauty, and a great mind. Aurelian was assassinated by the means of his secretary, in the road between Constantinople and Heraclea.

The army having refused at this time to bestow the imperial throne, the senate reassumed its ancient right. Their choice fell on an old man, named Tacitus. He died in the sixth month of his reign. He was just and enlightened, perfectly disinterested, and a man well suited to close the wounds of the state. Florian succeeded Tacitus, his brother; but reigned only two months and twenty days. This prince demanded the empire as the right of his family.

* Gibbon's Roman Empire, ch. xi.

Probus, saluted emperor after Florian, was of obscure birth; but he possessed heroic valour: he drove from Gaul the many barbarians which had nearly overrun it. He defeated Saturninus in the east, and Proculus and Bonosus, near Cologne, usurpers of the empire. Probus was killed by his own soldiers, after having reigned with glory about six years.

Aurelius Carus succeeded Probus; and soon after he had been named Augustus, he created his sons, Carinus and Numerian, Cæsars, with whom he reigned about two years. He defeated the Sarmatians, and afterwards the Persians, and was killed by lightning on the banks of the Tigris. Numerian, who was with his father in the east, was assassinated in his litter. Carinus, whom his father had left in the west, to govern Illyria, Gaul, and Italy, had, by his crimes, become the scourge of the human race. The victorious army of Persia refused to acknowledge him, and saluted Diocletian as emperor.

Diocletian was no sooner elected emperor than he marched against Carinus, and defeated him in a general battle in Mœsia. He bestowed the name of Cæsar on Maximin, surnamed Hercules, and sent him into Gaul, to quell an insurrection of the peasants, which duty he soon effectively performed. Carausius, general of a part of the troops of the empire, and whom Maximin had ordered to be killed, took the purple, and possessed himself of Britain. Achilleus took possession of all Egypt; and Narses used every effort to render himself master of the east. Diocletian now took for his colleague in office, Maximin Hercules, and named him Augustus: he gave at the same time the title of Cæsar to Constantius and Galerius. The two emperors accommodated matters with Carausius. They defeated the Persians under Narses, and on their return to Rome received the honour of a superb triumph. But they presently grew weary of their grandeur, and both emperors relinquishing the purple on the same day, appeared in the habit of common citizens: Diocletian at Nicomedia, and Maximin at Milan. The former retired to Salona, in Dalmatia; the latter to Lucania. Diocletian was a philosopher, possessing a commanding genius. Maximin was fierce and cruel, possessing more of the courage of the soldier than the genius of a general.

Constantius Clorus and Galerius were declared emperors by the senate. These two princes divided the empire between them. Constantius had Gaul, Italy, and Africa; Galerius, Illyria, Asia, and the east. Constantius died after a reign of about two years, with the character of a just prince.

Constantine the Great, son of Constantius, was elected emperor at York. But the soldiers of the prætorian guard, who had revolted at Rome, gave the title of Augustus to Maxentius, son of Maximin Hercules. Maximin, who now felt regret at having resigned the purple, left Lucania, and came to Rome, from whence he wrote in vain to Diocletian to re-assume the im-

perial throne. Galerius sent Severus to Rome, to oppose Maxentius. Severus besieged Rome, but was betrayed and defeated; and soon after Maxentius caused him to be strangled between Rome and Capua. Maximin, having in vain endeavoured to dispossess his son Maxentius, retired into Gaul, in search of Constantine, his son-in-law, with a design to kill him. Fausta, daughter of Maximin, and wife of Constantine, being acquainted with the design of her father, informed her husband. Maximin, in order to save himself from the fury of Constantine, endeavoured to embark at Marseilles for Italy, but was killed in that city by the order of Constantine. Galerius honoured Licinius with the purple, and died soon after. The Romans at this time obeyed three emperors; Constantine, Maxentius, and Licinius. Constantine possessed talents both for war and politics; he defeated the army of Maxentius, and afterwards attacked Licinius, who had married his sister; and having defeated him in several actions both by sea and land, the vanquished Licinius surrendered at discretion to the conqueror. Licinius retired to Thessalonica, where he lived in privacy and tranquillity, until Constantine, hearing that he was alive, ordered him to be put to death.

Constantine, now sole master of the empire, transferred the seat of government to Byzantium, which he named Constantinople. Under him Christianity began to flourish: he received baptism; but, although he was a nominal Christian, many of his qualities were repugnant to the principles of Christianity. He died near Nicomedia.

Constantine II., Constans, and Constantius, divided the empire between them, agreeable to the will of Constantine their father. Constantine had Spain, Gaul, and the Alps: Constans, Asia, Egypt, and the East: Constantius, Italy, Sicily, and Africa. This division was the ruin of the empire. Constantine was killed by the soldiers of his brother Constans, who perished by treason a little time after. Constantius, sole master of the empire, reigned twenty-four years. Destitute of glory, weak, and inconsistent, he was neither loved nor feared.

Julian, called by the Christians the Apostate, by others the Philosopher, was proclaimed emperor by the troops in the lifetime of Constans. This prince was just, frugal, an enemy to vain-glory and flattery, and affected to hate the name of Christian. He died a hero fighting against the Persians.

Jovian, elected by the principal officers of the army, governed with wisdom, and encouraged Christianity. He reigned about eight months.

Valentinian succeeded Jovian; he joined in the government his brother Valens. They divided the empire of the East and the empire of the West. Valentinian had the West, and Valens the East. Gratian ascended the imperial throne after the death of his father Valentinian. Valens, defeated by the Goths, and other barbarians, who established themselves in Thrace and menaced Constantinople, died leaving few subjects to regret his loss.

Gratian appointed Theodosius governor of the East, where, by his zeal for the Christian religion, his abhorrence of its opponents, and by his courage, he rendered himself popular. Gratian being dead, and Valentinian, emperor of the West, being assassinated in the year 393, Theodosius having vanquished Maximus and Eugenius, who had declared themselves emperors, re-united the whole empire, which he divided between his sons.

After the death of Theodosius, all degenerated, and from this epoch may be dated the fall of the Roman empire. The decline of the Roman empire, in fact, followed the age of the Antonines. The effeminate and luxurious manners of the nobles and people of Rome: the vices of the emperors; the means by which they rose to power; the disposal of sovereignty by the military; the recruiting of the army by natives of Germany and other barbarous countries; and the increasing numbers and audacity of the 'barbarians,' precipitated Rome from that eminence which she had attained during the consulate and the first years of the empire.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

The British and Roman Period—to the Subjugation of the Island by the Saxons.

THE authentic history of England begins with the invasion of the island by Julius Cæsar, 55 B.C.; but its continuity has been broken more than once between that time and the period from which we possess a continuous series of contemporary narratives. For the periods thus left uncertain or unknown, it is of some importance to mark that we have to deal with fictions of two or three kinds. There were first, the scanty traditions of the tribes which inhabited Britain, and which, if we cannot determine the amount of history contained in them, are not without value as throwing light on the social or mental condition of the people. But when, after the introduction of the monastic system, monkish authors undertook the task of arranging early British history, these real traditions of the conquered or conquering races were embedded in a mass of gratuitous fiction which had absolutely no value whatever. This mixture, with the last element greatly preponderating, is presented to us in its most extravagant form in the pages of Jeffrey of Monmouth, a writer of the 12th century. His chronicles are a mere tissue of romance, to such an extent that it is hard to say what amount of the real traditions of the country he worked into his narrative; but in every portion of it we have all the marks by which a fictitious story may be distinguished from a true one. We have all the minute particulars which could be given by contemporary witnesses for periods removed by centuries from the dawn of any contemporary history, together with a mass of contradictions whose absurdity renders their exposure a superfluous work. According to such writers as Jeffrey, the history of Britain begins with the adventures of Brutus the Great, grandson of Æneas, the legendary ancestor of the Romans, and is carried through a series of dynasties, all of which are a fabrication, whose impudence is heightened by the synchronisms which make such events as the building of New Troy in Britain contemporaneous with the life of Eli the priest, in Judæa. Hence we have to confine ourselves to those narratives which we know to be contemporary, together with the evidence which is furnished by language, and the present position of those races which are known to us as having once occupied the whole island.

With the invasion of Cæsar, then, begins a time of which our knowledge, so far as it goes, may thoroughly be depended on. We have the narration of Cæsar himself, and his description of the island and the people, so far as it was known to him. But after the withdrawal of Cæsar, we have only unconnected notices for nearly ninety years, when the British chieftain Caradoc or Caractacus carried on a struggle of several years against the emperor Claudius. From this time we have a continuous knowledge of events until the commencement of the fifth century, when the Roman legions were finally withdrawn by the order of Honorius. From this time, nearly 200 years passed away before Augustin landed and found Englishmen where the Romans had left Britons. It was yet another century before Bede, the earliest English historian, drew up a history which, with all its imperfections, has a value which it will never lose.

In the interval, therefore, between the departure of the Romans, and the arrival of Augustin, an entirely new state of things had been brought about in the eastern part of the island. The Gallic or Celtic tribes had been driven to the west; the German tribes had poured into the country and established kingdoms. For the latter half of this time, oral tradition itself might be expected to preserve a tolerably faithful narrative of events: and if Ælla in 477 A.D., founded the kingdom of the South Saxons, and Cerdic landed in 495, then the time which intervened between these events and the coming of Augustin scarcely extends over three generations. But the sort of history for which we may look under such circumstances, by no means implies minute chronological accuracy. On the contrary, we find on examination that much of the chronology is artificial, and that we must content ourselves with a general knowledge of the order of events, rather than of the precise dates at which they occurred. Thus the reigns of the chieftains are said to have lasted in many instances for forty or fifty years, these numbers being taken to express completeness; and their exploits and conquests recur at fixed intervals, these being generally periods of eight years. 'The events in the Saga of the Æsings, or founders of the kingdom of Kent, take place in an eight times repeated cycle of eight years.' Thus twice eight years after Cerdic's landing, he gains possession of the Isle of Wight by a great victory: after another eight years he assumes the kingly title, and so again, like Hengist and Ælla, he reigns forty years. We see here the same process by which the chronology of Roman history before the burning of the city by the Gauls, was divided into two halves of 240 years each, and each of these divided again into periods of 120 years. But in the case of English history, we arrive at the time of contemporary writers very much sooner; and hence the artificial chronology need not be regarded as upsetting the general credibility of the narrative, unless there are other reasons to render such a conclusion necessary.

If, however, we cannot be said to have a history for the time preceding the invasion of Cæsar, there are some important facts which cannot be called into question. Thus it is certain that the race which still survives in Cornwall, Devon, and Cumberland, and in a still greater degree in Wales, the highlands of Scotland, and forms the large majority of the inhabitants of Ireland, once held the whole of that island and of Great Britain also. It is further certain that the race which in the time of Cæsar preponderated in Northern Europe west of the Rhine was the same as that which occupied Britain, and that in times far more ancient, the area of its possessions was spread over the greater part, perhaps over almost the whole, of Europe. Hence we see that the invasion of new races was constantly driving the older race westwards, until we find the remnants which represent it in the westernmost part of the countries of which they were once the masters. The race which still lives in the western coast of England, in Wales, in the highlands of Scotland, and in Ireland, is found again in Brittany.

But further, we find from the evidence of language that in England at least, three several races sprang originally from the same stock, and that, however different may have been their physical and social developement, these differences overlie a real connection, which seem to prove that their ultimate union is not an impossibility. In any case, it is of no slight importance to learn that Celts and Teutons and Northmen, are part of the same great Aryan family, with the Roman and the Greek; that this affinity is apparent in their language, and in those political characteristics which separate them from the races of the Semitic and Turanian family. Thus the Greeks, the Romans, and the Germans, when they became separated in the stream of western migration, performed each their part in that great work which has issued in the society of Christian Europe; and, although appearing to each other as aliens, contributed to a common result, which a divergence of race equivalent to that which separates the Englishman from the Syrian or Phœnician would have rendered impossible.

Thus then our first authentic knowledge of this country comes from its Roman invaders; it is interrupted whenever these are withdrawn, and it begins again with a more complete continuity from the conversion of England by Augustin in the early part of the 7th century. The narrative of Cæsar gives not only a trustworthy account of events, but also a description of the inhabitants, and the physical features of the country by one who has been rarely equalled in his powers of observation. The works of other writers also enable us to draw the picture in greater fullness; and bring before us a people who retained unsoftened at the time of Cæsar's landing all those national characteristics which in the inhabitants of continental Gaul had been weakened by contact with their Roman conquerors.

The British people were divided into many kingdoms or tribes; and though each tribe had a monarch, each monarchy was principally founded upon physical force, and of course greatly tempered by it. For despotism, indeed, there was but little opportunity, whatever the inclination of the king. War was the principal occupation of tribe against tribe, and hunting at once the chief amusement, and, next to the feeding of flocks and herds, the most important means of subsistence. Wandering hither and thither in search of pasture for their cattle, these wild tribes were perpetually coming into collision with each other; and so frequent and fierce were their wars, that but for the interference of the Druids—in this respect, a body of men as useful as in many respects they were mischievous—their mutual rancour would have proceeded well-nigh to mutual annihilation.

Though we have stated the Britons to have been free from kingly despotism—though, in fact, the king was only the first freeman of a tribe of freemen, there yet was a despotism, and a terrible one, for both king and people—the despotism of the Druids. The Druids were the priests of the Britons; and they were also their teachers, their lawgivers, and their magistrates: and the peculiar tenets which were inculcated upon the British from their earliest childhood were such as to render the Druid priests omnipotent, as far as that term can be applied to men and man's attributes.

Julius Cæsar, the renowned Roman, having overrun Gaul at the head of his irresistible legions, had his attention attracted to Britain B.C. 55. He determined to conquer it, and it is to his invasion that we primarily owe our present splendour and importance. From his own history of his Gallic wars it is that we chiefly derive our knowledge of the state of Britain; and it is on his authority that we describe its rude and poor condition. The conquest of such a country could have nothing but the love of conquest for its motive; but to a Roman, and, above all, to a Cæsar, that motive was sufficient to incite to the utmost enterprise, and to reconcile to the utmost danger and the utmost suffering.

Not far from the present site of the town of Deal, in Kent, Cæsar made a descent upon Britain.* The savage appearance of the natives, and the fierce reception they at first gave to their invaders, struck a temporary terror even into the hearts of the veteran soldiers of Rome. But the check was only momentary. A standard-bearer leaped upon the inhospitable shore, and the legionaries followed their eagle. Cæsar advanced some distance into the country; but every mile of progress was made under harassing attacks of the natives, whose desultory mode of warfare, and their intimate acquaintance with the wild country, made them formidable in spite of their want of discipline and the rude nature of their arms. But the steady perseverance and serried ranks of the Romans enabled them

* Lappenberg's History of England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings, i. 17.

still to advance; and they gained so much advantage, that when Cæsar deemed it necessary to return to his winter quarters in Gaul, he was able to extort promises of a peaceful reception when he should think proper to return, and received hostages for their fidelity. He withdrew accordingly, and the Britons, ignorant and, like all barbarous people, incapable of looking forward to distant consequences, flagrantly failed to perform their engagements. Disobedience was what the Roman power would not at that time have brooked from a people far more civilised and powerful than the Britons, and Cæsar early in the ensuing summer again made his appearance on the coast of Kent. On this occasion he found a more regular and organised force awaiting him; several powerful tribes having laid aside their domestic and petty differences, and united themselves under Cassibelaunus, a brave man, and so superior to the majority of the British kings, that he was possessed of their general respect and confidence. But mere valour could avail little against the soldiery of Rome, inured to hardships, rather enjoying than fearing danger, thoroughly disciplined, and led by so consummate a soldier as Julius Cæsar. The Britons, accordingly, harassed him in his march, and disturbed his camp with frequent night alarms; but whenever they came to actual battle they were ever defeated, and with dreadful loss. This time Cæsar made his way far into the country, crossed the Thames in face of the enemy, and, in despite of the precaution they had taken to stake the bed of the river, destroyed the capital of Cassibelaunus, and established as king of the Trinobantes a chieftain, or petty king, named Mandubratius, who, chiefly in disgust at some ill-treatment, real or imagined, which he had suffered at the hands of his fellow-countrymen, had allied himself with the Romans.

But though Cæsar was thus far successful, the wild nature of the country and the nomadic habits of the people prevented him from achieving anything more than a nominal conquest of the island. He was obliged to content himself, once more, with the promises which the islanders the more readily made him because they never intended to fulfill them, and he again left the island, never to return to it; for the domestic troubles of Rome, greatly caused by his own ambition and daring genius, left neither him nor the Roman people any leisure to attend to a poor and remote island. His successor, the great Augustus, was wisely of opinion that it rather behoved Rome to preserve order in her already vast empire, than to extend its bounds. Tiberius was of the same opinion; and Caligula, flighty and fickle, if not absolutely mad, though he made a demonstration of completing the work which Cæsar had begun, seized no spoils more valuable than cockle-shells, inflicted only a fright upon the Britons, and gave Rome nothing for the vast expense of his eccentric expedition, save materials for many a merry pasquinade and hearty laugh.

For nearly a century after the first descent of Cæsar, the Britons enjoyed peace unbroken, save by their own petty disputes. But in the reign of the emperor Claudius, A.D. 43, the design of conquering the island of Britain was again revived; and Plautius, a veteran general, landed and fairly established himself and his legionaries in the country. As soon as he received tidings of the success and position of his general, Claudius himself came over; and the Cantii, the Trinobantes, and other tribes of the south-eastern part of the island, made their formal submission to him, and this time, probably, with something like sincerity, as they had experienced the power of the Roman arms and the superiority of the Roman discipline.

The more inland Britons, however, were still fiercely determined to maintain their liberty and preserve their territory; and several tribes of them, united under the command of Caractacus, a man of courage and of conduct superior to what could be anticipated in a mere barbarian, made a stout resistance to all attempts of the Romans to extend their progress and power: A.D. 50. Indignant that mere barbarians should even in a slight degree limit the flight of the destroying eagle, the Romans now sent over reinforcements under the command of Ostorius Scapula, whose vigorous conduct soon changed the face of affairs. He beat the Britons farther and farther back at every encounter, and penetrated into the country of the Silures (now forming part of South Wales), and here in a general engagement he completely routed them and took a vast number of prisoners, among whom was the brave Caractacus.

Irritated at the comparatively slow progress of their arms against so poor and rude a people, the Romans now gave the chief command of their troops in Britain to Suetonius Paulinus, a man of equal courage and conduct, and noted even among that warlike race for unwavering sternness. This general perceived the true cause of the British pertinacity of resistance in the face of so many decisive defeats and severe chastisements. That cause, the only one, probably, which could so long have kept such rude people united and firm under misfortune, was the religious influence of the Druids, whose terrible anger had more terror for their deluded followers than even the warlike prowess and strange arms of the Romans. Suetonius, then, determined to strike at the very root of British obstinacy; and as the little isle of Anglesey, then called Mona, was the chief resort of the Druids, he proceeded to attack it, rightly judging that by making a terrible example of the chief seat of their religion and their priests, he should strike more terror into the refractory Britons than by defeating them in a hundred desultory battles. His landing was not effected without considerable difficulty; for here the naturally brave Britons fought under the very eyes of their powerful and dreaded priests, and with the double motive of desire to win their praise, and terror of incurring an anger which they believed to be potent in the future world

as in this. Urged by such considerations, the Britons fought with unexampled fury and determination, and the priests and priestesses mingled in the ranks, shrieking strange curses upon the invaders, waving flaming torches, and presenting so unearthly and startling an appearance, that many of the Roman soldiers, who would have looked coolly upon certain death, were struck with a superstitious awe, and half imagined that they were actually engaged in personal warfare with the tutelar demons of their mortal foes. But Suetonius was as disdainful of superstitious terrors as of actual danger, and his exhortations and example inspired his men to exertions that speedily put the ill-armed and undisciplined Britons to flight.

The worst crime of which the Druids were guilty was that of offering to their gods human sacrifices. It was especially in war time that these truly horrible sacrifices were frequent. Confident in their hope of defeating the Romans by force, and the terrors of their superstition, the Druids of Mona on this occasion had promised their cruel deities a plenteous sacrifice. The fires were prepared; but they who were to have been the ministering priests became the victims; for Suetonius, as cruel as those against whom he fought, burned the captive Druids at their own altars.

Having wreaked this cruel vengeance, and cut down or burned the dense groves in which the Druids had for ages performed the dark rites of their mysterious religion, he left Anglesey and returned into Britain, confident that the blow he had thus struck at the most venerated seat of the British faith would so shake the courage and confidence of its votaries, that he would have for the future only a series of easy triumphs. But his absence from the main island might have been of more disparagement to his cause than his feats at Mona had been to its advantage. Profiting by their brief freedom from his presence, the scattered tribes of the Britons had reunited themselves, under a leader who, though a woman, was formidable both by natural character and shameful provocation.

Boadicea, widow of the king of the Iceni, having offended a Roman tribune by the spirit with which she upheld her own and her subjects' rights, was treated with a shameful brutality, amply sufficient to have maddened a far feebler spirit. She herself was scourged in the presence of the Roman soldiers and amidst their insulting jeers; and her three daughters, scarcely arrived at the age of womanhood, were subjected to still more brutal outrage.

Haughty and fierce of spirit even beyond the wont of her race, Boadicea vowed that the outrages to which she had been subjected should be amply avenged in Roman blood; and the temporary absence of Suetonius from Britain was so well employed by her, that he found on his arrival from Mona that she was at the head of an immense army, which had already reduced to utter ruin several of the Roman settlements. The safety of London, which was already a place of considerable importance, was his first care; but though he marched thither with all possible rapidity, he was not able to save it from the flames to which Boadicea had doomed it and all those of its inhabitants who were not fortunate enough to make a timely escape. Nor was the Roman discomfiture confined to London or its neighbourhood. Successful in various directions, the Britons were as unsparing as successful. But the return of Suetonius inspired his countrymen with new spirit; and the tide of fortune soon left the native islanders. Flushed with numerous successes, and worked up to a frenzy of enthusiasm even by the cruel use which they had made of their success, they collected all their forces for one final and mighty effort. Suetonius and Boadicea in person commanded their respective forces. The latter harangued her troops with great spirit; the former contented himself with making his arrangements with consummate art. The battle was obstinate and terrible; but once again the marvellous superiority of discipline over mere numbers and courage was strikingly displayed. The dense masses of the Britons were pierced and broken by the Roman phalanx; the defeat became a rout; the rout a massacre. Boadicea escaped from the field by the swiftness of the horses of her own chariot; but despairing of ever again being able to make head against the detested invaders of her country, she swallowed a potent poison, and when overtaken by the pursuing soldiers was in the agonies of death.

Though Suetonius had achieved great successes in Britain, he had done so only at the expense of such extraordinary losses and cruelty on both sides, that Nero recalled him from his government, apparently under the impression that his excessive sternness and severity unfitted him for a post in which it was not merely necessary to know how to combat the resisting, but also how to conciliate the conquered. Two or three other generals were briefly intrusted with this difficult and delicate post, which they filled with credit to themselves and the Roman name; but it was the good fortune of Vespasian, through the prowess and judgement of his famous general, Julius Agricola, completely to subdue Britain to the Roman dominion.

A consummate soldier, Julius Agricola* was no less consummate as a civil governor; and while he led his victorious legions against the Britons, driving farther and farther backwards to the bleak rocks and forests of Caledonia those who did not perish in the field, or were too proud to do homage to their conqueror, he showed himself admirably fitted for the peculiar duties to which he had been appointed, by the skill with which he made kindness and liberality to the submissive go hand in hand with stern severity to those who still dared to resist the Roman arms. Having followed the more obstinate of the Britons from post to post, and defeated their collected force under Galgacus in a pitched

* Lappenberg's History of England, i. 29.

battle; he erected a chain of forts between the Frith of Forth and that of Clyde, and thus divided the northern retreat of the hostile Britons from the southern parts, that now formed a great and settled Roman province.

In this province the British inhabitants were by this time but little inclined to give any farther trouble to their all-powerful conquerors, of whose warlike prowess they had seen too many proofs to give them even a faint hope of successful resistance. Moreover, Agricola skilfully and assiduously availed himself of their peaceable disposition to instruct them in the Roman tongue, as well as in the Roman habits and arts. His efforts in this direction were as successful as his former exertions to put down resistance had been; and both London and the smaller places soon began to wear a busy and civilised aspect. The skill with which the Romans incorporated with themselves even the rudest and most intractable people, when they had once by their conquering prowess fairly got footing among them, was to the full as astonishing and admirable as that prowess itself. The Romans from time to time strengthened the northern fortifications of Britain, and thus prevented any inroad from the still untamed hordes native to Scotland or sheltered there; and the southern Britons were so fully contented with their situation, and became so perfectly incorporated with their conquerors, and initiated into their habits and feelings, that the only disturbances we read of in Britain during a long series of years arose, not from insurgent attempts on the part of the Britons, but from the turbulence of the Roman soldiers, or from the ambition of some Roman governor who, made presuming by holding high state and authority in so distant a province, was induced to assume the purple and claim the empire.

The wonderful improvement made in the condition of Britain by the residence of the Romans was at length brought to a period. The barbaric hosts of the north were now pressing so fiercely and so terribly upon Rome herself, that the old and long sacred rule of the Roman senate, never to contract the limits of the empire by abandoning a colony once planted, was obliged to be disregarded. The outlying legions were wanted for the defence of the very heart of the empire; and the insular situation of Britain, and its very slight consequence with respect to wealth, naturally pointed it out as a colony to be earliest and with the least regret abandoned. Scarcely had the Roman legions departed when the Britons were assailed by the Picts and Scots. The chain of northern forts was strong and admirably planned; but hardy and warlike defenders were no less necessary; and the Britons had so long been accustomed to look for all military service solely to the veterans who had dwelled among them, that they had lost much of their ancient valour, and were no match for the fierce barbarians whose bodies were as little enervated by luxury as their minds were untamed by any approach to letters or politeness.

An appeal to Rome, where an interest in Britain was not yet wholly lost in the more pressing instincts of self-preservation, was answered by the immediate despatch of a legion, which drove away the barbarians. The departure of the Romans was immediately followed by a new incursion; aid was again sent from Rome, and the enemy again was driven back. But the situation of the Roman empire was now so critical, that even a single legion could no longer be spared from home defence; and the Romans having put the northern fortifications into repair, exhorted the Britons to defend themselves with perseverance and valour; and took their final leave of them in the year 446, after having been masters of the island, and exerted their civilising influences upon its inhabitants, for very nearly four centuries.

It had been well for the Britons if they had not been in the habit of relying so implicitly upon the Romans for defence. Now that Rome left them thus suddenly and completely to their own mastery, they were in precisely the worst possible stage of transition to fit them for a struggle with their more barbarous northern neighbours; they had lost much of the fierce and headlong valour of barbarians, without acquiring the art and discipline of civilised warriors, and they had just so much of wealth and luxury as sufficed to tempt cupidity. Many of their boldest and most vigorous youth had either been incorporated in the Roman soldiery, or had fallen in support of Gratian and Constantine in their ill-fated pretensions to the Imperial throne. The northern barbarians, ever on the watch, soon became aware that the Roman legions, before which their untrained hosts had been compelled to give way, had departed; and they forthwith assembled in vast numbers and again assailed the northern fortifications. To men not so long unaccustomed as the Britons were to self-defence, the very consciousness of having to rely wholly upon their own valour and prudence had an appalling and bewildering effect. They made but a feeble and disorderly resistance, were speedily beaten from their forts, and then fled onward in panic, leaving the country as they passed through it to the mercy of the savage invaders. The behaviour of these was precisely what might have been expected: the sword and the torch marked their footsteps, hamlet and town were razed and ruined, and the blackness of desolation was seen in the fields which had lately been covered with the wealth of harvest. Beaten at every point at which they attempted to make head against their enemies, and seeing in the terrible rage with which they were pursued and harassed, no prospect but that of utter and irredeemable ruin, the unfortunate Britons sent an embassy to Rome to implore aid once more. Their missive, which was entitled *The Groans of the Britons*, graphically paints their situation and their feelings. 'The barbarians,' said this missive, 'on the one hand, chase us into the sea, the sea on the other hand throws us back upon the barbarians; and we have

only the hard choice left us of perishing by the sword or by the waves.'

But Attila, that terrible *Scourge of God*, as he profanely boasted himself, was now pushing Rome herself to mortal extremity; and had Britain been even rich and important, not a legion could have been prudently spared at this crisis for its defence. Being poor and insignificant, it of course could not for an instant claim the attention of those who were combating for the safety of the empire, and who had already begun to despair of it. When the Britons found that they were indeed finally abandoned by Rome, they lost all heart, deserted even their strongest points of defence, and fled to the concealment of their hills and forests, leaving their houses and property to the mercy of their enemies. These, in their profusion and in the wantonness of their destruction, soon drew upon themselves the pangs of actual want, and then abandoned the country which they had thus converted into a desert, and carried all that was movable of use or ornament to their northern homes.

When the enemy had completely retired from the country the Britons ventured forth from their retreats; and their industry, exerted under the influence of the most instant and important wants, soon removed the worst features of ruin and devastation from their country. But as they remained as unwarlike as ever, and were divided into numerous petty communities, whose chiefs were at perpetual discord, their returning prosperity was merely an invitation to their barbarous neighbours to make a new inroad upon people ingenious enough to create wealth, but not hardy enough to defend it.

To Rome it was now quite clearly of no use to apply; and Vortigern,* one of the most powerful of the petty kings of Britain, who was very influential on account of his talents and possessions, though of an exceedingly odious character, proposed to send to Germany and invite over a force of Saxons to serve as the hired defenders of Britain.

As a general rule, calling in a foreign force is to be deprecated; but situated as the Britons were, we do not see what alternative they had between doing so and being either exterminated by the barbarians or reduced to their own wretched and rude condition. It must, indeed, have been obvious to Vortigern, and all other men of ability, that there was some danger that they who were sent for to defend, might remain to oppress. But this was a distant and a merely problematical danger; that with which they were threatened by the barbarians was certain, instant, and utterly ruinous; and even had both dangers been on a par as to certainty, the Saxons, as less rude and barbarous, were preferable as tyrants to the Picts and Scots.

The Saxons had long been famous for their prowess. Daring in the fight and skilful in seamanship, they had made descents upon the sea-board of most countries, and had never landed without giving the inhabitants ample reason to tremble at their name for the time to come. Even the Romans had so often and so severely felt their mischievous power, that they had a special officer called the *Count of the Saxon Shore*, whose peculiar duty it was to oppose these marauders upon their own proper element.

When the Britons determined to apply to the Saxons for aid, two brothers, by name Hengist and Horsa, were the most famous and respected warriors among that warlike people. They were reputed descendants of the god Woden; and this fabulous ancestry, joined to their real personal qualities and the great success which had attended them in their piratical expeditions, had given them great influence over the most daring and adventurous of the Saxons. Perceiving that the Romans had abandoned Britain, they were actually contemplating a descent upon that island when the British envoys waited upon them to crave their aid as mercenaries. To a request which harmonised so well with their own views and wishes the brothers of course gave a ready assent, and speedily arrived at the Isle of Thanet with sixteen hundred followers, inured to hardship and in love with danger even for its own sake. They marched against the Picts and Scots, who speedily fled before men whose valour was as impetuous as their own, and seconded by superior arms and military conduct.

When the Britons were thus once more delivered from the rage and cupidity of their fierce neighbours, they became anxious to part with their deliverers on such friendly terms as would insure their future aid should it be required. But the Saxon leaders had seen too much of the beauty and fertility of the country, and of the weakness and divisions of its owners, to feel any inclination to take their departure; and Hengist and Horsa, so far from making any preparations to return home, sent thither for reinforcements, which arrived to the number of five thousand men, in seventeen war-ships. The Britons, who had been unable to resist the Picts and Scots, saw the hopelessness of attempting to use force for the expulsion of people as brave and far better organised; and therefore, though not without serious fears that those who had been called in as mercenary soldiers would prove a more dangerous enemy than the one they had so fiercely and effectually combated, the Britons affected the most unsuspecting friendship, and yielded to every encroachment and to every insolence with the best grace that they could command. But it is no easy matter to conciliate men who are anxiously watching for a plausible excuse for quarrel and outrage. Some disputes which arose about the allowances of provisions for which the Saxon mercenaries had stipulated, furnished this excuse, and, siding with the Picts and Scots, the Saxons openly declared war against the people whom they had been liberally subsidised to defend.

Desperation and the indignation so naturally excited by the treacherous conduct of their quondam allies, roused the Britons to

* Lappenberg's History of England, i. 67

something like the vigour and spirit of their warlike ancestors. Their first step was to depose Vortigern, who was before unpopular on account of his vicious life, and who was now universally hated on account of the bad consequences of the measure he had recommended, though, as we have already observed, when he suggested the subsidising of the Saxons, the Britons were in such a position that it would not have been easy to suggest a better measure. His son Vortimer, who had a good reputation for both courage and military conduct, was raised to the supreme command, and the Britons fought several battles with great courage and perseverance, though with almost invariable ill fortune. The Saxons kept advancing; and though Horsa was slain at the battle of Aylesbury, Hengist, who then had the sole command of the Saxons, showed himself fully equal to all the exigencies of his post. Steadily advancing upon the Britons, he at the same time sent over to Germany for reinforcements. These continued to arrive in immense numbers; and the unfortunate Britons, worsted in every encounter, were successively chased to and from every part of their country. Whether with a desire to make terror do the work of the sword among the survivors, or with a real and savage intent to exterminate the Britons, the Saxons made it an invariable rule to give no quarter. Wherever they conquered, man, woman, and child were put to death; the towns and hamlets were again razed or burned, and again the blackened and arid fields bore testimony to the presence and the unsparing humour of a conqueror.

Dreadfully reduced in numbers, and suffering every description of privation, the unfortunate Britons now lost all hope of combating successfully. Some submitted and accepted life on the hard condition of tilling as slaves the land they had owned as freemen; others took refuge in the mountain fastnesses of Wales, and a still more considerable number sought refuge in the province of Armorica in Gaul—a district still known by the name of Brittany.

Hengist founded the kingdom of Kent, which at first comprised not only the county now known by that name, but also those of Essex and Middlesex, and a portion of Surrey. Being still occasionally disturbed by revolts of the Britons, he settled a tribe of Saxons in Northumberland. Other northern tribes, learning the success of Hengist and his followers, came over. The earliest of these was a tribe of Saxons, who came over in the year 477, and, after much fighting with some of the Britons who had partially recovered their spirit, founded the kingdom of Sussex. This kingdom, of which the Saxon Ælla was the founder and king, included the present county of Sussex and also that of Surrey.*

Though from many causes there is considerable difficulty in ascertaining the exact dates of the events of the very earliest Saxon adventures in Britain, it is pretty certain that the victorious and successful Hengist enjoyed the possession of his ill-acquired kingdom until the year 488, when he died at Canterbury, which city he had selected as his capital.

In the year 495 a tribe of Saxons landed under the command of Cerdic and his son Kenric. He was warmly resisted by the Britons, who still remained attached to their country and in arms for their freedom, and he was obliged to seek the assistance of the Saxons of Kent and Sussex to enable him to maintain his ground until reinforcements could arrive from Germany. These at length came under the command of his sons Meyla and Bledda, and having consolidated their forces with his own he brought the Britons to a general action in the year 508. The Britons, who mustered in numbers far greater than could have been expected after so many and such great losses, were commanded by Natan Leod. At the beginning of the day the courage and skill of this leader gave him greatly the advantage, and had actually broken the main army of the Saxons, which was led by Cerdic in person, when Kenric, who had been more successful against another division of the Britons, hastened to his father's aid. The fortune of war now turned wholly against the Britons, who were completely routed, with the loss of upwards of five thousand men, among whom was the brave Natan Leod himself. The Saxons under Cerdic now established the West Saxon kingdom, or Wessex, which included the counties of Hants, Wilts, Dorset, and Berks, and the fertile and picturesque Isle of Wight. The discomfited Britons next applied for aid to their fellow-countrymen of Wales, who (it is said under the prince Arthur, whose real heroism has been so strangely exaggerated by romance), hastened to their aid, and inflicted a very severe defeat upon Cerdic, in the neighbourhood of Bath. But this defeat, though it prevented him from extending the kingdom he had founded, did not disable him from maintaining himself in it. He did so until his death in 534, when he was succeeded by his son Kenric, who reigned there until his death in 560.

In other parts of the island other tribes of adventurers had been equally successful with the two of which we have more particularly spoken; but as a mere repetition of fierce invasion on the one hand, and of resistance, often heroic but always unsuccessful, would neither amuse nor instruct the reader, we at once pass to the event, which was that the whole island, save Cornwall and Wales, was conquered by bands of Saxons, Jutes, and Angles, and divided into seven petty kingdoms, and called by the name of Angles-land, subsequently corrupted into England. Of each of these kingdoms we shall give a very concise account up to that period when the whole island was united under one sole sovereign, and at which the history becomes at once clearer in its details and more interesting.

* For the artificial chronology in the traditions relating to the foundation of these kingdoms see Lappenberg's History of England, i. 67, &c.

CHAPTER II.

The Heptarchy, or the Seven Kingdoms of the Saxons in Britain.

It has already been seen that Hengist, the earliest Saxon invader of Britain, founded the kingdom of Kent, and died in established and secure possession of it. He was succeeded by his son, Escus. This prince, though he possessed neither the military prowess nor the love of adventure which had distinguished his father, maintained his place in peace, and not without dignity, to his death, which occurred in 512, when he was succeeded by his son Octa.

Octa, like his father, was a man of mediocre talent, and unfortunately for him he lived in a time when his neighbourhood was anything but tranquil. The kingdom of the East Saxons, newly established, greatly extended its limits at his expense, and at his death, in 534, he left his kingdom less extensive than he had received it by the whole of Essex and Middlesex. To Octa succeeded his son Ymrick, who reigned in tolerable tranquillity during the long period of thirty-two years. Towards the close of his reign he associated with him in the government his son Ethelbert, who in 566 succeeded him. While the kings of the Heptarchy were as yet in any danger of disturbance and reprisals on the part of the outraged Britons, the mere instinct of self-preservation had prevented them from having any considerable domestic feuds: but this danger at an end, the Saxon kings speedily found cause of quarrel among themselves. Sometimes, as we have seen in the case of Kent, under Octa, one state was encroached upon by another; at another time the spirit of jealousy, which is inseparable from petty kings of territories having no natural and efficient boundaries, caused struggles to take place, not so much for territory as for empty supremacy; mere titular chiefdom.

When Ethelbert, himself of a very adventurous and ambitious turn, succeeded to his kingdom of Kent, Ceaulin, king of Wessex, was the most potent prince of the Heptarchy, and used his power with no niggard or moderate hand. Ethelbert, in the endeavour to aggrandise his own dominions, twice gave battle to this formidable rival, and twice suffered decisive defeat. But the cupidity and tyrannous temper of Ceaulin, having induced him to annex the kingdom of Sussex to his own already considerable possessions, a confederacy of the other princes was formed against him, and the command of the allied force was unanimously voted to Ethelbert, who even in defeat had displayed equal courage and ability. Ethelbert, thus strengthened, once more met his rival in arms, and this time with better success. Ceaulin was put to the rout with great loss, and, dying shortly after the battle, was succeeded both in his ambition and in his position among the kings of the Heptarchy by Ethelbert, who very speedily gave his late allies abundant reason to regret the confidence and the support they had given to him. He by turns reduced each of them to a complete dependence upon him as their chief; and having overrun the kingdom of Mercia, the most extensive of all the kingdoms of the island, he for a time seated himself upon the throne, in utter contempt of the right and the reclamations of Webba, the son of Crida, the original founder of that kingdom. But whether from a sense of the injustice of his conduct, or from fear that a continued possession of so extensive a territory, in addition to that which of right belonged to him, should arm against himself a league as compact and determined as that by the aid of which he had triumphed over his formidable rival Ceaulin, he subsequently resigned Mercia to Webba, but not without imposing conditions as insulting as they were wholly unfounded in any right save that of the strongest.

From the injustice which marked this portion of Ethelbert's conduct, it is pleasing to have to turn to an important event which shed a lustre upon his reign—the introduction of Christianity to the Saxon population of England.

Though the Britons had long been Christians, the terms upon which they lived with the Saxons were especially unfavourable to any religious proselytism between the two people; and, indeed, the early historians do not scruple to confess that the Britons considered their conquerors to be unworthy to participate in the blessings of Christian knowledge and faith.

Ethelbert, fortunately, was married to a Christian lady, Bertha, daughter of Caribert, king of Paris, who, ere he would consent to his daughter's marriage with a pagan, stipulated that the princess should fully and freely enjoy her own religion. On leaving her native land for England she was attended by a bishop, and both the princess and the prelate exerted their utmost credit and ability to propagate the Christian faith in the country of their adoption, and as Bertha was much beloved at the court of her husband, she made so much progress towards this good end, that the pope, Gregory the Great, flattered himself with the hope of converting the Saxons of England altogether, a project which even before he became pope he had conceived from having accidentally seen some Saxon slaves at Rome, and been much struck with their singular personal beauty and the intelligence with which they replied to his questions.

Encouraged by the success which had attended the efforts of Bertha, Gregory despatched Augustin and forty other monks to Britain. They found Ethelbert, by the influence of his queen, well disposed to receive them hospitably and listen to them patiently. Having provided them with a residence in the Isle of Thanet, he gave them time to recover from the fatigues of travel, and then appointed a day for a public interview; but friendly as the brave pagan was towards the co-religionists of his wife, he could not wholly divest himself of superstitious terrors; and lest the stranger preachers should have some evil spells of power, he appointed the meeting to take place in the open air, where, he thought, such spells

would be less effective than within the walls of a building.

Augustin set before the king the inspiring and consoling truths of Christianity. Doctrines so mild, so gentle, so free from earthly taint, and from all leaven of ambition and violence, struck strangely, but no less forcibly upon the spirit of the bold Ethelbert. But though much moved, he was not wholly convinced; he could admire, but he could not instantly embrace tenets so new and so different from those to which from infancy he had been accustomed. But if he could not on the instant abandon the faith of his ancestors for the new faith that was now preached to him, he was entirely convinced that the latter faith was, at the least, incapable of injuring his people. His reply, therefore, to the addresses of Augustin was at once marked by tolerance and by caution; by an unwillingness to abandon the faith of his youth, yet by a perfect willingness to allow his people a fair opportunity of judging between that faith and Christianity.

'Your words and your promises,' said he, 'sound fairly; but inasmuch as they are new and unproven, I cannot entirely yield my confidence to them and abandon the principles so long maintained by my ancestors. Nevertheless, you may remain here in peace and safety; and as you have travelled so far in order to benefit us, at least as you suppose, I will provide you with everything necessary for your support, and you shall have full liberty to preach your doctrines to my subjects.'

The degree of toleration that was thus accorded to Augustin was all that he required; his own faithful zeal and well cultivated talents assured him of success; and so well and diligently did he avail himself of the opportunities that were afforded to him by the king's toleration and the queen's favour, that he speedily made numbers of converts Every new success inspired him with new zeal and nerved him to new exertions. His abstinence, his painful vigils, and the severe penances to which he subjected himself, struck these rude people with awe and admiration, and not merely fixed their attention more strongly than any other means could have done upon his preachings, but also predisposed them to believe equally in the sincerity of the preacher and in the truth of his doctrine. Numbers, not only of the poorer and more ignorant, but also of the wealthier and better informed, became at first attentive auditors and then converts. They crowded to be baptised, and after a great majority of his subjects had thus been admitted into the pale of Christianity, the king himself became a convert and was baptised, to the great joy of Rome.

But Gregory the Great was zealous in the extreme in the cause of proselytism, and by no means backward in availing himself of temporal power for the fulfilment of spiritual ends. And as soon as he learned that Ethelbert and a considerable portion of his subjects had embraced Christianity, he sent to the former at once to congratulate him upon his wise and happy conversion, and to urge him, by his duty as a monarch and by his sympathies and faith as a Christian, not any longer to allow even a part of his subjects to wander on in the darkness and error of paganism.

Gregory at the same time sent his instructions to Augustin, and very particular answers to some singular questions put by the missionary as to points of morality which he thought it necessary to enforce upon the understandings and practice of his new and numerous flock; but these questions and answers would be out of place here, as they only tend to illustrate either the exceeding grossness of the flock, or the exceeding simplicity and minute anxiety of their spiritual pastor.

Well pleased with the zeal of Augustin, and with the success with which it had thus far been crowned, Gregory made him archbishop of Canterbury, sent him a pall from Rome, and gave him plenary authority over all the British churches that should be erected. But though Augustin was thus highly approved and honoured, Gregory, who was shrewdly acquainted with human nature, saw, or suspected, that the good missionary was very proud of a success which was, indeed, little less than miraculous, whether its extent or its rapidity be considered. At the same time, therefore, that he both praised and exalted him, he emphatically warned him against allowing himself to be seduced into a too great elation on account of his good work; and, as Augustin manifested some desire to exert his authority over the spiritual concerns of Gaul, the pope cautioned him against any such interference, and expressly informed him that he was to consider the bishops of that country wholly beyond his jurisdiction. Strange contradictions in human reasoning and conduct! We have the humble missionary dehorting a newly converted pagan from persecution; a pope, the visible head of the whole Christian world, and the presumed infallible expounder of Christian doctrines, strongly and expressly exhorting him to it; and soon we have the ambitious and despotic patron of forcible proselytism wisely and reasonably interposing his authority and advice to prevent the recently so humble missionary from making shipwreck of his character and usefulness, by an unbecoming and unjustifiable indulgence in the soaring ambition so suddenly and strongly awakened by the gift of a little brief authority!

It was not only in the influence that Bertha had in the conversion of the Saxon subjects of her husband to Christianity that she was serviceable to them, though compared to that service all others were of comparatively small value. But even in a worldly point of view her marriage to Ethelbert was of real and very important benefit to his subjects. For her intimate connection with France led to an intercourse between that nation and England, which not merely tended to increase the wealth, ingenuity, and commercial enterprise of the latter, but also to soften and polish their as yet rude and semi-barbarous manners. The conversion of the Saxons to

Christianity had even a more extensive influence in these respects, by bringing the people acquainted with the arts and the luxuries of Italy.

Stormy at its commencement, the reign of Ethelbert was subsequently peaceable and prosperous, and it left traces and seed of good, of which the English are even to this day reaping the benefit. Besides the share he had in converting his subjects to Christianity, and in encouraging them to devote themselves to commerce and the useful arts, he was the first Saxon monarch who gave his people written laws; and these laws, making due allowance for the age and for the condition of the people for whose government they were promulged, show him to have been, even if regarded only in his civil capacity, an extremely wise man and a lover of peacefulness and justice. After a long and useful reign of fifty years, Ethelbert died in the year 616, and was succeeded by his son Eadbald.

During the lifetime of his father, Eadbald had professed the Christian religion; but when he became king he abandoned it and returned to paganism, because the latter allowed the indulgence of an incestuous passion, which he had conceived, and which Christianity denounced as horrible and sinful, and the great body of his subjects, outwardly at least, returned with him. So completely were the Christian altars abandoned, and so openly and generally was the Christian faith derided, that Justus, bishop of Rochester, and Mellitus, bishop of London, abandoned their sees in despair, and departed the kingdom. Laurentius, who had succeeded Augustin in the archiepiscopal dignity of Canterbury, had prepared to follow their example; but on the eve of his departure he determined to make one striking and final effort to bring back the king into the fold of the church.

Seeking an interview with the king, he threw off his upper garments, and exhibited his body covered with wounds and bruises to such an extent as denoted the most savage ill-treatment. The king, though evil passion had led him formally to abjure Christianity, was not prepared to see, unmoved, such proof of brutality and irreverance having been shown to the chief teacher of his abandoned creed; and he indignantly demanded who had dared thus to ill-treat a personage so eminent. Laurentius, in reply, assured him that his wounds had been inflicted not by living hands, but by those of St. Peter himself, who had appeared to him in a vision, and had thus chastised him for his intended desertion of a flock upon which his departure would inevitably draw down eternal perdition. The result of this bold and gross invention showed how much more powerful over gross and ignorant minds are the coarsest fables of superstition, than the sublimest truths or the most affectionate urgings of genuine religion. To the latter, Eadbald had been contemptuously deaf; to the former, he on the instant sacrificed his incestuous passion and the object of it. Divorcing himself from her, he returned to the Christian fold; and his people, obedient in good as in evil, returned with him. The reign of Eadbald, apart from this apostasy and re-conversion, was not remarkable. The power which his father had established, and the prestige of his father's remembered ability and greatness, enabled him to reign peaceably without the exertion, probably without the possession, of any very remarkable ability of his own. After a reign of twenty-five years, he died in 640, leaving two sons, Erminfrid and Ercombert.

Ercombert, though the younger brother, succeeded his father. He reigned for twenty-four years. This reign, too, was on the whole peaceable, though he showed great zeal in rooting out the remains of idolatry from among his people. He was sincerely and zealously attached to the church, and he it was who first of the Saxon monarchs enforced upon his subjects the observance of the fast of Lent.

Ercombert died in 664, and was succeeded by his son Egbert. This prince, sensible that his father had wrongfully obtained the throne, and fearing that factions might be found in favour of the heirs of his father's elder brother, put those two princes to death—an act of barbarous policy which would probably have caused his character to descend to us in much darker and more hateful colours, but that his zeal in enabling Domnina, his sister, to found a monastery in the Isle of Ely, caused him to find favour in the eyes of the monkish historians, who were ever far too ready to allow apparent friendliness to the temporal prosperity of the church to outweigh even the most flagrant and hateful sins against the doctrines taught by the church.

It is nevertheless true that, apart from his horrible and merciless treatment of his cousins, this prince displayed a character so mild and thoughtful as makes his commission of that crime doubly remarkable and lamentable. His rule was moderate, though firm, and during his short reign of only nine years he seems to have embraced every opportunity of encouraging and advancing learning. He died in 673, and was succeeded by his brother Lothaire; so that his cruel murder of his nephews did not even prove successful in securing the throne to his son.

Lothaire associated with himself in the government his son Richard, and everything seemed to promise the usurpers a long and prosperous reign. But Edric, the son of Egbert, unappalled by the double power and ability which thus barred him from the throne, took shelter at the court of Edilwalch, king of Sussex. That prince heartily espoused his cause, and furnished him with troops; and after a reign of eleven years, Lothaire was slain in battle, A.D. 684, and his son Richard escaped to Italy, where he died in comparative obscurity.

Edric did not long enjoy the throne. His reign, which presents nothing worthy of record, was barely two years. He died in 686, and was succeeded by his son Widred.

The violence and usurpation which had recently taken place in the kingdom pro-

duced the usual effect, disunion among the nobility; and that disunion, as is also usually the case, invited the attack of external enemies. Accordingly, Widred had hardly ascended the throne when his kingdom was invaded by Cedwalla, king of Wessex, and his brother Mollo. But though the invaders did vast damage to the kingdom of Kent, their appearance had the good effect of putting an end to domestic disunion, and Widred was able to assemble a powerful force for the defence of his throne. In a severe battle which was fought against the invaders, Mollo was slain; and Widred so ably availed himself of the opportunity afforded to him by this event, that his reign extended to the long term of thirty-two years. At his death, in 718, he left the kingdom to his family; but at the death of his third successor, Alric, who died in 794, all pretence, even, to a legitimate order of succession to the throne was abandoned. To wish was to strive, to conquer was to have right; and whether it were a powerful noble or an illegitimate connection of the royal family, every pretender who could maintain his claim by force of arms seemed to consider himself fully entitled to strike for the vacant throne. This anarchical condition of the kingdom, and the weakness and disorder which were necessarily produced by such frequent civil war, paved the way to the utter annihilation of Kent as a separate kingdom, which annihilation was accomplished by Egbert, king of Wessex, about the year 820.

CHAPTER III.

The Heptarchy (continued).

THE kingdom of Northumberland first made a considerable figure and exercised a great share of influence in the Heptarchy under Adelfrid, a brave and able but ambitious and unprincipled ruler. Originally king of Bernicia, he married Acca, daughter of Alla, king of the Deiri, and at the death of that monarch dispossessed and expelled his youthful heir, and united all the country north of the Humber into one kingdom, the limits of which he still further extended by his victories over the Picts and Scots, and the Britons in Wales. An anecdote is related of this prince which seems to indicate that he held the clergy in no very great respect. Having found or made occasion to lay siege to Chester, he was opposed by the Britons, who marched in great force to compel him to raise the siege, and they were accompanied to the field of battle by upwards of a thousand monks from the monastery of Bangor. On being informed that this numerous body of religious men had come to the field of battle, not actually to fight against him, but only to exhort their countrymen to fight stoutly and to pray for their success; the stern warrior, who could not understand the nice distinction between those who fought against him with their arms and those who prayed that those arms might be victorious, immediately detached some of his troops with orders to charge upon the monks as heartily as though they had been armed and genuine soldiers; and so faithfully was this ruthless order obeyed, that only fifty of the monks are said to have escaped from the sanguinary scene with their lives. In the battle which immediately followed this wanton butchery the Britons were completely defeated, and Adelfrid having entered Chester in triumph, and strongly garrisoned it, pursued his march to the monastery of Bangor; resolved that it should not soon again send out an army of monks to pray for his defeat.

The early years of the sway of Catholicism in every country were marked both by the numbers of the monasteries and the vast expense that was lavished upon them This was especially the case in both England and—as we shall hereafter have to remark—Ireland; but in neither of these countries was there another monastery which could, for extent at least, bear comparison with that of Bangor. From gate to gate it covered a mile of ground, and it sheltered the enormous number of two thousand monks: the whole of this vast building was now sacrificed to the resentment of Adelfrid, who completely battered it down.

But the warlike prowess of Adelfrid was fated to prove insufficient to preserve him in the power which he had so unrighteously obtained by depriving a young and helpless orphan of his heritage. That orphan, now grown to man's estate, had found shelter in the court of Redwald, king of the East Angles. This monarch's protection of the young Edwin, and that young prince's reputed ability and courage, alarmed Adelfrid for the stability of his ill-acquired greatness; and he had the ineffable baseness to make offers of large presents to induce Redwald to deprive the young prince of life, or to deliver him, living, into the power of the usurper of his throne. For some time Redwald returned positive and indignant refusals to all propositions of this kind; but the pertinacity of Adelfrid, who still increased in the magnitude of his offers, began to shake the constancy of Redwald, when, fortunately for that monarch's character, his queen interposed to save him from the horrid baseness to which he was well nigh ready to consent. Strongly sympathising with Edwin, she felt the more interest for him on account of the magnanimous confidence in her husband's honour which the young prince displayed by tranquilly continuing his residence in East Anglia even after he was aware how strongly his protector was sued and tempted to baseness by the usurper Adelfrid. Not contented with having successfully dissuaded her husband from the treachery of yielding up the unfortunate and dispossessed prince, she farther endeavoured to induce him to exert himself actively on his behalf, and to march against the usurper while he was still in hope of having an affirmative answer to his disgraceful and insulting proposals. The king of the East Angles consented to do this, and suddenly marched a powerful army into Northumberland. In the sanguinary and decisive battle which ensued, Adelfrid was slain, but

not until after he had killed Redwald's son, Regner.

Edwin, who thus obtained possession of the kingdom of Northumberland, passing at once from the condition of an exiled and dependent fugitive to that of a powerful monarch, displayed ability equal to the latter lot as he had displayed firm and dignified resignation in the former. Just, but inflexibly severe in restraining his subjects from wrong-doing, he put such order into the kingdom, which at his accession was noted for its licentiousness and disorder, that of him, as of some other well-governing princes, the old historians relate that he caused valuable property to be exposed unguarded upon the high roads, and no man dared to appropriate it,—a mere figurative and hyperbolical anecdote, no doubt, but one which evidences the greatness of the truth on which such an exaggeration must be founded.

Nor was it merely within even the wide limits of his own kingdom that the fine character of Edwin was appreciated; it procured him admiration and proportionate influence throughout the Heptarchy. His benefactor, Redwald, king of the East Angles, being involved in serious disputes with his subjects, was overpowered by them and put to death. The conduct of Edwin, both while a fugitive and a sojourner among them, and his subsequent prosperity and greatness, caused them to offer him their throne. But they were incapable of understanding the whole greatness of his spirit. He had too deep and abiding a sense of gratitude for the favours he owed to Redwald, and, still more, to the queen of that prince, to see their offspring disinherited; and, instead of accepting the offered throne, he threatened the East Angles with chastisement in the event of their refusing to give possession of it to the rightful owner, Earpwold, second heir of the murdered king. Earpwold accordingly ascended the throne, and was protected upon it by the power and reputation of Edwin.

Edwin married Ethelburga, daughter of Ethelbert, king of Kent, by Bertha, to whom, chiefly, that monarch and his people had owed their conversion to Christianity. Of such a mother, Ethelburga on the occasion of her marriage proved herself the worthy daughter; she, as her mother had done, stipulated for full and free exercise of her religion, and she also took with her to her new realm a learned bishop, by name Paulinus. Very soon after her marriage she began to attempt the conversion of her husband. Calm and deliberate in all that he did, Edwin would not allow the merely human feeling of conjugal affection to decide him in a matter so vitally important as an entire change of religion. The most that her affectionate importunity could obtain, was his promise to give the fullest and most serious attention to all the arguments that might be urged in favour of the new faith that was offered to him; and, accordingly, he not only held frequent and long conferences with Paulinus, but also laid before the gravest and wisest of his councillors all the arguments that were urged to him by that prelate. Having undertaken the enquiry in a sincere and teachable spirit, he could not fail to be convinced; and the truth having fallen bright and full upon his enlightened mind, he openly declared himself a convert to Christianity. His conversion and baptism were followed by those of the greater part of his people, who were the more easily persuaded to this great and total change of faith when they saw their chief priest, Coifi, renounce the idolatry of which he had been the chief pillar and propounder, and excel in his iconoclastic zeal against the idols to which he had so long ministered, even the Christian bishop, Paulinus himself.

The reign of Edwin produced great benefit to his people, but rather by his activity and industry, than by its length, he being slain in the seventeenth year of his reign in a battle which he fought against Caedwalla, king of the Welsh Britons, and Penda, king of Mercia.

At the death of Edwin the kingdom of Northumberland was dismembered, and its inhabitants for the most part fell back into paganism. So general, indeed, was the defection from Christianity, that the widowed Ethelburga returned to her natal kingdom of Kent, and was accompanied by Paulinus, who had been made Archbishop of York.

After the dismembered kingdom of Northumberland had been torn by much petty but ruinous strife, the severed portions were again united by Oswald, brother of Eanfrid, and son of the usurper Adelfrid. Oswald was strongly opposed by the Britons under the command of the warlike Caedwalla; but the Britons were so desperately beaten that they never again made any general or vigorous attack upon the Saxons. As soon as he had re-established the unity of the Northumbrian kingdom, Oswald also restored the Christian religion, to which he was zealously attached. It is, probably, rather to this than to any of his other good qualities, that he owes the marked favour in which he is held by the monkish historians, who bestow the highest possible praises upon his piety and charity, and who moreover affirm that his mortal remains had the power of working miracles.

Oswald was slain in battle against Penda, the king of Mercia. After his death the history of the kingdom of Northumberland is a mere melange of usurpations, and of all the distractions of civil war, up to the time when Egbert, king of Wessex, reduced it, in common with the rest of the Heptarchy, to obedience to his rule.

CHAPTER IV.

The Heptarchy (continued).

THE kingdom of East Anglia was founded by Uffa; but its history affords no instruction or amusement: it is, in fact, in the words of an eminent historian, only 'a long bead-roll of barbarous names,' until we arrive at the time of its annexation to the powerful and extensive kingdom of Mercia, to which we now proceed to direct the reader's attention.

Mercia, the most extensive of all the kingdoms of the Heptarchy, could not fail to be very powerful whenever ruled by a brave or wise king. Situated in the middle of the island, it in some one point or more touched each of the other six kingdoms.

Penda, in battle against whom we have already described Oswald of Northumberland to have lost both throne and life, was the first really powerful and distinguished king of Mercia; but he was distinguished chiefly for personal courage and the tyrannous and violent temper in which he so exerted that quality as to render himself the terror or the detestation of all his contemporary English princes. Three kings of East Anglia, Sigebert, Egric, and Annas, were in succession slain in attempting to oppose him—as also were Edwin and Oswald, decidedly the most powerful of the kings of Northumberland; and yet this monarch, who wrought such havoc among his fellow-princes, did not ascend his throne until he was more than fifty years of age. Oswy, brother of Oswald, now encountered him, and Penda was slain; this occurred in the year 655, and the tyrannical and fierce warrior, whom all hated and many feared, was succeeded by his son, Penda, whose wife was a daughter of Oswy. This princess was a Christian, and, like Bertha and Ethelburga, she so successfully exerted her conjugal influence, that she converted her husband and his subjects to her faith. The exact length of this monarch's reign is as uncertain as the manner of his death. As regards the latter, one historian boldly asserts that he was treacherously put to death by the order and connivance of his queen; but this seems but little to tally with her acknowledged and affectionate zeal in converting him to Christianity; and as nothing in the shape of proof can be produced to support so improbable a charge, we may pretty safely conclude that either ignorance or malice has given a mistaken turn to some circumstances attending his violent death. He was succeeded by his son Wolfhere, who inherited his father's courage and conduct; and not merely maintained his own extensive kingdom in excellent order, but also reduced Essex and East Anglia to dependence upon it. He was succeeded by his brother, Ethelred, who showed that he inherited his spirit as well as his kingdom. Though a sincere lover of peace, and willing to make all honourable sacrifices to obtain and preserve it, he was also both willing and able to show himself a stout and true soldier when the occasion really demanded that he should do so. Being provoked to invade Kent, he made a very successful incursion upon that kingdom; and when his own territory was invaded by Egfrid, king of Northumberland, he fairly drove that monarch back again, and slew Elfwin, Egfrid's brother, in a pitched battle. He reigned creditably and prosperously for thirty years, and then resigning the crown to his nephew, Kendrid, he retired to the monastery of Burdney. Kendrid, in his turn, becoming wearied of the cares and toils of royalty, resigned the crown to Ceolred, the son of Ethelred; he then went to Rome, and there passed the remainder of his life in devout preparation for another and a better world. Ceolred was succeeded by Ethelbald, and the latter by Offa, who ascended the throne in the year 755: he was an active and warlike prince. Very early in his reign he defeated Lothaire, king of Kent, and Kenwulph, king of Wessex; and annexed Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire to his already large dominions. But though brave, he was both cruel and treacherous. Ethelbert, king of the East Angles, had paid his addresses to the daughter of Offa, and was accepted as her affianced husband, and at length invited to Hereford to celebrate the marriage. But in the very midst of the feasting and amusements incident to so important and joyful an event, the young prince was seized upon by order of Offa, and barbarously beheaded. The whole of his retinue would have shared the same fate, but that Elfrida, the daughter whom Offa thus barbarously deprived of her affianced husband, found out what cruelty had been exercised upon their master, and took an opportunity to warn them of their danger. Their timely escape, however, did not in the least affect the treacherous ambition of Offa, who seized upon East Anglia.

As he grew old, Offa became tortured with remorse for his crimes, and, with the superstition common to his age, sought to atone for them by ostentatious and prodigal liberality to the church. He gave the tithe of all his property to the church; lavished donations upon the cathedral of Hereford; and made a pilgrimage to Rome, where his wealth and consequence readily procured him the absolution of the pope, whose especial favour he gained by undertaking to support an English college at Rome. In order to fulfil this promise, he, on his return to England, imposed a yearly tax of thirty pence upon each house in his kingdom; the like tax for the same purpose being subsequently levied upon the whole of England, was eventually claimed by Rome as a tribute, under the name of Peter's pence, in despite of the notoriety of the fact that it was originally a free gift, and levied only upon one kingdom. Under the impression or the pretence that he had been favoured with an especial command revealed to him in a vision, this man, once so cruel and now so superstitious, founded and endowed a magnificent abbey at St. Albans, in Herfordshire, to the honour of the relics of St. Alban the Martyr, which he asserted that he had found at that place.

Ill as Offa had acquired his great weight in the Heptarchy, his reputation for courage and wisdom was so great, that he attracted the notice and was honoured both with the political alliance and personal friendship of Charlemagne. After a long reign of very nearly forty years, he died in the year 794.

Offa was succeeded by his son, Egfrith, who, however, survived only the short space of five months. He was succeeded by Kenulph, who invaded the kingdom of Kent barbarously mutilated the king, whom he took prisoner and dethroned, and crowned his own brother Cuthred in his stead. Ke

nulph, as if by a retributive justice, was killed in a revolt of the East Anglians, of whose kingdom he held possession through the treachery and tyrannous cruelty of Offa. After the death of Kenulph the throne was usually earned and vacated by murder; and in this anarchical condition the kingdom remained until the time of Egbert. And here we may remark, *en passant*, that neither in its political nor civil organisation did the Anglo-Saxon state of society exhibit higher examples of social order than are usually to be found in communities entering on the early stages of civilisation.

Essex and Sussex were the smallest and the most insignificant of all the kingdoms of the Heptarchy, and deserve no particular mention, even in the most voluminous and detailed history until the union of the whole Heptarchy, to which event we shall now hasten.

We have already spoken of the stout resistance which the Britons made to Cerdic and his son Kenric, the founders of the kingdom of Wessex. A succession of ambitious and warlike kings greatly extended the territory and increased the importance of this kingdom, which was extremely powerful, though in much internal disorder, when its throne was ascended by Egbert, in the year 800. This monarch came into possession of it under some peculiar advantages. A great portion of his life had been spent at the court of Charlemagne, and he had thus acquired greater polish and knowledge than usually fell to the lot of the Saxon kings. Moreover, war and the merit attached to unmarried life had so completely extinguished the original royal families, that Egbert was at this time the sole male royal descendant of the original conquerors of Britain, who claimed to be the descendants of Woden, the chief deity of their idolatrous ancestors.

Immediately on ascending the throne, Egbert invaded the Britons in Cornwall, and inflicted some severe defeats upon them. But before he could completely subdue their country, he was called away from that enterprise by the necessity of defending his own country, which had been invaded in his absence by Bernulf, king of Mercia.

Mercia and Wessex were at this time the only two kingdoms of the Heptarchy which had any considerable power; and a struggle between Egbert and Bernulf was, as each felt and confessed it to be, a struggle for the sole dominion of the whole island. Apparently, at the outset, Mercia was the most advantageously circumstanced for carrying on this struggle: for that kingdom had placed its tributary princes in the kingdoms of Kent and Essex, and had reduced East Anglia to an almost equal state of subjection.

Egbert, on learning the attempt that Bernulf was making upon his kingdom, hastened by forced marches to arrest his progress, and speedily came to close quarters with him at Elandum in Wilts. A sanguinary and obstinate battle ensued. Both armies fought with spirit, and both were very numerous; but the fortune of the day was with Egbert, who completely routed the Mercians. Nor was he, after the battle, remiss in following up the great blow he had thus struck at the only English power that could for an instant pretend to rivalry with him. He detached a force into Kent under his son Ethelwolf, who easily and speedily expelled Baldred, the tributary king, who was supported there by Mercia; Egbert himself at the same time entering Mercia on the Oxfordshire side. Essex was conquered almost without an effort; and the East Anglians, without waiting for the approach of Egbert, rose against the power of Bernulf, who lost his life in the attempt to reduce them again to the servitude which his tyranny had rendered intolerable. Ludican, the successor of Bernulf, met with the same fate after two years of constant struggle and frequent defeat; and Egbert now found no difficulty in penetrating to the very heart of the Mercian territory, and subduing to his will a people whose spirit was thoroughly broken by a long and constant succession of calamities. In order to reconcile them to their subjection to him, he skilfully flattered them with an empty show of independence, by allowing their native king Wiglaf to hold that title as his tributary, though with the firmest determination that the title should not carry with it an iota of real and independent power.

He was now, by the disturbed and turbulent condition of Northumberland, invited to turn his arms against that kingdom. But the Northumbrians, deeply impressed with his high reputation for valour and success, and probably sincerely desirous of being under the strong stern government of one who had both the power and the will to put an end to the anarchy and confusion to which they were a prey, no sooner heard of his near approach than they rendered all attack on his part wholly unnecessary, by sending deputies to meet him with an offer of their submission, and with power to take, vicariously, oaths of allegiance to him. Sincerely well pleased at being thus met even more than half way in his wishes, Egbert not only gave their envoys a very gracious reception, but also voluntarily allowed them the power to elect a tributary king of their own choice. To East Anglia he also granted this flattering but hollow and valueless privilege; and thus secured to himself the goodwill of the people whom he had subjected, and the interested fidelity of titular kings, whose royalty, such as it was, depended upon his breath for its existence, and who, being on the spot, and having only a comparatively limited charge, could detect and for their own sakes would apprise him of the slightest symptoms of rebellion. The whole of the Heptarchy was now in reality subjected to Egbert, whom, dating from the year 827, we consider as the first king of England.

CHAPTER V.

The Anglo-Saxons after the Dissolution of the Heptarchy. — Reigns of Egbert, Ethelwolf, and Ethelbald.

THE vigorous character of Egbert was well calculated to make the Saxons proud of

having him for a monarch; and the fact of the royal families of the Heptarchy being, from various causes, extinct, still farther aided in making his rule welcome, and the union of the various states into one agreeable. As the Saxons of the various kingdoms had originally come not from different countries so much as from different provinces; and as, during their long residence in so circumscribed a territory as England, necessary and frequent intercourse had, in despite of their being under different kings, made them to a very great extent one people, their habits and pursuits were similar; and in their language, that most important bond of union to mankind, they scarcely differed more considerably than the inhabitants of Cornwall and those of Cumberland do at the present day.

Britain, which both by condition and situation seemed so nearly allied to Gaul, and so fitted by nature to be subject to it, was now, in a great measure, to owe to that situation the attacks of an enemy that scarcely knew fear, and did not know either moderation or mercy. We mean the Danes. To these bold and sanguinary marauders, who were as skilful on the ocean as they were unsparing on the land, the very name of Christianity was absolutely hateful. We have seen how easily in England the wild and unlettered Saxons were *led* into that faith; but, in Germany, the emperor Charlemagne, instead of trying to lead the pagans out of error into truth, departed so far from both the dictates of sound policy and the true spirit of Christianity, as to endeavour to make converts to the religion of peace and goodwill at the point of the sword; and, when resisted, as it was quite natural that he should be by a people unacquainted with the faith he wished to teach them, and strongly prejudiced against it by the style in which his teachings were conducted, his persecution —generous and humane though he naturally was — assumed a character which would not be accurately characterised by any epithet less severe than the word brutal. Decimated when goaded into revolt, deprived of their property by fire, and of their dearest relatives by the sword, many thousands of the pagan Saxons of Germany sought refuge in Jutland and Denmark; and naturally, though incorrectly, judging of the Christian faith by the conduct of the Christian champion, Charlemagne, they made the former hateful by their mere relations of the cruelties of the latter. When the feeble and divided posterity of Charlemagne made the French provinces a fair mark for bold invaders, the mingled races of Jutes, Danes, and Saxons, known in France under the general name of Northmen or Normans, made descents upon the maritime countries of France, and thence pushed their devastating enterprises far inland. England, as we have said, from its mere proximity to France, was viewed by these northern marauders as being in some sort the same country; and its inhabitants, as being equally Christian with the French, were equally hated, and equally considered fit objects of spoliation and violence. As early as the reign of Brithric in the kingdom of Wessex, in 787, a body of these bold and unscrupulous pirates landed in that kingdom. That their intention was hostile there can be little doubt; for, when merely questioned about it, they slew the magistrate, and hastily made off. In the year 794 they landed in Northumberland, and completely sacked a monastery; but a storm preventing them from making their escape, they were surrounded by the Northumbrian people, and completely cut to pieces.

During the first five years of Egbert's supreme reign in England, neither domestic disturbances nor the invasion of foreign foes occurred to obstruct his measures for promoting the prosperity of his people. But about the end of that time, and while he was still profoundly engaged in promoting the peaceable pursuits which were so necessary to the wealth and comfort of the kingdom, a horde of Danes made a sudden descent upon the Isle of Sheppey, plundered the inhabitants to a great amount, and made their debarkation in safety, and almost without any opposition. Warned by this event of his liability to future visits of the same unwelcome nature, Egbert held himself and a competent force in readiness to receive them; and when in the following year (A.D. 832), they landed from thirty-five ships upon the coast of Dorset, they were suddenly encountered by Egbert, near Charmouth, in that county. An obstinate and severe contest ensued, in which the Danes lost a great number of their force, and were, at length, totally defeated; but, as they were skilfully posted, and had taken care to preserve a line of communication with the sea, the survivors contrived to escape to their ships.

Two years elapsed from the battle of Charmouth before the pirates again made their appearance; and, as in that battle they had suffered very severely, the English began to hope that they would not again return to molest them. But the Danes, knowing the ancient and abiding enmity that existed between the Saxons and the British remnant in Cornwall, entered into an alliance with the latter, and, landing in their country, had an easy and open road to Devonshire and the other fertile provinces of the West. But here again the activity and unslumbering watchfulness of Egbert enabled him to limit their ravages merely to their first furious onset. He came up with them at Hengesdown, and again they were defeated with a great diminution of their numbers.

This was the last service of brilliant importance that Egbert performed for England; and just as there was every appearence that his valour and sagacity would be more than ever necessary to the safety of the country, he died, in the year 838, and was succeeded by his son Ethelwolf.

The very first act of Ethelwolf's reign was the division of the country which the wisdom and ability of his father, aided by singular good fortune, had so happily united. Threatened as the kingdom so frequently was from without, its best and

chiefest hope obviously rested upon its union, and the consequent facility of concentrating its whole fighting force upon any threatened point. But, unable to see this, or too indolent to bear the whole government of the country, Ethelwolf made over the whole of Kent, Sussex, and Essex to his son Athelstan. It was fortunate that, under such a prince, who at the very outset of his reign could commit an error so capital, England had, in most of her principal places, magistrates or governors of bravery and ability.

Thus Wolfhere, governor of Hampshire, put to the rout a strong party of the marauders who had landed at Southampton, from no fewer than three-and-thirty sail; and, in the same year, Athelhelm, governor of Dorsetshire, encountered and defeated another powerful body of them who had landed at Portsmouth; though, in this case, unfortunately, the gallant governor died of his wounds. Aware of the certain disadvantages to which they would be exposed in fighting pitched battles in an enemy's country, the Danes, in their subsequent landing, took all possible care to avoid the necessity of doing so. Their plan was to swoop suddenly down upon a retired part of the coast, plunder the country as far inland as they could prudently advance, and reembark with their booty before any considerable force could be got together to oppose them. In this manner they plundered East Anglia and Kent, and their depredations were the more distressing, because they, by no means, limited themselves to booty in the usual sense of that term, but carried off men, women, and even children into slavery.

The frequency and the desultoriness of these attacks at length kept the whole country coastward in a perpetual state of anxiety and alarm; the inhabitants of each place fearing to hasten to assist the inhabitants of another place, lest some other party of the pirates, in the meantime, should ravage and burn their own homes. There was another peculiarity in this kind of warfare, which, to one order of men at least, made it more terrible than even civil war itself: making their descents not merely in the love of gain, but also in a burning and intense hatred of Christianity, the Danes made no distinction between laymen and clerks, unless, indeed, that they often showed themselves, if possible, more inexorably cruel to the latter.

Having their cupidity excited by large and frequent booty, and being, moreover, flushed with their successes on the coast of France, the Danes or Northmen at length made their appearance almost annually in England. In each succeeding year they appeared in greater numbers, and conducted themselves with greater audacity; and they now visited the English shores in such swarms that it was apparent they contemplated nothing less than the actual conquest and settlement of the whole country. Dividing themselves into distinct bodies, they directed their attacks upon different points; but the Saxons were naturally warlike: the governors of most of the important places seaward were, as we have already remarked, well fitted for their important trust; and the very frequency of the attacks of the Danes had induced a vigilance and organisation among the people themselves which rendered it far less easy than it had formerly been to surprise them. At Wigganburgh the Danes were defeated with very great loss by Ceorle, governor of Devonshire; while another body of the marauders was attacked and defeated by Athelstan, in person, off Sandwich. In this case, in addition to a considerable loss in men, the Danes had nine of their vessels sunk, and only saved the rest by a precipitate flight. But in this year the Danes showed a sign of audacious confidence in their strength and resources which promised but ill for the future repose of England; for though they had been severely chastised in more than one quarter, and had sustained the loss of some of their bravest men, the main body of them, instead of retreating wholly from the island, as they usually had done towards the close of the autumn, fortified themselves in the Isle of Sheppey and made it their winter quarters. The promise of early recommencement of hostilities that was thus tacitly held out was fully and promptly fulfilled.

Early in the spring of 852, the Danes who had wintered in the Isle of Thanet were reinforced by the arrival of a fresh horde, in 350 vessels; and the whole marched from the Isle of Thanet inland, burning and destroying whatever was not sufficiently portable for plunder. Brichtric, who—so far had Ethelbert allowed the disjunction of the kingdom to proceed—was now governor and titular king of Mercia, made a vain attempt to resist them, and was utterly routed. Canterbury and London were sacked and burned, and the disorderly bands of the victorious enemy spread into the very heart of Surrey. Ethelwolf, though an indolent king, was by no means destitute of a certain princely pride and daring. Enraged beyond measure at the audacity of the marauders, and deeply grieved at the sufferings which they inflicted upon his subjects, he assembled the West Saxons, whom, accompanied by his second son Ethelbald as his lieutenant, he led against the most considerable body of the Danes. He encountered them at Okely, and, although they fought with their usual reckless and pertinacious courage, the Saxons discomfited and put them to flight. This victory gave the country at least a temporary respite; for the Danes had suffered so much by it, that they were glad to postpone further operations, and seek shelter and rest within their entrenchment in the Isle of Thanet. Thither they were followed by Huda and Ealher, the governors of Surrey and Kent, who bravely attacked them. At the commencement of the action the advantage was very considerably on the side of the Saxons; but the fortune of war suddenly changed, the Danes recovered their lost ground, and the Saxons were totally routed, both their gallant leaders remaining dead upon the field of battle: A.D. 853.

Desperate as the situation of the country was, and threatening as was the aspect of the Danes, who, after defeating Huda and Ealher, removed from the Isle of Thanet to that of Sheppey, which they deemed more convenient for winter quarters, Ethelwolf, who was extremely superstitious and bigoted, and who, in spite of the occasional flashes of chivalric spirit which he exhibited, was far more fit for a monk than for either a monarch or a military commander, this year resolved upon making a pilgrimage to Rome. He went, and carried with him his fourth son, the subsequently 'Great' Alfred, but who was then a child of only six years old. At Rome Ethelwolf remained for a year, passing his time in prayer; earning the flatteries and the favour of the monks by liberalities to the church, on which he lavished sums which were but too really and terribly needed by his own impoverished and suffering country. As a specimen of his profusion in this pious squandering, he gave to the papal see, in perpetuity, the yearly sum of three hundred mancuses — each mancus weighing, says Hume, about the same as the English half-crown — to be applied in three equal portions: 1*st*, the providing and maintaining lamps for St. Peter's; 2*nd*, for the same to St. Paul's, and 3*rdly*, for the use of the pope himself. At the end of the year's residence which he had promised himself, he returned home; happily for his subjects, whom his prolonged stay at Rome could not fail to impoverish; his foolish facility in giving being not a whit more remarkable than the unscrupulous alacrity of the papal court in taking. On reaching England, he was far more astonished than gratified at the state of affairs there. Athelstan, his eldest son, to whom, as we have before mentioned, he had given Kent, Sussex, and Essex, had been some time dead; and Ethelbald, the second son, having in consequence assumed the regency of the kingdom during his father's absence, had allowed filial affection and the loyalty due to a sovereign to be conquered by ambition. Many of the warlike nobility held Ethelwolf in contempt, and did not scruple to affirm that he was far more fit for cowl and cloister than for the warrior's weapon and the monarch's throne. The young and ambitious prince lent too facile an ear to these disloyal deriders, and suffered himself to be persuaded to join and head a party to dethrone his father and set himself up in his place. But Ethelwolf, though despised by the ruder and fiercer nobles, was not without numerous and sincere friends; his party, long as he had been absent, was as strong and as zealous as that of the prince; both parties were of impetuous temper and well inclined to decide the controversy by blows; and the country seemed to be upon the very brink of a civil war, of which the Danes would no doubt have availed themselves to subject the island altogether. But this extremity was prevented by Ethelwolf himself, who voluntarily proffered to remove all occasion of strife by sharing his kingdom with Ethelbald. The division was accordingly made; the king contenting himself with the eastern moiety of the kingdom, which, besides other points of inferiority, was far the most exposed.

It were scarcely reasonable to expect that he who had not shrewdness and firmness enough to protect his own rights and interests, would prove a more efficient guardian of those of his people. His residence at Rome had given the papal court and the clergy a clear view of the whole extent of the weakness of his nature; and the facility with which he had parted with his cash in exchange for hollow and cozening compliments, marked him out as a prince exactly fitted to aid the English clergy in their endeavours to aggrandise themselves. And the event proved the correctness of their judgment; for at the very same time that he presented the clergy with the tithes of all the land's produce, which they had never yet received, though the country had been for nearly two centuries divided into parishes, he expressly exempted them and the church revenues, in general, from every sort of tax, even though made for national defence; and this at a moment when the national exigencies were at their greatest height, and when the national peril was such, that it might have been supposed that even a wise selfishness would have induced the clergy to contribute towards its support; the more especially, as towards them and their property the Danes had ever exhibited a peculiar malignity.

Ethelwolf died in 857, about two years after he had granted to the English clergy the important boon of the tithes;* and he, by will, confirmed to Ethelbald the western moiety of the kingdom, of which he had already put him in possession, and left the eastern moiety to his second eldest surviving son, Ethelbert.

The reign of Ethelbald was short; nor was his character such as to make it desirable for the sake of his people that it had been longer. He was of extremely debauched habits, and gave especial scandal and disgust to his people by marrying his mother-in-law, Judith, the second wife of his deceased father. To the comments of the people upon this incestuous and disgraceful connection he paid no attention; but the censure of the church was not to be so lightly regarded, and the advice and authority of Swithin, bishop of Winchester, induced him to consent to be divorced. He died in the year 860, and was succeeded by his brother Ethelbert; and the kingdom thus, once more, was united under one sovereign.

CHAPTER VI.

The Reigns of Ethelbert and Ethelred.

THE reign of Ethelbert was greatly disturbed by the frequent descents of the

* On the disputed points connected with the grant of Ethelwolf, see Hallam's Middle Ages, Part II. ch. vii. note 1 (vol. ii. p. 265), and Edinburgh Review for October, 1862, Art. Legends of St. Swithun.

Danes. On one occasion they made a furious attack upon Winchester, and did an immense deal of mischief in the neighbourhood, but were finally beaten off with great loss; and, on another occasion, the horde of them that was settled in the Isle of Thanet, having thrown Ethelbert off his guard by their apparent determination to keep sacred a treaty into which they had entered with him, suddenly broke from their quarters, marched in great numbers into Kent, and there committed the most wanton outrages in addition to seizing immense booty.

Ethelbert reigned solely over England but little more than five years: he died in 866, and was succeeded by his brother Ethelred. He, too, was greatly harassed by the Danes. Very early in his reign, connived at and aided by the East Angles, who even furnished them with the horses necessary for their predatory expedition, they made their way into the kingdom of Northumberland, and seized upon the wealthy and important city of York. Ælla and Osbricht, two high-spirited Northumbrian princes, endeavoured to expel them, but were defeated, and perished in the assault. Flushed with this success, the Danes now marched, under the command of their terrible leaders, Hubba and Hinguar, into Mercia, and after much carnage and rapine established themselves in Nottingham, from which central situation they menaced the ruin of the whole kingdom. The Mercians, finding that their local authorities and local forces were no match for desperados so numerous and so determined, despatched messengers to Ethelred, imploring his personal interference on their behalf; and the king, accompanied by his brother Alfred, who had already begun to display those talents which subsequently won him an imperishable fame, marched to Nottingham with a powerful army, A.D. 870.

The gallantry and activity of the king and his brother speedily drove the Danes from Mercia, and they retired into Northumberland with the apparent design of remaining there quietly. But peace was foreign to their very nature; and, forgetful of their recent obligations to the treachery of the East Angles, they suddenly rushed forth upon them, butchered Edmund, their tributary prince, in cold blood, and committed the most extensive havoc and depredations, especially upon the monasteries.

The Danes having, in 871, made Reading a station, from which they greatly harassed the surrounding country, Ethelred determined to dislodge them. On desiring the aid of the Mercians, he was disloyally refused; they, unmindful of the benefit they had received from him, being desirous of getting rid of their dependence upon him, and becoming a separate people as in the Heptarchy. Even this shameful conduct of the Mercians could not move Ethelred from his purpose. Aided by Alfred, from whom, during his whole reign, he received the most zealous and efficient assistance, he raised a large force of his hereditary subjects, the West Saxons, and marched against Reading. Being defeated in an action without the town, the Danes retreated within the gates, and Ethelred commenced a siege, but was driven from before the place by a sudden and well conducted sally of the garrison. An action shortly afterwards took place at Aston, not far from Reading, at which an incident occurred which gives us a strange notion of the manners of the age. A division of the English army under Alfred commenced the battle, and was so skilfully surrounded by the enemy while yet in a disadvantageous position, and not fairly formed in order of battle, that it was in the most imminent danger of being completely cut to pieces. Alfred sent an urgent message to his brother for assistance; but Ethelred was hearing mass, and positively refused to stir a step until its conclusion. Had the day gone against the Saxons, Ethelred's conduct on this occasion would probably have been censured even by the priests; but as the Danes were put to the rout, and with signal slaughter, the whole credit of the victory was given to the piety of Ethelred.

Beaten out of Berkshire, the Danes now took up a strong position at Basing, in Hants. Here they received a powerful reinforcement from abroad, and sent out marauding parties in all directions with great success. Such, indeed, was their success, that Englishmen of all ranks began to contemplate, with unfeigned terror, the near probability of their whole country being overrun by these merciless and greedy invaders. The anxiety of Ethelred occasioned by these gloomy prospects, which were still farther increased by the impatience of the Mercians and others under his rule, so aggravated the irritation of a wound he had received in the battle at Basing, that it terminated his life, in the year 871.

CHAPTER VII.

The Reign of Alfred the Great.

ALFRED succeeded his brother Ethelred; and scarce were the funeral rites performed before he found it necessary to march against the enemy, who had now seized upon Milton. At the outset, Alfred had considerably the advantage: but his force was very weak compared to that of the enemy, and, advancing too far, he not only missed the opportunity of completing their defeat, but even enabled them to claim the victory. But their victory—if such it was—cost them so many of their bravest men that they became alarmed for the consequences of continuing the war, and entered into a treaty by which they bound themselves altogether to depart from the kingdom. To enable them to do this they were conducted to London, but on arriving there the old leaven became too strong for their virtuous resolutions; and, breaking off from their appointed line of march, they began to plunder the country round London for many miles. Burthred, the tributary prince of Mercia, of which London formed a part, thinking it improbable, after his shameful desertion of Alfred's brother on

a former occasion, that Alfred would now feel inclined to assist him, made a treaty with the Danes, by which, in consideration of a considerable sum of money, they agreed to cease from ravaging his dominions, and remove themselves into Lincolnshire. They so far fulfilled their part of the agreement as to march into Lincolnshire; but they had on former occasions laid that county waste, and finding that it had not yet so far recovered as to promise them any booty worth having, they suddenly marched back again upon Mercia; then establishing themselves at Repton, in Derbyshire, they commenced their usual career of slaughter and rapine in that neighbourhood. This new instance of Danish perfidy filled Burthred with despair; and seeing no probability of his being able either to chase the Danes away, or to render them peaceably disposed either by force or bribe, he abandoned his territory altogether, proceeded to Rome, and there took up his abode in a monastery, where he continued until his death. Burthred, who was brother-in-law to Alfred, was the last titular and tributary king of Mercia.

The utter abandonment of the English cause by Burthred left no other leading defender but Alfred: A.D. 875. Brave and able as that prince was, his situation was now truly terrible. New swarms of Danes came over, under the leadership of Guthrum, Osital, and Amund. One band of the host thus formed took up their quarters in Northumberland, and another in Cambridge, whence the latter marched for Wareham in Dorsetshire, and thus settled themselves in the very midst of Alfred's territory. This circumstance, from Alfred's superior knowledge of the country and his facility of obtaining supplies, gave him advantages of which he so ably and promptly availed himself, that the Danes were glad to engage themselves to depart. They had now, however, become so notorious for breaking their treaties, that Alfred, in concluding this one with them, resorted to an expedient very characteristic of that rude and superstitious age. He made them confirm their pledges by oaths upon holy reliques. He thought it unlikely that even Danes would venture to depart from an agreement made with a ceremony which was then thought so tremendous: and even should they be impious enough to do so, he felt quite certain that their awful perjury would not fail to draw down utter destruction upon them. But the Danes, who hated Christianity, and held its forms in utter contempt, no sooner found themselves freed from the disadvantageous position in which Alfred had placed them, than they fell without warning upon his astounded army, put it completely to flight, and then hastened to take possession of Exeter. Undismayed by even this new proof of the faithless and indomitable nature of the enemy, Alfred exerted himself so diligently, that he got together new forces, and fought no fewer than eight considerable battles within twelve months. This vigour was more effectual against such a foe than any treaty however solemn; and they once more found themselves reduced to an extremity which compelled them to sue for peace. As Alfred's sole wish was to free his subjects from the intolerable evils incident to having their country perpetually made the theatre of war, he cheerfully agreed to grant them peace and permission to settle on the coast, on the sole condition that they should live peaceably with his subjects, and not allow any new invaders to ravage the country. While they were distressed, and in danger, the Danes were well pleased with these terms, but just as the treaty was concluded a reinforcement arrived to them from abroad. All thought of peace and treaty was at once laid aside by them; they hastened in all directions to join the new comers, seized upon the important town of Chippenham, and recommenced their old system of plundering, murdering, and destroying, in every direction, for miles around their quarters. The Saxons, not even excepting the heroic Alfred himself, now gave up all hope of success in the struggle in which they had so long and so bravely been engaged. Many fled to Wales and the continent, while the generality submitted to the invaders, contented to save life and land at the expense of national honour and individual freedom. It was in vain that Alfred reminded the chief men among the Saxons of the sanguinary successes they had achieved in the time past, and endeavoured to persuade them that new successes would attend new efforts. Men's spirits were now so utterly subdued that the Danes were looked upon as irresistible; and the heroic and unfortunate Alfred, unable to raise sufficient force to warrant him in again endeavouring to save his country from the yoke of the foreign foeman, was fain to seek safety in concealment, and to console himself in his temporary inactivity, with the hope that the oppressions of the Danes would be so unmeasured and intolerable, that even the most peace-loving and indolent of the Saxons would, at no distant day, be goaded into revolt. Unattended even by a servant, Alfred, disguised in the coarse habit of a peasant, wandered from one obscure hiding-place to another. One of these was the lowly hut of a neatherd, who had, in happier days, been in his service. The man faithfully obeyed the charge given to him by the king not to reveal his rank even to the good woman of the house. She, unsuspicious of the quality of her guest, was at no pains to conceal her opinion that so able a man, in full health, and with an extremely vigorous appetite, might find some better employment, bad though the times were, than moping about and muttering to himself. On one occasion she still more strongly gave her opinion of the idleness of her guest. He was seated before the ample wood fire, putting his bow and arrows in order as she put some wheaten cakes down to bake; and being called away by some other domestic business, she desired Alfred to mind the cakes, giving him especial charge to turn them frequently, lest they should be burned. The king promised due obedience, but scarcely had his imperious

hostess left him when he fell into a profound reverie, on his own forlorn and abandoned condition, and the manifold miseries of his country. It is probable that, during that long sad day-dream, more than one thought suggested itself to Alfred, by which England, at a future day, was to be greatly benefited. But, assuredly, his thoughts were, for that time at least, of little benefit to his hostess, who, on her return to the cottage, found the king deep buried in his gloomy thoughts, and her cakes done, indeed, but done — to a cinder. The good woman's anger now knew no bounds; oaf, lubber, and lazy loon, were the mildest names which she bestowed upon him, as, with mingled anger and vexation, she contrasted his indolence in the matter of baking, with his alacrity in eating what he found ready baked for his use.*

So successful had Alfred been in destroying all traces of his wanderings, that Hubba and other leading Danes, who had at first made search after him with all the activity and eagerness of extreme hate, not unmingled with fear, at length became persuaded that he had either quitted the country altogether, or perished miserably ere he could find means and opportunity to do so. Finding that his enemies had discontinued their search after him, Alfred now began to conceive hopes of being able once more to call some friends to his side. For this purpose he betook himself to Somersetshire, to a spot with which he had accidentally become acquainted, which singularly united obscurity and capability of being defended. A morass formed by the overflowing of the rivers Parret and Thame had nearly in its centre about a couple of acres of firm land. The morass itself was not safely practicable by anyone not well acquainted with the concealed paths that led through it to the little *terra firma*, and it was further secured from hostile visitors by numerous other morasses no less difficult and dangerous, while by a dense growth of forest trees it was on every side environed and sheltered. Here he built himself a rude hut, and, having found means to communicate with some of the most faithful of his personal friends, it was not long before he was placed at the head of a small but valiant band. Sallying from this retreat under the cover of the night, and always, when practicable, returning again before the morning, he harassed and spoiled the Danes to a very great extent; and his attacks were so sudden and so desultory, that his enemies were unable either effectually to guard against them, or to conjecture from what quarter they proceeded.

Even by this warfare, petty and desultory as it was, Alfred was doing good service to his country. For with the spoil which he thus obtained he was enabled to subsist and from time to time to increase his followers; and while his attacks, which could not be wholly unknown to the Saxon population, gave them vague hopes that armed friends were not wholly lost to them, they moderated the cruelty and imperiousness of the Danes by constantly reminding them of the possibility of a successful and general revolt of the Saxons.

For upwards of a year Alfred remained in this secure retreat, in which time he had gathered together a considerable number of followers; and now at length his perseverance had its reward in an opportunity of once more meeting his foes in the formal array of battle.

Hubba, the most warlike of all the Danish chiefs, led a large army of his countrymen to besiege the castle of Kinwith, in Devonshire. The earl of that county, a brave and resolute man, deeming death in the battle field far preferable to starving within his fortified walls, or life preserved by submission to the hated Danes, collected the whole of his garrison, and, having inspired them with his own brave determination, made a sudden sally upon the Danish camp in the darkness of night, killed Hubba, and routed the Danish force with immense slaughter. He at the same time captured the enchanted *Reafen*, the woven raven which adorned the chief standard of the Danes, and the loss of which their superstitious feelings made more terrible to them than that of their chief and their comrades who had perished. The *Reafen* had been woven into Hubba's standard by his three sisters, who accompanied their work with certain magical formulæ which the Danes firmly believed to have given the represented bird the power of predicting the good or evil success of any enterprise by the motion of its wings. And, considering the great power of superstition over rude and untutored minds, it is very probable that the loss of this highly valued standard, coinciding with not only the defeat, but also the death, of its hitherto victorious owner, struck such a general fear and doubt into the minds of the Danes, as very greatly tended to dispose them, shortly after, to make peace with Alfred.

As soon as Alfred heard of the spirit and success with which the earl of Devonshire had defended himself and routed the most dreaded division of the Danish army, he resolved to quit his obscure retreat and once more endeavour to arouse the Saxon population to arms. It is said that, leaving his followers to conceal themselves in the retreat of which we have spoken, he disguised himself as a harper, a very popular character in that day, and one which his great skill as a musician enabled him successfully to maintain.† In this character he was able to travel alike among Danes and Saxons without suspicious recognition; and his music at once obtained him admission to every rank and the opportunity of conversing with every description of people. Emboldened by finding himself unsuspected by even his own subjects, he now formed the bold project of penetrating the very camp of the enemy to note their

* On the source and value of this anecdote, see Lappenberg's History of England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings, vol. ii. p. 55, note 2.

† Lingard, History of England, vol. i. ch. iv. p. 172, considers the story improbable. It seems to be admitted by Lappenberg and Thierry.

forces and disposition. To soldiers in camp amusement is ever welcome, and the skilful music of Alfred not merely gratified the common soldiers and inferior officers, but even procured him, from their recommendations, admittance to the tent of Guthrum, their prince and leader. Here he remained long enough to discover every weak point of the enemy, whether as to the position of their camp, which was situated at Eddington, or as to the carelessness of discipline into which their utter contempt of the 'Saxon swine' caused them to fall. Having made all necessary observations, he took the earliest opportunity to depart, and sent messages to all the principal Saxons upon whom he could depend, requiring them to meet him on a specified day, at Brixton, in the forest of Selwood. The Saxons, who had long mourned their king as dead, and were groaning beneath the brutal tyrannies of the Danes, joyfully obeyed his summons, and at the appointed time he found himself surrounded by a force so numerous and so enthusiastic as to give him just hopes of being able to attack the Danes with success. Knowing the importance of not allowing this enthusiasm to cool, he wasted no time in useless delay or vain form, but led them at once to Guthrum's camp, of which his recent visit had made him acquainted with the most practicable points. Sunk in apathetic indolence, and thinking of nothing less than of seeing a numerous band of English assembled to attack them, the Danes were so panic-struck and surprised that they fought with none of their accustomed vigour or obstinacy, and the battle was speedily converted into a mere rout. Great numbers of the Danes perished in this affair; and though the rest, under the orders of Guthrum, fortified themselves in a camp and made preparations for continuing the struggle, they were so closely hemmed in by Alfred, that absolute hunger proved too strong for their resolution, and once more they offered to treat for peace with the man whose mercy they had so often abused, and whose valour and ability they had long since believed, and exultingly believed, to be buried in an obscure and premature grave.

The enduring and persevering inclination to clemency which he constantly displayed is by no means one of the least remarkable and admirable traits in the character of Alfred. Though he now had the very lives of his fell and malignant foes in his power, and though they were so conscious of their powerlessness that they offered to submit on any terms however humiliating, he gave them their lives without attempting to impose even moderately severe terms. Peace for his subjects was still the great lode-star of all his wishes and of all his polity; and often as he had been deceived by the Danes, his real magnanimity led him to believe that even their faithlessness could not always be proof against mercy and indulgence; he, therefore, not only gave them their lives, but also full permission to settle in his country, upon the easy condition of living in peace with his other subjects, and holding themselves bound to aid in the defence of the country in whose safety they would have a stake, should any new invasion render their assistance necessary. Delighted to obtain terms so much more favourable than they had any right to hope for, Guthrum and his followers readily agreed to this; but Alfred's mercy had no taint of weakness. He, with his usual sagacity, perceived that one great cause of the persevering hostility of the Danes to his subjects was their difference of religion. Reflecting that such a cause would be perpetually liable to cause the Danes to break their peaceable intentions, he demanded that Guthrum and his people should give evidence of their sincerity by embracing the Christian religion. This, also, was consented to by the Danes, who were all baptised, Alfred himself becoming the godfather of Guthrum, to whom he gave the honourable Christian name of Athelstan. The success of this measure fully justified the sagacity which had suggested it to Alfred. The Danes settled in Stamford, Lincoln, Nottingham, Leicester, and Derby, were called the Five Burghers, and they lived as peaceably as any other of Alfred's subjects, and gave him as little trouble. For some years after this signal triumph of Alfred's prowess and policy, England was unmolested by foreign invaders, excepting on one occasion when a numerous fleet of Danes sailed up the Thames, beyond London. They committed considerable havoc on their route, but on arriving at Farnham they found the country so well prepared by Alfred to resist them, that they made a panic retreat to their ships, and departed with such spoil as in their haste they were able to secure.

Freed from the warlike bustle in which so large a portion of his life had been spent, Alfred now devoted himself to the task of regulating the civil affairs of the kingdom. He committed the former kingdom of Mercia to the government of his brother-in-law, Ethelbert, with the rank and title of earl or duke; and in order to render the incorporation of the Danes with the Saxons the more complete, he put them upon the same legal footing in every respect. In each division of the kingdom he established a militia force, and made arrangements for its concentration upon any given point in the event of any new invasion. He also repaired the various towns that had suffered in the long disorders of the kingdom, and erected fortresses in commanding situations, to serve both as depôts for armed men, and as rallying points for the militia and levy, *en masse*, of the country around, in case of need. But though the admirable military dispositions thus made by Alfred, made it certain that any invaders would find themselves hotly opposed in whatever quarter they might make their attack, Alfred was more anxious to have the internal peace of the country wholly unbroken, than to be obliged, however triumphantly and surely, to chastise the disturbers of it: he therefore now turned his attention to the organisation of such a naval force as should be sufficient to keep the piratical enemy from landing upon his

shores. He greatly increased the number and strength of his shipping, and practised a large portion of his people in naval tactics, to which, considering their insular situation, the kings and people of England had hitherto been strangely indifferent. The good effects of this wise precaution were soon manifest: squadrons of his armed vessels lay at so many and at such well-chosen positions, that the Danes, though they often came in great numbers, were either wholly prevented from landing, or intercepted when retiring from before the land forces, and deprived of their ill-gotten booty, and their ships either captured or sunk. In this manner Alfred at length got together a hundred and twenty vessels, a very powerful fleet for that time; and as his own subjects were at the outset but indifferent sailors, he supplied that defect by sparingly distributing among them skilful foreign seamen, from whom they soon learned all that was known of naval tactics in that rude age.

For some years Alfred reaped the reward of his admirable policy and untiring industry in the unbroken tranquillity of the country, which gave his subjects the opportunity of advancing in all the useful arts, and of gradually repairing those evils which the long-continued internal wars had done to both their trade and their agriculture. But a new trial was still in store for both Alfred and his subjects.

A.D. 893. Hastings, a Danish chieftain, who some years before had made a short predatory incursion into England, but who recently had confined his ravages to France, finding that he had reduced that country, so far as he could gain access to it, to a condition which rendered it unproductive of farther booty, suddenly appeared this year off the coast of Kent, with an immense horde of his pirates, in upwards of three hundred vessels. Disembarking the main body in the Rother, and leaving it to guard the fort of Apuldore, which he surprised and seized, he, with a detachment of nearly a hundred vessels, sailed up the Thames as far as Milton, where he established his headquarters, whence he sent out his marauding parties in every direction. As soon as tidings of this new incursion reached Alfred, that gallant monarch concentrated an immense force from the armed militia in various parts of the country, and marched against the enemy. Sitting down before Milton and Apuldore, Alfred, by his superiority of force, completely hemmed in the main bodies of the pirates, and their detached parties were encountered as they returned with their booty, and cut off to a man. Finding that, so far from having any prospect of enriching themselves, they were, in fact, compelled to live in England upon the plunder that they had seized in France, the pirate garrison of Apuldore made a sudden sally with the design of crossing the Thames into Essex. But the vigilant eye of Alfred was too constantly upon them to allow either secrecy or suddenness to give them success in this attempt. He arrested their march at Farnham, utterly routed them, and spoiled them of all their property, including numbers of valuable horses. The slaughter was very great, and those Danes who were so fortunate as to survive the battle, made their way in panic haste to their piratical vessels, and sailed over to Essex, where they entrenched themselves at Mersey; Hastings, with the division under his command, at the same time, going also into the county of Essex, and entrenching himself at Canvey.

Guthrum, who from the time of his baptism had been constantly faithful to the engagement into which he had entered with Alfred, was now dead, as also was Guthred, another Dane of rank, who was very faithful to Alfred, by whom he had been made governor of Northumberland. No longer restrained by the example and authority of these two eminent chiefs, the East Anglian and Northumbrian Danes now suddenly exhibited their old propensity to strife and rapine, got together a fleet of nearly two hundred and fifty vessels, and made their appearance in hostile array before Exeter. Leaving a sufficient force under competent command to make head against the Danes in Essex, Alfred immediately hastened to Exeter, and fell so suddenly upon them, that, with little loss on his side, they were driven, in complete disorder and with immense loss, to their fleet. They made attempts to land in other parts of the country; but the preparations which Alfred had everywhere made of militia and armed freemen, whom the recent alarms had kept more than usually on the alert, caused the pirates to be so warmly received, that they at length sailed from the island altogether, in utter despair of making any further booty.

The Danes in Essex, united under the command of the formidable Hastings, did immense mischief in that county. But the force left behind by Alfred, increased by a large number of Londoners, marched to Banfiete, forced the pirates' entrenchments, put the greater number of the garrison to the sword, and captured the wife and children of the pirate chief. This capture was the most importantly useful result of this well-conducted enterprise. Alfred had now in his hands hostages through whom he could command any terms; but so generous was his nature, that he restored the women and children to Hastings, upon the sole and easy condition that he should quit the kingdom immediately, under a solemn engagement to return to it no more as a foeman.

But though the worst band of the Danes was thus forced to depart the kingdom, the plague of the Danes was by no means wholly at an end. There were very numerous scattered hordes of them, who neither owned the leadership of Hastings, nor were willing to quit the country empty-handed. These united into one large force, and fortified themselves at Shobury, at the mouth of the Thames, whence they marched into Gloucestershire, and being reinforced by a numerous body of Welshmen, fortified themselves very strongly at Boddington Having now only this body to deal with, Alfred gathered together the whole force

he could command, and, drawing lines of circumvallation around the pirates, deliberately sat down with the determination of starving them into submission. They held out for some time, slaying their horses to subsist upon; but, at length, even this miserable resource failing them, they sallied out in utter desperation. The most considerable portion of them fell in the fierce contest that ensued; but a still formidable body escaped, and, ravaging the country as they passed along, were pursued by Alfred to Watford, in Hertfordshire. Here another severe action ensued, and the Danes were again defeated with great loss. The remnant found shelter on board the fleet of Sigefort, a Northumbrian Dane, who possessed ships of a construction very superior to those of the generality of his countrymen. The king pursued this fleet to the coast of Hampshire, slew a great number of the pirates, captured twenty of their ships, and—even his enduring mercy being now wearied—hanged, at Winchester, the whole of his prisoners.

The efficient and organised resistance which had of late been experienced by the pirates, and the plain indications given by the Winchester executions that the king was determined to show no more lenity to pirates, but to consign them to an ignominious death, as common disturbers and enemies of the whole human race, fairly struck terror even in the hitherto incorrigible Danes. Those of Northumberland and East Anglia, against whom Alfred now marched, deprecated his resentment by the humblest submission, and the most solemn assurances of their future peaceable behaviour; and their example was imitated by the Welsh.

The same admirable arrangements which had enabled him to free his country from the Danes, were now of infinite service to Alfred in restoring and enforcing order among his own subjects. It was almost inevitable that great disorders should prevail among the people who so frequently, and during so many years, had been subjected to all the horrors and tumults incident to a country which is so unhappy as to be the theatre of war. In addition to making very extensive and wise provisions for the true and efficient administration of justice in the superior courts, and framing a code for their guidance, so excellent that its substance and spirit subsist to this day in the common law of England, he most effectually provided for the repression of petty offences, as well as more serious ones, whether against persons or property; and the manner in which he did so, like the manner in which he, as it were, made his whole kingdom a series of garrisons to restrain the Danes, shows that, with admirable genius, he perceived the immense importance of an attention to details, and the ease with which many graduated efforts and arrangements will produce a result, which would be but in vain aimed at by any one effort however vast.

Of what may be called the national police established by Alfred, we take the following brief and condensed, but extremely lucid and graphic, account from Hume:—'The English,' says Hume, 'reduced to the most extreme indigence by the continued depredations of the Danes, had shaken off all bands of government; and those who had been plundered to-day, betook themselves on the morrow to the like disorderly life, and, from despair, joined the robbers in pillaging and ruining their fellow-citizens. These were the evils for which it was necessary that the vigilance and activity of Alfred should provide a remedy.

'That he might render the execution of justice strict and regular, he divided all England into counties; these counties he subdivided into hundreds, and the hundreds again into tithings. Every householder was answerable for the behaviour of his family and his slaves, and even of his guests if they lived above three days in his house. Ten neighbouring householders were formed into one corporation, who, under the name of a tithing, decennary, or fribourg, were answerable for each other's conduct, and over whom one man, called a tithing-man, headbourg, or bondholder, was appointed to preside. Every man was punished as an outlaw who did not register himself in some tithing; and no man could change his habitation without a warrant or certificate from the bondholder of the tithing to which he formerly belonged.

'When any person, in any tithing or decennary, was guilty of a crime, the bondholder was summoned to answer for him; and if he were not willing to be surety for his appearance and his clearing himself, the prisoner was committed to prison, and there detained till his trial. If he fled, either before or after finding surety, the bondholder and decennary became liable to enquiry, and were exposed to the penalties of the law. Thirty-one days were allowed them for producing the criminal; and if the time elapsed without their being able to find him, the bondholder, with two other members of the decennary, was obliged to appear, and, together with three chief members of the three neighbouring decennaries, making twelve in all, to swear that his decennary was free from all privity, both of the crime committed and of the escape of the criminal. If the bondholder could not find such a number to answer for their innocence, the decennary was compelled, by fine, to make satisfaction to the king, according to the degree of the offence. By this institution every man was obliged, by his own interest, to keep a watchful eye over the conduct of his neighbour; and was in a manner surety for the behaviour of those who were placed under the division to which he belonged; whence these decennaries received the name of frank pledges.

'Such a regular distribution of the people, with such a strict confinement in their habitation, may not be necessary in times when men are more inured to obedience and justice; and it might perhaps be regarded as destructive of liberty and commerce in a polished state; but it was well calculated to reduce that fierce and licentious people under the salutary restraint

of law and government. But Alfred took care to temper these rigours by other institutions more favourable to the freedom of the citizens; and nothing could be more popular or liberal than his plan for the administration of justice. The bondholder summoned together his whole decennary to assist him in deciding any lesser difference which occurred among the members of this small community. In affairs of greater moment, in appeals from the decennary or in controversies arising between members of different decennaries, the cause was brought before the hundred, which consisted of ten decennaries, or a hundred families of freemen, and which was regularly assembled once in four weeks for the deciding of causes. Their method of decision deserves to be noted, as being the origin of juries; an institution admirable in itself, and the best calculated for the preservation of liberty and the administration of justice that ever was devised by the wit of man. Twelve freeholders were chosen, who having sworn, together with the hundreder, or presiding magistrate of that division, to administer impartial justice, proceeded to the examination of that cause which was submitted to their jurisdiction. And beside these monthly meetings of the hundred, there was an annual meeting appointed for a more general inspection of the police of the district, for the enquiry into crimes, the correction of abuses in magistrates, and the obliging of every person to show the decennary in which he was registered. The people, in imitation of their German ancestors, assembled there in arms, whence a hundred was sometimes called a wapentake, and its courts served both for the support of military discipline, and for the administration of civil justice.

'The next superior court to that of the hundred was the county court, which met twice a year, after Michaelmas and Easter, and consisted of the freeholders of the county, who possessed an equal vote in the decision of causes. The bishop presided in this court, together with the alderman; and the proper object of the court was the receiving of appeals from the hundreds and decennaries, and the deciding of such controversies as arose between men of different hundreds. Formerly the alderman possessed both the military and the civil authority; but Alfred, sensible that this conjunction of powers rendered the nobility dangerously independent, appointed also a sheriff to each county, who enjoyed a coordinate authority with the former in the judicial function. His office also empowered him to guard the rights of the crown in the county, and to levy the fines imposed, which in that age formed no contemptible part of the public revenue.

'There lay an appeal, in default of justice, from all these courts to the king himself in council; and as the people, sensible of the equity and great talents of Alfred, placed their chief confidence in him, he was soon overwhelmed with appeals from all parts of England. He was indefatigable in the despatch of these causes, but finding that his time must be entirely engrossed by this branch of duty, he resolved to obviate the inconvenience by correcting the ignorance or the corruption of the inferior magistrates, from which it arose. He took care to have all his nobility instructed in letters and the law: he chose the earls and sheriffs from among the men most celebrated for probity and knowledge; he punished severely all malversation in office, and he removed all the earls whom he found unequal to their trust, allowing only some of the more elderly to serve by deputy, till their death should make room for more worthy successors.'

CHAPTER VIII.

History of the Anglo-Saxons, from the Death of Alfred the Great to the Reign of Edward the Martyr.

ALFRED THE GREAT, who died in the year 901, had three sons and three daughters by his wife Ethelswitha, the daughter of an earl of Mercia. His eldest son, Edmund, died before him, and he was succeeded by his second son, Edward, who, being the first English king of that name, was surnamed *the Elder*.

Though Edward was scarcely, if at all, inferior to his truly great father in point of military talents, his reign was, upon the whole, a turbulent one, and one that by no means favoured the growth in the kingdom of that civilised prosperity, of which Alfred had laid the foundations both deep and broad. But the fault was not with Edward: he had to contend against many very great difficulties, and he contended against them with both courage and prudence. He had scarcely paid the last sad offices to his royal father when his title to the throne was disputed by his cousin Ethelwold, son of Ethelbert, the elder brother of Alfred. Had the hereditary and lineal descent of the crown been as yet strictly settled with a regard to primogeniture, the claim of Ethelwold would have, undoubtedly, been a just one. But such was far from being the case; many circumstances, the character, or even the infancy of the actual heir, in the order of primogeniture, very often inducing the magnates and people, as in the case of Alfred himself, to pass over him who in this point of view was the rightful heir, in favour of one better qualified, and giving higher promise of safety and prosperity to the nation.

Ethelwold had a considerable number of partisans, by whose aid he collected a large and imposing force, and fortified himself at Wimborne, in Dorsetshire, with the avowed determination of referring his claim to the decision of war. But the military condition in which Alfred had left the kingdom now rendered his son good service. At the first intimation that he received of his cousin's opposition, he, on the instant, collected a numerous and well-appointed army, and marched towards him, determined not to have the internal peace of the whole kingdom disturbed by a series of petty struggles, but to hazard life and crown upon the decision of a single great battle. As the king approached, however, the in-

formation of his overwhelming force that was conveyed to Ethelwold so much alarmed him, that he suddenly broke up his army and made a hasty retreat to Normandy. Here he remained inactive for some time; but just as all observers of his conduct imagined that he had finally abandoned his pretensions, he passed over into Northumberland, where he was well received by the Danes of that district, who were glad of any pretence, however slight, for disavowing their allegiance to the actual king of England. The five Burghers, who had so long been in a state of rarely broken tranquillity, also joined Ethelwold, and the country had once more the prospect of endless and ruinous internal warfare. Ethelwold led his freebooters into Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, and Oxfordshire, and made their escape good, with an immense booty, ere the royal forces could come up with them. But the king followed his foes into East Anglia, and fearfully retaliated upon that district the injuries that had been inflicted upon his peaceable subjects. When, laden with spoil, he gave the order to retire, a part of his army, chiefly Kentish men, disobeyed him. They were, consequently, left behind in the enemy's country, and, while busily engaged in adding to their already rich booty, were suddenly and furiously set upon by the Danes. The battle was obstinate on both sides. In the end the Danes were victorious; but though they remained masters of the field of battle, they lost their bravest leaders, and among them the original promoter of the war, Ethelwold himself. The East Anglians were now glad to accept the terms of peace offered to them by the king; and he, having now nothing to fear from them, turned his whole attention to subduing the Danes of Northumberland. He accordingly fitted out a fleet, under the impression that, by carrying the war to their own coast, he would, infallibly, compel them to refrain from plundering his people, by the necessity they would experience of staying at home to defend their own property. But the consequence of this manœuvre was the direct contrary to what the king had, and not illogically either, supposed it would be. They judged that the king's fleet carried the main armed strength of England; and, trusting the safety of their own property to concealment and the chapter of accidents, they no sooner saw the royal fleet appear off their coast than they made a land incursion upon the English. But they, too, had reasoned with more seeming than real correctness.

Edward was fully prepared to meet them by land as well as by sea; and he attacked them at Tetenhall, in Staffordshire, put a great number of them to the sword, recovered the whole of the spoils they had taken from his subjects, and drove all those of them who escaped death or captivity, in a most desolate and poverty-stricken state, into their own country.

During the whole remainder of Edward's reign he was engaged with one party or another of the English Danes. But he chastised each party severely in its turn; and, by constant care and unsparing liberality, he fortified Chester, Warwick, Colchester, and many other cities, so strongly, as to leave them little to fear from any sudden incursion of their persevering and rancorous enemies. In the end he vanquished the Northumbrians, the East Anglians, the British tribes of Wales nearest to his frontiers; and compelled the Scots, who had recently been very troublesome, to submit to him. He was much aided in his various projects by his sister Ethelfleda, widow of the Mercian earl Ethelbert, who was a woman of masculine genius as well as masculine habits and feelings.

Upon the whole, though the reign of Edward the Elder was a victorious, it can scarcely be called a fortunate one; for in it many of those Danes who had long lived in habits of peace returned to their old taste for plundering, and so many battles fought in his own country could not, even when he was the most signally victorious, be otherwise than injurious to both the prosperity and the morals of his people.

Edward died in 925. We have already remarked upon the unsettled state of the law of succession to the throne in that age. Another instance of it occurred now. Edward left legitimate children, but they were of years far too tender to admit of their assuming the reins of government, under any circumstances, and especially so in the then imminent danger of England being again convulsed by the Danes. The chief people of the nation therefore passed those young children by, and gave the throne to Athelstan, an illegitimate son of the deceased monarch. But though Athelstan had the general suffrages of the great men, there were some exceptions. Among those was Alfred, a Saxon nobleman of great influence and popularity, who endeavoured to organise an armed opposition to the new king. But the king's suspicion fell upon this nobleman before his conspiracy was ripe for execution, and he was seized and charged with the offence, or rather with the intent of offending. He by some means ascertained, or he boldly presumed, that the king, however vehemently he might suspect him, had in reality no tangible evidence, and he offered to clear himself of the imputed crime by an oath taken before the pope. Such was the awful respect in which the pope was then held, and such was his sanctity supposed to be, that it was finally and universally believed that the fate of Ananias and Sapphira would inevitably befall any one who should dare to make oath falsely in his presence. This belief, absurd as it was, had singular corroboration given to it by the fate of this Alfred. He was permitted to purge his guilt in the way proposed by himself, and he took the required oath in the presence of pope John: but had scarcely pronounced the words dictated to him ere he fell into convulsions, in which he continued till his death, which occurred in three days. This story has been spoken of as being a pure monkish invention. We think differently. The monks frequently did exaggerate and even invent, but that is

no reason for assuming their guiltiness of like conduct where there is no proof against them, and where, without attaching the slightest consequence to the alleged sanctity of the pope's person, we can explain the actual occurrence of the event by a simple physical cause. Men have maddened on the instant at beholding some horrible sight; others have grown grey in a single night of intense and harrowing mental agony; why then should we suppose it impossible that the awful feelings incident to such a situation as that of Alfred should produce sudden epilepsy and subsequent death?

The result was as fortunate for Athelstan as it was disastrous to Alfred. The king was freed from the opposition of a noble who might have been very troublesome to him, and the manner of that noble's death was to all ranks of men a most convincing proof not only that Alfred had been doubly guilty, first of conspiracy and then of perjury, but also that the king was the rightful possessor of the crown, and that to dispute his right was to incur all Alfred's danger and much of Alfred's guilt. The king took care to strengthen and confirm this feeling by confiscating the whole of Alfred's property, as though his death, under the circumstances, were tantamount to a judicial sentence; and, as he prudently bestowed this large property upon the already wealthy monastery of Malmsbury, he made the fall of a single powerful enemy the immediate means of securing the friendship of an infinitely more powerful corporation.

Having thus become free from what at first seemed a very imminent peril, Athelstan turned his attention to quieting the Northumbrian Danes, who just at this time were very discontented under the English rule. On his arrival he saw reason to believe that he could better secure their obedience by giving them a tributary prince of their own race than by the utmost severity; and he accordingly gave the title of king of Northumberland to Sithric, a powerful Danish chieftain, to whom he also gave the hand of his own sister Editha. But, though this was sagacious, and seemed to be especially safe policy, it gave rise to considerable difficulty. Sithric, who was a widower when honoured with the hand of Editha, died about a year after this second marriage, and Anlaf and Godefrid, his sons by the former marriage, assumed the sovereignty of Northumberland, as a matter of permanent and settled hereditary tenure, and not of the king's favour and conferred during his pleasure. Highly offended at this presumption of the young men, Athelstan speedily ejected them from their assumed sovereignty. Anlaf took shelter in Ireland and Godefrid in Scotland, where he was very kindly and honourably treated by Constantine, then king of that country.

Athelstan, on learning that the presumptuous Dane, who was so likely to prove a troublesome enemy to him, was protected by Constantine, importuned him to put his guest into the English power. Desirous of avoiding, if possible, an open quarrel with so powerful a prince as Athelstan, the Scottish monarch gave a feigned consent to a proposal which it was almost as infamous to make as it would have been to have complied with; but he gave Godefrid private intimation which enabled him to get to sea, where, after making himself dreaded as a pirate, he at length finished his life.

Athelstan, who, probably, was well informed by spies at the Scottish court of the part which Constantine had taken in aiding the escape of Godefrid, marched a numerous army into Scotland, and so much distressed that country, that Constantine found himself obliged to make his submission in order to save his country and himself from total ruin. Whether his submission went to the extent of Constantine's actually acknowledging himself to hold his crown in real vassalage to the king, which some historians stoutly affirm and others just as stoutly deny, or whether it went no farther than apology and satisfaction for actual offence given, certain it is that Constantine took the earliest and most open opportunity of showing that he looked upon the king of England in any other rather than a friendly light. For, when Anlaf, brother of Constantine's deceased protégé, had gotten together a body of Welsh malcontents and Danish pirates, Constantine joined forces with him, and they led an immense body of marauders into England. Undismayed by the numbers of the invaders, Athelstan marched his army against them, and, chiefly owing to the valour and conduct of Turketul, the then chancellor of England, the invaders were completely routed. In this battle, which was fought near Brunanburgh in Northumberland, a great number of the Welsh and Danish leaders perished, and Anlaf and the Scottish king, after losing a great part of their force, were barely able to effect their own escape.

It is said, that on the eve of this great battle Anlaf was the hero of an adventure in the English camp, like that of Alfred the Great in the camp of Guthrum the Dane. Habited like a minstrel, he approached the English camp, and his music was so much admired by the soldiers, that they obtained him admission to the king's tent, where he played during the royal repast, so much to the delight of the king and his nobles, that on being dismissed he received a very handsome present. Too politic to betray his disguise by refusing the present, the noble Dane was also far too haughty to retain it; and as soon as he believed himself out of the reach of observation, he buried it in the earth. One of Athelstan's soldiers, who had formerly fought under the banner of Anlaf, had at the very first sight imagined that he saw his old chief under the disguise of a minstrel. In the desire to ascertain if his suspicion were correct, he followed Anlaf from the royal tent, and his suspicion was changed into conviction when he saw a professedly poor and wandering minstrel burying the king's rich gift. He accordingly warned the king that his daring enemy had been in his tent. At first the king was very angry that the soldier had not made

this discovery while there was yet time to have seized upon the pretended minstrel; but the soldier nobly replied, that having served under Anlaf, he could not think of betraying him to ruin, any more than he now could peril the safety of Athelstan himself by neglecting to warn him of Anlaf's espionage. To such a mode of reasoning there could be no reply save that of admiring praise. Having dismissed the soldier, Athelstan pondered on the probable consequence of this stealthy visit paid to his tent by Anlaf; and it having struck him that it was very likely to be followed by a night attack, he immediately had his tent removed. The bishops of that day were to the full as brave and as fond of war as the laity, and on that very night a bishop arrived with an armed train to the aid of his sovereign. The prelate took up the station which the king had vacated; and at night the king's suspicion was verified with great exactitude. A sudden attack was made upon the camp, and the enemy, disdaining all meaner prey, rushed straight to the tent which they supposed to be occupied by the king; where the belligerent bishop and his immediate attendants were butchered before they had time to prepare for their defence.

The decisive battle of Brunanburgh gave Athelstan peace from the Danes, and he devoted the remainder of his reign to wise and active endeavours to improve the character and condition of his subjects. Several of his laws were well calculated to that end, and there was one which peculiarly entitles him, even without any reference to the barbarism of the age in which he made it, to the character of a profound and sagacious thinker. Anxious to encourage a mercantile spirit among his subjects, he ordained by this law that any merchant who on his own adventure should make three sea voyages should, as a reward, be promoted to the rank of a thane or gentle.

After an extremely active and prosperous reign, upon which, however, his endeavour to persuade the Scottish king into the commission of an act of the foulest treachery has left one dark and indelible stain, though the only one, this king died in the year 941, and was succeeded by his half-brother Edmund, the legitimate son of Edward the Elder.

Stimulated by the accession of a new king, and the unsettled state of things naturally connected with a new reign, the Danes of Northumberland broke out into rebellion against Edmund as soon as he had ascended the throne. But Edmund marched so promptly against them, and at the head of so imposing a force, that they met him with assurances of the most humble and permanent submission, and even voluntarily offered to prove their sincerity, as Guthrum and his followers had formerly done to Alfred, by becoming Christians. Edmund accepted their submission, but he wisely judged that the submission extorted by an armed force was not likely to last much longer than the fear which that force awakened; and he therefore removed the five Burgher Danes from the Mercian towns in which they had been allowed to settle. A wise precaution; as they had invariably taken advantage of their situation to aid rebellious or invading Danes to penetrate into the very heart of the kingdom.

Cumberland, in the hands of the Welsh Britons, had been on many occasions a sore annoyance to the northern portion of the English dominion, and Edmund took an opportunity to wrest it from the Britons and to bestow it as a military fief on Scotland, that power accepting it on condition of protecting the northern part of England from Danish incursion.

Edmund's active and useful reign had only endured six years, when he was murdered under circumstances which give us a strange notion of the domestic habits of royalty at that day. He was seated at a banquet, at Gloucester, when an infamous robber, named Leolf, whom he had some time before condemned to banishment, entered the hall of banquet, and seated himself at the royal table with as cool an assurance as though he had been a favoured as well as an innocent and loyal subject. The king angrily ordered the fellow from the room, and, on receiving some insolent refusal, seized him by the throat and endeavoured to thrust him out. Whether the ruffian had from the first intended to assassinate the king, or whether the king's strength and passion alarmed the robber for his own life, is uncertain; but, from whichever cause, Leolf suddenly drew his dagger and killed the king on the spot: A.D. 946.

Edmund was succeeded by his brother Edred; another instance of irregularity in the succession, as Edmund left children, but so young that they were deemed unfit for the throne; and it would seem that the mutual jealousy of the Saxon nobles as yet prevented them from thinking of a temporary regency, as a means at once of preserving the direct order of succession, and remedying the nonage of the direct heir to the crown. The new king had no sooner ascended his throne than the Danes of Northumberland proved how justly Athelstan had judged of their sincerity, by breaking the peace to which they had so solemnly pledged themselves. But Edred advancing upon them with a numerous army, they met him with the same submissive aspect which had disarmed the wrath of his predecessor. The king, however, was so much provoked at their early disobedience to him, that he would not allow their humility to prevent him from inflicting a severe punishment upon them. He, accordingly, put many of them to the sword, and plundered and burned their country to a considerable extent; and then, his wrath appeased, he consented to receive their oath of allegiance and withdrew his troops. Scarcely had he done so when these ever-faithless people again broke out into rebellion, perhaps prompted on this particular occasion less by any merely mischievous feeling, than by the real and terrible distress to which the king's severity had reduced them. This new revolt was, however, speedily quelled, and he appointed an English go-

vernor of Northumberland, and placed garrisons in all the chief towns to enable him to support his authority. Edred about this time also made Malcolm of Scotland repeat his homage for his fief of Northumberland. Though Edred, as his conduct thus early in his reign demonstrated, was both a brave and an active prince, he was extremely superstitious. He delighted to be surrounded by priests; and to his especial favourite Dunstan,* abbot of Canterbury, he not only committed some of the most influential and important offices of the state, but also, to a very ridiculous extent, surrendered the guidance of his own common sense. Of a haughty temper, and extremely ambitious, this monk, in order to have tools for the accomplishment of his wide-spreading purposes of self-aggrandisement, introduced into England a great number of a new order of monks, the Benedictines, who, laying a stress upon celibacy beyond that laid by any former order, and professing generally a more rigid way of life and a greater purity of heart, were, in truth, the mere tools of the vast and still increasing ambition of Rome, to which the practice of celibacy among the priesthood was especially favourable, as they who thus debarred themselves from conjugal and paternal ties could not fail to be more willing and passive servants.

To introduce this new and entirely subservient order of monks into England was greatly desired by the pope; and the ambitious policy of Dunstan, and his almost despotic power over the superstitious mind of Edred, afforded full opportunity for doing so. The influence of Dunstan, indeed, was very great over the people as well as over the king; though he commenced life under circumstances which would have ruined a man of less determined ambition, and of less pliant and accomplished hypocrisy than his. Of noble birth, and enjoying the great advantage of having been educated by his uncle, the accomplished Adhelm, archbishop of Canterbury, he entered the church early in life, but with so little of real vocation to the sacred profession, that his way of life procured him a most unenviable character; and king Edmund, in whose reign this famous saint of the Romish calendar commenced his career, looked coldly upon a priest whose debauchery was represented to be such as would disgrace even a layman. Enraged at finding his ambition thus suddenly checked, he was not the less determined that the check should be but temporary. Affecting to be suddenly stricken with penitence and shame, he secluded himself, at first from the court, and then altogether from society. He had a cell made for his residence, of such scant dimensions, that he could neither stand fully upright in it, nor stretch himself out at full length when sleeping; and in this miserable dwelling, if dwelling it can be called, he perpetually turned from prayer to manual labour, and from manual labour to prayer, during all his hours, except the very few which he allowed himself for sleep. The austerity of his life imposed upon the imaginations of the superstitious people, who considered austerity the surest of all proofs of sanctity; and when, whether in mere and unmingled hypocrisy, or in part hypocrisy and part self-delusion, he pretended to be frequently visited and tempted by Satan in person, his tale found greedy listeners and ready believers. From one degree of absurdity to another is but an easy step for vulgar credulity. It being once admitted that Satan, provoked or grieved by the immaculate life and fervent piety of the recluse, visited him to tempt him into sin, what difficulty could there be in supposing that the recluse resisted a long time only with prayer, but at length resorted to physical force, and held the fiend by the nose with a red-hot pair of tongs, until he shrieked aloud with agony, and promised to abstain for the future from his unholy importunity? Such was the tale which Dunstan, the recluse, had the audacity to offer to public belief, and such was the tale to which the public listened with attentive ears, and gave 'faith and full credence.' When a long seclusion, and carefully circulated rumours of his piety and self-mortification, had done away with the ill impressions which had been excited by wilder, but, in reality, far less censurable conduct of his earlier days, Dunstan once more made his appearance at court; and, as Edred was deeply tinged with superstitious feeling, the priest was kindly received at first, and very soon favoured and promoted above all the other courtiers. Raised to the direction of the treasury, and being, moreover, the king's private adviser in all important concerns, Dunstan had immense power and influence, which he used to advance the great object of Rome in substituting the devoted monks for the comparatively independent secular clergy, who, having family ties and affections, were not sufficiently prostrate or blindly obedient to suit the papal purpose. During nine years—the length of Edred's reign—the monks made immense progress in England. They enlisted the feelings of the people on their side by their severe and passionate declamations against the worldly lives, and especially against the marriage, of the secular clergy, whose wives they persisted in calling by the opprobrious name of concubines. And though the secular clergy, who possessed both talent and wealth, exerted themselves manfully, not only to defend their own lives, but also to expose the hypocrisy, pretended purity, and actual and even shameful worldliness and sensuality of their opponents, the power and credit of Dunstan weighed fearfully against them. The death of Edred, which occurred in 955, revived their hopes, and threatened to stop the progress of the monks, and to lower the credit of their patron, Dunstan.

The children of Edred were still in their infancy when he died; and his nephew, Edmund's son Edwy, who had himself been passed over in favour of Edred on the same

* Compare the life of Dunstan as given by Lappenberg, History of England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings, vol. ii. p. 129, &c

account, now succeeded to the throne. He was at the time of his accession only about seventeen years of age, and blessed with a fine person and a powerful and well-trained mind. But all his natural and acquired good qualities were rendered of but little use to him by the enmity of the monks, with whom he had a serious quarrel at the very commencement of his career.

Opposed to the marriage of clerks altogether, the monks were scarcely less hostile to the marriage of laics within the degrees of affinity forbidden by the canon law. Edwy, passionately in love with the princess Elgiva, to whom he was related within those degrees, was too inexperienced to perceive all the evils that might result to both himself and the fair Elgiva from his provoking the fierce, bigoted, and now very powerful monks; and in despite of all the advice and warnings of the ecclesiastics he espoused her. The coarse and violent censure which the monks took occasion to pass upon the marriage aggravated the dislike which, on account of their gloom and severity, Edwy had always felt to the monks, whom he took every occasion to disappoint in their endeavours to possess themselves of the convents belonging to the secular clergy.

If the king had disliked the monks, the monks now hated the king with a most bitter hatred. By his marriage he had offended their rigid bigotry, by his favour to the seculars he disappointed their avarice; and, favoured and advised as they were by a personage at once so able, crafty, audacious, and powerful as Dunstan, it needed not the spirit of prophecy to foresee that Edwy would infallibly be their victim.

As if to show that they were determined to carry their hatred to the utmost extent, they chose the very day of the coronation for their first manifestation of it. The Saxons, like their ancestors the ancient Germans, drank deep, and were wont to be but riotous and uncouth companions in their cups. Both from his youth and his natural temper, Edwy was averse to this rude and riotous wassail; and as his nobles, at his coronation feast, began to pass the bounds of temperance, he took an opportunity to quit the banqueting apartment and go to that of his young and lovely queen. He was instantly followed thither by the haughty and insolent Dunstan, and by Odo, archbishop of Canterbury. These presumptuous churchmen upbraided him in the most severe terms for his alleged uxoriousness, applied the coarsest epithets to the alarmed queen, and finished by thrusting him back into the scene of riot and drunkenness from which he had so lately escaped.

Edwy had not sufficient power and influence in his court to take immediate and direct revenge for this most flagrant and disgraceful insult; but he felt it too deeply to pass it over without visiting it, at the least, with indirect punishment. Aware that Dunstan was by no means the immaculate and unworldly person he was supposed to be by the ignorant multitude, and strongly suspecting that he had taken advantage of the weakness and superstition of Edred greatly to enrich himself, he desired him to give an account of his receipts and expenditure during that prince's reign. Dunstan, with characteristic insolence, refused to give any account of monies which he affirmed to have been expended by order of Edred, and which he, on that account, pretended that Edwy had no right to enquire about.

Enraged at the insolence of Dunstan, and yet not altogether displeased at being furnished with so good a pretext for ridding the court of the powerful and haughty ecclesiastic, Edwy urged this refusal against him as a certain proof of conscious malversation, and ordered him to leave the kingdom. Powerful as Dunstan was, he was not yet in a condition to dispute such an order; he could brutally insult the king, but he did not as yet dare openly to rebel against the kingly authority. He went abroad, therefore, but he left behind, in the person of Odo, the archbishop of Canterbury, one who was both qualified and willing to supply his place in brutality to the king personally, and in traitorous intrigue against his royal authority. Odo and the monks seized upon the banishment of Dunstan, richly as his conduct had merited a severer punishment, as a theme upon which to sound anew the praises of that accomplished hypocrite, and to blacken the character of the king and queen in the eyes of the people. In so bigoted and ignorant an age such tactics as these were sure to succeed; and having made the king hateful, as well as the queen, whom they represented as the wicked and artful seducer of her husband into evil conduct, both as a man and sovereign, Odo and his base tools at length ventured from whispered calumny and falsehood to violence the most undisguised, and to cruelty the most inhuman and detestable.

Considering their opposition to Edwy's marriage with his cousin to be the chief cause of his opposition to their interests, Odo and the monkish party hated the queen even more bitterly than they did the king himself. Proceeding to the palace with a strong guard, Odo seized upon the lovely queen, branded her face with hot irons to efface those charms which had wrought so much evil to the ambitious churchmen, and carried her into Ireland, where it was intended that she should be kept under strict surveillance for the remainder of her life. Edwy was naturally both brave and passionate, but he was powerless in the hands of the wily monks as a lion in the toils of the hunters; he tenderly loved his unhappy queen, but he could neither save her from this horrible outrage, nor even punish her brutal and unmanly persecutors. Nay more, when Odo, after having tortured and exiled the queen, demanded that she should be formally divorced, so much more powerful was the crozier than the sceptre, that the unhappy Edwy was obliged to yield.

Brutally as Elgiva had been treated, the brutality of her enemies failed of its main object; though she suffered much from her

wounds, they, singularly enough, left scarcely a scar to diminish her rare beauty. Aware of the tyranny which had been practised to cause Edwy to divorce her, and considering herself still his lawful wife in the sight of Heaven, she eluded the vigilance of those who were appointed to watch her movements, and made her escape back to England. But before she could reach her husband her escape was made known to Odo, and she was intercepted on the road by a party of his emissaries, by whom she was hamstringed; and all surgical aid being denied her, she in a few days died, in the most fearful agonies, in the city of Gloucester. So completely monk-ridden were the ignorant people, that even this most detestable and unnatural cruelty, which ought to have caused one universal outcry against the miscreants who instigated it, was looked upon by the people merely as a punishment due to the sinful opposition of king and queen to the canon law and the holy monks.

Having gone as far as we have related, in treason, it cannot be wondered at that the monks now proceeded to arm for the dethronement of their unhappy king. They set up as his competitor his younger brother Edgar, who was at this time a youth of only thirteen or fourteen years of age; and they soon took possession, in his name, of East Anglia, Mercia, and Northumberland. Edwy was now confined to the southern counties of his kingdom; and to add to his danger and distress, his haughty and implacable enemy, Dunstan, openly returned to England to lend his powerful influence to Edgar in this unnatural civil strife. He was made bishop, first of Worcester and then of London, and, Odo dying, Dunstan was then promoted to the archbishopric of Canterbury; Brithelm, who had been first appointed to succeed Odo, being forcibly expelled for that purpose.

The consummate craft of Dunstan fearfully aggravated the evils of Edwy's condition, for the wily churchman caused him to be excommunicated, a sentence which in that rude and ignorant age would have sufficed to crush a far more powerful monarch than he had been, even before rebellion had divided his kingdom.

If we may judge from the unrelenting purpose shown by Dunstan, the utter dethronement of Edwy, and his exile, or violent death, would have been the sole termination of this disgraceful affair; but from the sin of his murder his enemies were spared by his untimely and rather sudden death, hastened no doubt by the miseries of which he had constantly been the victim.

Edgar, for whom for their own purposes Dunstan and the monks had usurped a part of the kingdom, now became the undisputed sovereign of the whole. Though very young at this time, being only in the seventeenth year of his age, this prince showed a profound, wily, and politic genius. Desirous of consolidating and improving his kingdom, and of procuring it a high degree of credit among foreign nations, he seems to have clearly perceived that he could only preserve the internal peace which was indispensable to his purposes, by keeping the favour of Dunstan and the monks, of whose power he had seen so many proofs in the case of his unfortunate brother. Well knowing their eager desire to wrest all the religious property of the kingdom from the hands of the secular clergy, he bestowed church preferment on the partisans of the monks exclusively. To Oswald and Ethelwold, two of the creatures of Dunstan, he gave the valuable sees of Worcester and Winchester; and he consulted them, and especially Dunstan, not merely upon those affairs which more especially concerned the church, but even in many cases upon those of a purely civil nature. By this general subserviency to the ecclesiastics, Edgar secured so strong an interest with them, that even when he occasionally differed from them, and preferred the dictates of his own strong sense to their bigoted or interested advice, he was allowed to proceed without any angry feeling, or at least, without any open opposition. There was a most startling difference in the treatment bestowed by the monks upon this prince, and that which they inflicted upon his unhappy brother. As the monks founded their claim to the veneration of mankind upon their superior piety, and more especially upon their inviolable observance of their vow of chastity, so they had made the alleged lewdness of Edwy the excuse for their abominable treatment of that prince and queen Elgiva. Yet if lewdness had indeed been so hateful to them as to impel them to barbarity towards a lovely and defenceless woman, and to rebellion and treason towards their sovereign, Edgar was tenfold more deserving their violent opposition than even their own statements showed Edwy to be. The lewdness of Edgar, after his pliant and politic subserviency to the monks, was the most distinguishing trait in his character. On one occasion he actually broke into a convent, seized a nun, by name Editha, and forcibly violated her. For this twofold outrage against chastity and religion, the hypocrite Dunstan, who had mutilated Elgiva, and persecuted Edwy even to his untimely grave, merely for a marriage which was at worst irregular, and which a bull from the pope would have made regular, sentenced Edgar to the absurdly puerile punishment of abstaining for seven years from wearing his crown!

As if to make the favour shown to him by the monks quite conclusive, as to the hypocrisy of the pretences upon which they had persecuted his unfortunate brother, this prince not merely indulged in disgraceful amours, he actually obtained his second wife by murder! The story is sufficiently striking in itself to deserve to be related at some length, but it demands to be so related as a final and conclusive proof of the utter hypocrisy of the monks in their gross and barbarous treatment of king Edwy.

Elfrida, daughter and heiress of the earl of Devonshire, was so extremely beautiful that it was no wonder the renown of her charms reached the court, and the inflammable Edgar resolved that if report had not exaggerated the beauty of the lady, he would make her his wife; the wealth, pow

er, and character of her father forbidding even the unscrupulous and lewd Edgar from hoping to obtain her on any less honourable terms. Being anxious not to commit himself by any advances to the parents of the lady until quite sure that she was really as surpassingly beautiful as she was reported to be, he sent his favourite and confidant, the earl Athelwood, to visit the earl of Devon as if by mere accident, that he might judge whether the charms of Elfrida really were such as would adorn the throne. Earl Athelwold fulfilled his mission very faithfully, as regarded the visit, but, unhappily for himself, he found the charms of Elfrida so much to his own taste, that he forgot the curiosity of his master and sued the lady on his own account. Well knowing that with the king for an avowed rival his suit would have little chance of success, his first care was to lull the eager anxiety of Edgar by assuring him that in this case, as in most cases, rumour with her thousand tongues had been guilty of the grossest exaggeration, and that the wealth and rank of Elfrida had caused her to be renowned for charms so moderate, that in a woman of lower degree they would never be noticed. But though the charms of Elfrida, earl Athelwold added, by no means fitted her for the throne, her fortune would make her a very acceptable countess for himself, should the consent and recommendation of his gracious master accompany his suit to her parents.

Fully believing that his favourite really was actuated only by mercenary views, Edgar cheerfully gave him the permission and recommendation he solicited, and in quality of a favoured courtier he easily procured the consent of the lady—to whom he had already made himself far from indifferent—and of her parents. He had scarcely become possessed of his beautiful bride when he began to reflect upon what would be the probable consequences of a detection by the king of the fraud that had been practised to gain his consent to the marriage. In order to postpone this detection as long as possible, he framed a variety of pretences for keeping his lovely bride at a distance from the court; and as his report of the homeliness of Elfrida had completely cooled the fancy of the king, earl Athelwold began to hope that his deceit would never be discovered. But the old adage that 'a favourite has no friends' was proved in his case; enemies desirous of ruining him made his fraud known to the king, and spoke more rapturously than ever of the charms of Elfrida. Enraged at the deception practised upon him, but carefully dissembling his real motives and purpose, the king told Athelwold that he would pay him a visit and be introduced to his wife. To such an intimation the unfortunate earl could make no objection which would not wholly and at once betray his perilous secret; but he obtained permission to precede the king, under pretence of making due preparation to receive him, but in reality to prevail upon Elfrida to disguise her beauty and rusticate her behaviour as far as possible. This she promised, and probably at first intended to do. But, on reflection, she considered herself injured by the deception which had cost her the throne, and, so far from complying with her unfortunate husband's desire, she called to the aid of her charms all the assistance of the most becoming dress, and all the seductions of the most graceful and accomplished behaviour. Fascinated with her beauty, Edgar was beyond all expression enraged at the deceit by which his favourite had contrived to cheat him of a wife so lovely; and having enticed the unfortunate earl into a forest on a hunting excursion, he put him to death with his own hand, and soon after married Elfrida, whose perfidy to her murdered husband made her, indeed, a very fit spouse for the murderer.

Though much of this monarch's time was devoted to dissolute pleasures, he by no means neglected public business, more especially of that kind which procured him the indulgence of the monks for all his worst vices.

Much as the monks and the king had done towards wresting the church property from the hands of the secular clergy, much still remained to be done; and Edgar, doubtless acting upon the advice of Dunstan, summoned a council, consisting of the prelates and heads of religious orders. To this council he made a passionate speech in reprobation of the dissolute and scandalous lives which he affirmed to be notoriously led by the secular clergy: their neglect of clerical duty; their openly living with concubines, for so he called their wives; their participation in hunting and other sports of the laity; and—singular fault to call forth the declamation of a king and employ the wisdom of a solemn council—the smallness of their tonsure! Affecting to blame Dunstan for having by too much lenity in some sort encouraged the disorders of the secular clergy, the accomplished dissembler supposed the pious Edred to look down from heaven, and thus to speak:

'It was by your advice, Dunstan, that I founded monasteries, built churches, and expended my treasures in the support of religion and religious houses. You were my counsellor and my assistant in all my schemes; you were the director of my conscience; to you I was in all things obedient. When did you call for supplies which I refused you? Was my assistance ever withheld from the poor? Did I deny establishments and support to the convents and the clergy? Did I not hearken to your instructions when you told me that these charities were, beyond all others, the most grateful to my Maker, and did I not in consequence fix a perpetual fund for the support of religion? And are all our pious endeavours now to be frustrated by the dissolute lives of the clergy? Not that I throw any blame upon you; you have reasoned, besought, inculcated, and inveighed, but it now behoves you to use sharper and more vigorous remedies; and, *conjoining your spiritual authority with the civil power, to purge effectually the temple of God from thieves and intruders.*'

The words which we give in Italics were decisive as to the whole question; the innocence of the secular clergy, as a body, could avail them nothing against this union of civil power and spiritual authority, backed and cheered as that union was by the people, whom the hypocritical pretences of the monks had made sincerely favourable to those affected purists; and the monkish discipline shortly prevailed in nearly every religious house in the land.

Much as all honourable minds must blame the means by which Edgar preserved the favour of the formidable monks, all candid minds must award him the praise of having made good use of the power he thus preserved in his own hands. He not only kept up a strong and well-disciplined land force, in constant readiness to defend any part of his kingdom that might be attacked, but he also built and kept up an excellent navy, the vigilance and strength of which greatly diminished the chance of any such attack being made. Awed by his navy, the Danes abroad dared not attempt to invade his country; and constantly watched and kept in check by his army, the domestic Danes perceived that turbulence on their part could produce no effect but their own speedy and utter ruin. His neighbours of Scotland, Wales, Ireland, and the adjacent isles, held him in equal respect; and, upon the whole, no king of England ever showed himself either more desirous or more able to preserve to his kingdom the invaluable benefits of peace at home and respect abroad. In proof of the extent to which he carried his ascendancy over the neighbouring and tributary princes, it is affirmed that being at Chester, and desiring to visit the abbey of St. John the Baptist, in the neighbourhood of that city, he actually caused his barge to be rowed thither by eight of those princes, including Kenneth the Third, king of Scotland.

The useful arts received a great impulse during this reign by the encouragement given by Edgar to ingenious and industrious foreigners to settle among his subjects. Another benefit which he conferred upon his kingdom was that of the extirpation of wolves, which at the commencement of his reign were very numerous and mischievous. By giving rewards to those who put these animals to death, they were at length hunted into the mountainous and woody country of Wales, and in order that even there so mischievous a race might find no peace, he commuted the money tribute due from Wales to England to a tribute of three hundred wolves' heads to be sent to him annually, which policy speedily caused their utter destruction. After a busy reign of sixteen years this prince, still in the flower of his age, being only thirty-three, died, and was succeeded by his son Edward in the year 975.

CHAPTER IX.

From the Accession of Edward the Martyr to the Death of Canute.

Edward II., subsequently surnamed the Martyr, though his death had nothing to do with religion, was the son of Edgar by that prince's first wife, and was only fifteen years of age when he succeeded to the throne. His youth encouraged his stepmother, Elfrida, to endeavour to set aside his succession in favour of her own son and his half-brother, Ethelred, who at this time was only seven years old. This extremely bad woman pretended that the marriage of her husband to his first wife was on several accounts invalid, and as her beauty and art had been very successfully exerted in securing favour during the life of Edgar, she would probably have succeeded in her iniquitous design had the circumstances been less favourable to Edward. But though that prince was very young, he was at least much nearer to the age for reigning than his half-brother; the will of his father expressly gave him the succession; many of the principal men of the kingdom imagined that the regency of Elfrida would be an extremely tyrannical one; and Dunstan, who was in the plenitude of his power, and who reckoned upon the favour and docility of young Edward, powerfully supported him, and crowned him at Kingston, before Elfrida could bring her ambitious plans to maturity.

The prompt and energetic support thus given by Dunstan to the rightful heir would entitle him to our unqualified applause, were there not good and obvious reason to believe that it originated less in a sense of justice than in anxiety for the interests of his own order. In spite of the heavy blows and great discouragement of Edgar, the secular clergy had still many and powerful friends. Among these was the duke of Mercia, who no sooner ascertained the death of king Edgar, than he expelled all the monks from the religious houses in Mercia, and though they were received and protected by the dukes of the East Saxons and the East Anglians, it was clear to both Dunstan and the monks that there was a sufficient dislike to the new order of ecclesiastics, to render it very important that they should have a king entirely favourable to them. And as Dunstan had watched and trained Edward's mind from his early childhood, they well knew that he would prove their fittest instrument. But though they had thus secured the throne to a king as favourable and docile as they could desire, they left no means untried to gain the voices of the multitude. At the occasional synods that were held for the settlement of ecclesiastical disputes, they pretended that miracles were worked in their favour; and, in the ignorant state of the people, that party who could work or invoke the most miracles was sure to be the most popular. On one of these occasions a voice that seemed to issue from the great crucifix which adorned the place of meeting, proclaimed that he who opposed the establishment of the monks opposed the will of Heaven; on another occasion the floor of the hall fell in, killing and maiming a great number of persons, but that portion which supported the chair of Dunstan remained firm; and on another occasion, when the

votes of the synod were so unexpectedly against him that he was unprovided with a miracle for the occasion, Dunstan rose, and, with an inimitably grave impudence, assured the meeting that he had just been favoured with a direct revelation from Heaven in favour of the monks. So utterly stultified was the general mind, that the populace received this impudent falsehood with so much fervent favour, that the party hostile to the monks actually dared not support any farther the view of the question upon which they had a clear and acknowledged majority!

Edward's reign deserves little further mention. No great event, good or evil, marked it; he was, in fact, merely in a state of pupilage during the four years that it lasted. Having an excellent disposition, it is probable that had he lived to mature years he would have shaken off the benumbing and deluding influence of the monkish party. But in the fourth year of his reign, and while he was yet barely nineteen years of age, he fell a victim to his atrocious stepmother's cruelty and ambition. Notwithstanding the hostility she had evinced towards him at the death of his father, young Edward's mild temper had caused him to show her the respect and attention which she was very far indeed from deserving. She resided at Corfe castle, in Dorsetshire; and as the young prince was one day hunting in that neighbourhood, he rode away from his company, and, wholly unattended, paid her a visit. She received him with a treacherous appearance of kindness, but just as he had mounted his horse to depart, a ruffian in her employment stabbed him in the back. The wound did not prove instantly mortal, but as he fainted from loss of blood ere he could disengage his feet from the stirrups, his frightened horse galloped onward with him, and he was bruised to death. His servants having traced him, recovered his body, which they privately interred at Warcham.

By this surpassing crime of his vile stepmother, who vainly, even in that superstitious age, endeavoured to recover the public favour, and expiate her crime in public opinion, by ostentatious penances and by lavishing money upon monasteries, Ethelred, son of Edgar and Elfrida, succeeded to the throne.

The Danes, who had been kept in awe by the vigour of Edgar, and who, moreover, had found ample employment in conquering and planting settlements on the northern coast of France, a resource which their numbers had exhausted, were encouraged by the minority of Ethelred to turn their attention once more towards England, where they felt secure of receiving encouragement and aid from the men of their own race, who, though long settled among the English, were by no means fully incorporated with them. In the year 981 the Danes accordingly made an experimental descent upon Southampton, in seven vessels; and, as they took the people completely by surprise, they secured considerable plunder, with which they escaped uninjured and almost unopposed. This conduct they repeated in 987, with similar success, on the western coast.

The success of these two experiments convinced the marauders that the vigour of an Edgar was no longer to be dreaded in England, and they therefore prepared to make a descent upon a larger scale and with more extensive views. They landed in great numbers on the coast of Essex, and defeated and slew, at Maldon, Brithric, the duke of that county, who bravely attempted to resist them with his local force; and after their victory they devastated and plundered all the neighbouring country. So soon and so easily does a people degenerate when neglected by its rulers, that Ethelred and his nobles could see no better means of ridding themselves of these fierce pirates than that of bribing them to depart. They demanded and received, as the price of their departure, an enormous sum. They departed accordingly, but, as might have been anticipated, so large a sum so easily earned tempted them very speedily to repeat their visit. By this time a fleet had been prepared at London fully capable of resisting and beating off the invaders, but it was prevented from doing the service that was expected from it by the treachery of Alfric, duke of Mercia. He had formerly been banished and deprived of his possessions and dignity; and though he had now for some time been fully restored, the affront rankled in his mind, and he conceived the unnatural desire of insuring his own safety and importance by aiding the foreign enemy to keep his country in a state of disorder and alarm. He was intrusted with one squadron of a fleet with which it was intended to surround and destroy the enemy in the harbour in which they had ventured to anchor; and he basely gave the enemy information in time to enable them to avoid the danger by putting out to sea again, and then completed his infamous treachery by joining them with his whole squadron. The behaviour of the king on this occasion was equally marked by barbarity and weakness. On hearing of Alfric's traitorous conduct, he had that nobleman's son Alfgar seized, and caused his eyes to be put out; yet, after inflicting this horrible cruelty upon the innocent son, he so far succumbed to the power and influence of the guilty father, as actually to reinstate him in his office and possessions.

A.D. 993.—The experience the Danes had acquired of the weakness of Ethelred and the defenceless condition of his kingdom, encouraged them to make new and still more formidable descents. Sweyn, king of Denmark, and Olave, king of Norway, sailed up the Humber with an immense fleet, laying waste and plundering in every direction. Those of the Danes, and they were but few, who refused to join the invaders, were plundered equally with the English. An army advanced to give battle; and so fierce was the contest, that the Danes were already beginning to give way, when the tide of fortune was suddenly turned against the English by the treachery of Frena, Frithegist, and Godwin, three leaders, who, though of Danish descent

were intrusted with large and important commands. These men withdrew their troops, and the English were in consequence defeated.

The invaders now entered the Thames with a fleet of upwards of ninety ships, and laid siege to London. Alarmed for their large wealth, the citizens defended themselves with a stoutness strongly contrasted with the pusillanimity which had been displayed by both the king and the nobles, and their resistance was so obstinate that the pirates at length gave up the attempt in despair. But though they abandoned the metropolis of the kingdom, they did not therefore give up their determination to plunder. Spreading their bands over Essex, Sussex, and Hants, they not only procured large booty there, but also a sufficient number of horses to enable them to extend their depredations far inland. It might have been supposed that, after the noble example set by the traders of London, the king and his nobles would be prevented by very shame from ever again resorting to the paltry and impolitic scheme of purchasing the absence of the invaders: but to that expedient they did resort. Messengers were sent to offer to subsist the invaders if they would preserve peace while they remained in the kingdom, and to pay tribute on condition of their taking an early departure. The Danes, wily as they were hardy, probably imagined that they had now so far exhausted the kingdom that the tribute offered to them would be more valuable than the further spoil they would be likely to obtain, and they readily accepted the proposed terms. They took up their abode at Southampton, and there conducted themselves very peaceably. Olave carried his complaisance so far as to pay a visit to Ethelred, at Andover, and received the rite of confirmation. Many rich gifts were consequently bestowed upon him by the king and the prelates, and the sum of sixteen thousand pounds having been paid to him and Sweyn, they took their departure. Olave, who never returned to England, was so great a favourite with the churchmen that he was honoured with a place among the saints in the Roman calendar.

A.D. 997.—The repeated proofs Ethelred had given of his willingness to purchase the absence of pirates rather than battle against them, produced, as was natural, a new invasion. A large fleet of the Danes this year entered the Severn. Wales was spoiled for miles, and thence the pirates proceeded to commit similar atrocities upon the unfortunate people of Cornwall and Devonshire. Thence the marauders went first to Dorsetshire, then to Hants, then Kent, where the inhabitants opposed them at Rochester, but were routed with terrible slaughter, and the whole of their county was plundered and desolated. Many attempts were made by the braver and wiser among the English to concert such a united defence as would prevail against the enemy; but the weakness of the king and the nobles paralysed the best efforts of nobler spirits, and once more the old expedient was resorted to, and twenty-four thousand pounds were now paid as the price of the absence of the Danes, whose demands very naturally became higher with their increased experience of the certainty of their being complied with. It was probably with some vague hope that even an indirect connection with these formidable northmen would cause them to respect his dominions, that Ethelred, having lost his first wife, this year espoused Emma, sister of Richard the second duke of Normandy.

Long as the domestic Danes had now been established in England, they were still both a distinct and a detested race. The old English historians accuse them of effeminacy and luxuriousness; but as they instance as evidence of the truth of these charges, that the Danes combed their hair daily and bathed once a week, we may fairly enough acquit the Danes of all guilt on this head, and conclude that, rude and bad as the race was in many respects, they assuredly were superior to the English of that day in the very important matter of personal decency. But a dislike to men's personal habits, be it well or ill founded, is a very powerful motive in the increasing and perpetuation of hatred founded upon other feelings; and that hatred the English deeply felt for the Danes on account of the origin of their settlement among them, their great propensity to gallantry, and their great skill in making themselves agreeable to the English women; above all, on account of their constant and shamefully faithless habit of joining their invading fellow-countrymen in their violence and rapine. Ethelred, like all weak and cowardly people, was strongly inclined towards both cruelty and treachery, and the general detestation in which the Danes were held by the English encouraged him to plan the universal massacre of the former. Orders were secretly despatched to all the governors and chief men of the country to make all preparations for this detestable cruelty, for which the same day, November the 13th, being St. Brithric's day, a festival among the Danes, was appointed for the whole kingdom.

The wicked and dastardly orders of the king were but too agreeable to the temper of the populace. On the same day, and at the same hour, the unsuspecting Danes were attacked. Youth and age, without distinction of sex, were alike attacked with indiscriminate fury, and they were the most fortunate among the unhappy Danes whose butchers were so eager to destroy them that they omitted first to subject them to tortures terrible even to read of. So unsparing was the rage against them, and so blind to consequences were both high and low among the infuriated and temporarily triumphant English, that the princess Gunilda, sister to the redoutable king of Denmark, was put to death, after seeing her husband and children slaughtered though her personal character was excellent and though she had long been a Christian. As she expired, this unfortunate lady, whose murder was chiefly caused by the advice of Edric, earl of Wilts (which

advice was shamefully acted upon by the king, who himself ordered her death), foretold that her fate would speedily be avenged by the total ruin of England. In truth, it needed not the spirit of prophecy to foretell that such wholesale slaughter could scarcely fail to call down defeat and ruin upon a people who had so often been glad to purchase the absence of the Danes, when no such cowardly atrocity had excited them to invasion, or justified them in unsparing violence. The prophecy, however, was speedily and fearfully realised. Though the persuasions and example of Olave, and his positive determination to fulfil his part of the agreement made with Ethelred, had hitherto saved England from any repetition of the annoyances of Sweyn, king of Denmark, that fierce and warlike monarch had constantly felt a strong desire to renew his attack upon a people who were so much more ready to defend their country with gold than with steel. The cowardly cruelty of Ethelred now furnished the Dane with a most righteous pretext for invasion, and he hastened to avail himself of it. He appeared off the western coast with a strong fleet, and Exeter was delivered up to him without resistance; some historians say by the incapacity or neglect of earl Hugh, while others say by his treachery. This last opinion has some support in the fact that earl Hugh was himself a Norman, and, being only connected with England by the office to which he had but recently been appointed through the interest of the queen, he might, without great breach of charity, be suspected of leaning rather to the piratical race with which he was connected by birth, than to the English. From Exeter, as their head-quarters, the Danes traversed the country in all directions, committing all the worst atrocities of a war of retaliation, and loudly proclaiming their determination to have ample revenge for the slaughter of their fellow-countrymen. Aware, as soon as they had perpetrated their inhuman crime upon the domestic Danes, how little mercy they could expect at the hands of the countrymen of their murdered victims, the English had made more than usual preparations for resistance. A large and well furnished army was ready to march against the invaders, but the command of it was committed to that duke of Mercia whose former treason has been mentioned, and he, pretending illness, contrived to delay the march of the troops until they were thoroughly dispirited and the Danes had done enormous mischief. He died shortly after and was succeeded by Edric, who, though son-in-law to the king, proved just as treacherous as his predecessor. The consequence was, that the country was ravaged to such an extent that the horrors of famine were soon added to the horrors of war, and the degraded English once more sued for peace, and obtained it at the price of thirty thousand pounds.

A.D. 1007.—Clearly perceiving that they might now reckon upon Danish invasion as a periodical plague, the English government and people endeavoured to employ their interval of ease in preparing for their future defence. Troops were raised and disciplined, and a navy of nearly eight hundred ships was prepared. But a quarrel which arose between Edric, duke of Mercia, and Wolfnoth, governor of Sussex, caused the latter to desert to the Danes with twenty vessels. He was pursued by Edric's brother Brightric, with a fleet of eighty vessels; but this fleet, being driven ashore by a tempest, was attacked and burned by Wolfnoth. A hundred vessels were thus lost to the English; dissensions spread among other leading men; and the fleet which, if concentrated and ably directed, might have given safety to the nation, was dispersed into various ports and rendered virtually useless.

The Danes did not fail to take advantage of the dissensions and imbecility of the English, and for some time from this period the history of England presents us with nothing but one melancholy monotony of unsparing cruelty on the part of the invaders, and unmitigated and hopeless suffering on the part of the invaded. Repeated attempts were made to restore something like unanimity to the English councils, and to form a settled and unanimous plan of resistance; but all was still dissension; and when the uttermost wretchedness at length made the disputants agree, they agreed only in resorting to the old, the base, and the most impolitic plan of purchasing the absence of their persecutors. How impolitic this plan was common sense ought to have told the English, even had they not possessed the additional evidence of the fact, that at each new invasion the Danes increased their demand. From ten thousand pounds, which had purchased their first absence, they had successively raised their demands to thirty thousand, and now, when their rapine had more than ever impoverished the country, they demanded and, to the shame of the English people, or rather of the king and the nobles, were paid, the monstrous sum of eight-and-forty thousand pounds!

This immense sum was even worse expended than the former sums had been; for this time the Danes took the money, but did not depart. On the contrary, they continued their desultory plundering, and at the same time made formal demands upon certain districts for large and specified sums. Thus, in the county of Kent they levied the sum of eight thousand pounds; and the archbishop of Canterbury venturing to resist this most iniquitous demand, was coolly murdered. The general state of the kingdom and the butchery of a personage so eminent alarmed the king for his personal safety; the more especially, as many of his chief nobility, having lost all confidence in his power to redeem his kingdom from ruin, were daily transferring their allegiance to Sweyn. Having first sent over his queen and her two children to her brother the duke of Normandy, Ethelred himself took an opportunity to escape thither, and thus the kingdom was virtually delivered over to Sweyn and his Danes.

A.D. 1014.—Sweyn, under all the circumstances, would have found little difficulty in causing himself to be crowned king of England; nay, it may even be doubted if either nobles or people would have been greatly displeased at receiving a warlike sovereign instead of the fugitive Ethelred, to whom they had long been accustomed to apply the scornful epithet of *the Unready*. But whilst Sweyn was preparing to take advantage of the magnificent opportunity that offered itself to him, he was suddenly seized with a mortal illness, and expired at Gainsborough, in Lincolnshire, about six weeks after the flight of Ethelred from the kingdom.

This circumstance gave the weak Ethelred yet one more chance of redeeming his kingly character. The great men of his kingdom, when they informed him of the event which, so auspiciously for him, had occurred, invited him to return. They at the same time plainly, though in a friendly and respectful tone, intimated their hope that he would profit by his experience, to avoid for the future those errors which had produced so much evil to both himself and his people.

Ethelred gladly availed himself of the invitation to resume his throne, but the advice that had accompanied that invitation he wholly disregarded. Among the most glaring proofs which he gave of his continued incapacity to rule wisely, he reinstated his treacherous son-in-law, Edric, in all his former influence. This power Edric most shamefully abused: in proof of this we need give but a single instance of his misconduct. Two Mercian nobles, by name Morcar and Sigefert, had unfortunately given some offence to Edric, who forthwith endeavoured to persuade the king that they were hostile to his rule; and the equally cruel and weak monarch not only connived at their murder by Edric, but gave to that crime a *quasi* legal sanction by confiscating the property of the victims as though they had been convicted of treason, and he confined Sigebert's widow in a convent. Here she was accidentally seen by the king's son, Edmund, who not only contrived her escape from the convent, but immediately married her.

A.D. 1014.—Ethelred was not allowed to enjoy his recovered throne in peace. Canute, the son of Sweyn, was to the full as warlike as his famous father, and set up his claim to the throne with as much grave earnestness as though his father had filled it in right of a long ancestral possession. He committed dreadful havoc in Kent, Dorset, Wilts, and Somerset; and, not contented with slaughter in and plunder after the battle, he shockingly mutilated his prisoners, and then gave them their liberty, in order that their wretched plight might strike terror into their fellow-countrymen. So much progress did Canute make, that Ethelred would, in all probability, have been a second time driven from his throne and kingdom, but for the courage and energy of his son Edmund. The treacherous Edric deserted to the Danes with forty ships, after having dispersed a great part of the English army, and even made an attempt at seizing upon the person of the brave prince. Undismayed by so many difficulties, which were much increased by the general contempt and distrust felt for the king, Edmund, by great exertions, got together a large force, and prepared to give battle to the enemy. But the English had been accustomed to see their kings in the vanguard of the battle; and, though Edmund was universally popular, the soldiers loudly demanded that his father should head them in person. Ethelred, however, who suspected his own subjects fully as much as he feared the enemy, not merely refused to do this, on the plea of illness, but so completely left his heroic son without supplies, that the prince was obliged to allow the whole northern part of the kingdom to fall into subjection to the Danes. Still determined not to submit, Edmund marched his discouraged and weakened army to London, to make a final stand against the invaders; but on his arrival he found the metropolis in a state of the greatest alarm and confusion, on account of the death of the king.

A.D. 1015.—Ethelred the Unready had reigned thirty-five years, and his incapacity had reduced the country to a state which would have been sufficiently pitiable and difficult, even had not the fierce and warlike Danes been swarming in its northern provinces. The people were dispirited and disaffected, and the nobles were far less intent upon repelling the common enemy than upon pursuing their own mischievous and petty quarrels; and Edmund had only too much reason to fear that the example of his treacherous brother-in-law would be followed by other nobles. Rightly judging that occupation was the most effectual remedy for the discouragement of the people, and the best safeguard against the treachery of the nobles, Edmund lost no time in attacking the enemy. At Gillingham he defeated a detachment of them, and then marched against Canute in person. The hostile armies met near Scoerton, in Gloucestershire; and in the early part of the battle the English prince had so much success, that it seemed probable he would have a decisive and crowning victory. But Edric, having slain Osmar, who very much resembled the king in countenance, had his head fixed upon the head of a spear and displayed to the English. A panic immediately spread through the hithertovictorious army. It was in vain that Edmund, heedless of the arrows that flew around him, rode bareheaded among his troops to assure them of his safety. 'Save himself who can,' was the universal cry; and though Edmund at length contrived to lead his troops from the field in comparatively good order, the golden moment for securing triumph had passed. Edmund was subsequently defeated, with great loss, at Assington, in Essex, but with exemplary activity again raised an army and prepared to make one more desperate effort to expel the enemy. But the leading men on both sides were by this time wearied with strife and carnage, and a negotiation ensued which led to a division

of the kingdom, Canute taking the northern portion and Edmund the southern.

It might have been supposed that the infamous Edric would have been satisfied with having thus mainly aided in despoiling his brave but unfortunate brother-in-law of a moiety of his kingdom. But as though the very existence of a man so contrary and so superior to himself in character were intolerable to him, this arrangement had scarcely been made a month when he suborned two of the king's chamberlains, who murdered their unfortunate master at Oxford.

A.D. 1017.—It does not clearly appear that Canute was actually privy to this crime; though his previous conduct and the fact that he was the person to be benefited by the death of Edmund may justify us in suspecting him. And this suspicion is still further justified by his immediately seizing upon Edmund's share of the kingdom, though that prince left two sons, Edwin and Edward. It is true that those princes were very young, but the most that Canuto ought to have assumed on that account was the guardianship of the children and the protectorate of their heritage. Indeed, some writers represent that it was in the character of guardian that Canute affected to act; but a sufficient answer to that pretence is to be found in the fact that Canute reigned as sole king, and left the kingdom to his son.

Sanguinary and grasping as his whole former course had been, this able, though unprincipled prince, was too anxious for the prosperity of the kingdom of which he had possessed himself, not to take all possible precaution to avert opposition. He called a council, at which he caused witnesses to affirm that it had been agreed, at the treaty of Gloucester, that he should succeed Edmund in the southern portion of the kingdom; or, as the writers to whom we have referred affirm, that he should have the guardianship and protectorate. This evidence, and, perhaps, terror lest the well-known fierceness of Canute should again desolate the kingdom, determined the council in his favour; and the usurper peaceably mounted the throne, while the despoiled princes were sent to Sweden. Not content with thus seizing their dominion and exiling them, Canute charged the king of Sweden to put them to death; but that king, more generous than his ally, sent them in safety to the court of Hungary, where they were educated. Edwin, the elder of the princes, married the daughter of the king of Hungary; and Edward, the younger, married Agatha, sister-in-law of the same monarch, and had by her Edgar the Atheling, Margaret, subsequently queen of Scotland, and Christina, who took the veil.

The experience which Canute had of the treachery of the English nobility of this period made him, as a matter of policy, show the most unbounded liberality to them at the commencement of his undivided reign. To Thurkill he gave up the dukedom of East Anglia, to Yric that of Northumberland, and to Edric that of Mercia, confining his own direct and personal rule to Wessex. But this seeming favour was only the crouching of the tiger ere he springs. When he found himself firmly fixed upon his throne, and from his judicious as well as firm conduct becoming every day more popular among his subjects, he found a pretext to deprive Thurkill and Yric of their dukedoms, and to send them into exile. It would seem that even while he had profited by the treason of the English nobility, he had manliness enough to detest the traitors; for, besides expelling the dukes of East Anglia and Northumberland, he put several other noble traitors to death, and among them that worst of all traitors, Edric, whose body he had cast into the Thames.

Though Canute showed much disposition to conciliate the favour of his subjects, he was at the commencement of his reign obliged, by the state of the kingdom, to tax them very heavily. From the nation at large he at one demand obtained the vast sum of seventy-two thousand pounds, and from the city of London a separate further sum of eleven thousand. But though it was evident that much of this money was devoted to the reward of his own countrymen, and though in the heavy sum levied upon London there clearly appeared something of angry recollection of the courage the Londoners had shown in opposing him, the people were by this time so wearied with war, that they imputed his demands to necessity, and probably thought money better paid for the support of a Danish king than for the temporary absence of an ever-returning Danish enemy.

To say the truth, usurper though Canute was, he had no sooner made his rule secure than he made great efforts to render it not merely tolerable but valuable. He disbanded and sent home a great number of his Danish mercenaries; he made not the slightest difference between Danish and English subjects in the execution of the laws guarding property and life; and, still farther to engage the affections of the English, he formally, in an assembly of the states, restored the Saxon customs.

In order also to ingratiate himself with the English, as well as to propitiate the powerful duke of Normandy, who had shown a strong disposition to disturb him in his usurped power, he married that prince's sister, Emma, widow of Ethelred. By dint of this conciliatory policy, he so far succeeded in gaining the affections of the English, that he at length ventured to sail to Denmark, which was attacked by his late ally, the king of Sweden, against whom he felt additional anger on account of his contumacy in refusing to put the exiled English princes to death. He was completely victorious in this expedition, chiefly owing to the energy and valour of the afterwards famous, and more than regally powerful, earl Godwin, to whom, in reward for his conduct on this occasion, he gave his daughter in marriage.

In 1028 he made another voyage, and expelled Olaus, king of Norway. Powerful abroad, and at peace at home, he now de

voted his attention to religion; but he did so after the grossly superstitious fashion of the age. He did not recall the exiled princes, or make restitution of any of the property which he had unjustly acquired either in Norway or in England; but he built churches and showered gifts upon churchmen; showed his sorrow for the slaughter of which he still retained the profit, by causing masses to be said for the souls of the slaughtered; and compounded for continuing his usurped rule of England by obtaining certain privileges for Englishmen at Rome, to which city he made an ostentatious pilgrimage.

It is scarcely necessary to repeat the well-known but questionable anecdote according to which Canute, by having his chair placed on the sea-beach, rebuked the servility of his courtiers, who had spoken of him as omnipotent.

The Scots in the reign of Ethelred had been taxed one shilling a hide on their fief of Cumberland, for *Danegelt*, or money to be applied to the protection of the kingdom against the Danes. The Scots refused to pay it, and though Ethelred attempted force, he, as usual, had no success. Malcolm, the thane of Scotland who had thus failed in his vassalage to Ethelred, on the ground that he could defend himself against the Danes, now refused to do homage for Cumberland to Canute, on the ground that that king had not succeeded to the throne by inheritance. But Canute speedily brought him to his senses; at the first appearance of the English army Malcolm submitted. This was Canute's last expedition; he died about four years after, in the year 1035.

CHAPTER X.

The Reigns of Harold and Hardicanute.

CANUTE left three sons, Sweyn and Harold by his first wife, Alfwen, daughter of the earl of Hampshire; and Hardicanute by his second wife, Emma, the widow of Ethelred.

On the marriage of Canute and Emma the former had formally agreed that his children by her should inherit the throne. But as her brother, the duke of Normandy, died before Canute, the latter thought fit to depart from this agreement, and to leave the English throne to Harold, his second son by the first wife, rather than intrust it, with its abounding difficulties, to the weak hands of so young a prince as Hardicanute, his son by Emma. By his last will, therefore, Canute left Norway to Sweyn, his eldest son, and England to Harold, his younger son by the first marriage; and to Hardicanute, his son by Emma, he left his native Denmark.

The difference between the arrangement made by the king's will and that which was agreed upon by his treaty of marriage with Emma, placed the kingdom in no small danger of a long and sanguinary civil war. Harold, it is true, had the express last will of his father in his favour, and being upon the spot at the moment of his father's death, he seized upon the royal treasures, and thus had the means of supporting his claim either by open force or corruption. But Hardicanute, though in Denmark, was the general favourite of the people, and of not a few of the nobility; being looked upon, on account of his mother, in the light of a native English prince. To his father's last will, upon which it would have been easy to throw suspicion, as though weakness of mind had been superinduced by bodily suffering, he could oppose the terms of the grave treaty signed by his father while in full possession of his vigorous mind, and in full possession, too, of power to resist any article contrary to his wish. And, above all, Hardicanute had the favour and influence of the potent earl Godwin. With such elements of strife in existence, it was extremely fortunate that the most powerful men on both sides were wisely and really anxious to avert from the nation the sad consequences inseparable from civil strife. Conferences were held at which the jarring claims of the two princes were discussed with unusual candour and calmness, and it was at length agreed, that, as each had a plea too powerful to be wholly done away with by his competitor's counter-plea, the kingdom should once more be divided. London and the country north of the Thames fell to the lot of Harold; the country south of the Thames to Hardicanute, in whose name Emma took possession, and fixed her residence at Winchester till he should reach England to govern for himself.

The two young princes, Alfred and Edward, the sons of Emma by Ethelred, had hitherto remained at Normandy; but finding themselves, from the circumstances of that court, less welcome than they had been, they resolved to visit their mother, whose high state at Winchester promised them all possible protection and comfort, and they accordingly landed in England with a numerous and splendid suite. But the appearances by which they had been allured to take this step were exceedingly deceitful. Godwin, whose ambition was restless and utterly insatiable, had been skilfully tampered with by the crafty Harold, who promised to marry the earl's daughter. The idea of being father-in-law to the sole king of England put an end to all Godwin's moderate notions, and to all the favour with which he had previously looked upon the expedient of partitioning the kingdom; and he now very readily and zealously promised his support to Harold in his design to add his brother's possessions to his own, and to cut off the two English princes, whose coming into England seemed to indicate a determination to claim as heirs of Ethelred. Alfred was, with many hypocritical compliments, invited to court, and had reached as far as Guildford, in Surrey, on his way thither, when an assemblage of Godwin's people suddenly fell upon the retinue of the unsuspecting prince, and put upwards of six hundred of them to the sword. Alfred was himself taken prisoner; but far happier had been his fate had he died in the battle. His inhuman enemies caused his eyes to be

put out, and he was then thrust into the monastery of Ely, where he perished in agony and misery. His brother and queen Emma readily judged, from this horrible affair, that they would be the next victims, and they immediately fled from the country; while Harold forthwith added the southern to the northern division of the kingdom.

Commencing his sole reign over England by an act of such hypocrisy and sanguinary cruelty, Harold would probably have left fearful traces of his reign if it had been a lengthened one. Happily, however, it was but short; he died unregretted, about four years after his accession, leaving no trace to posterity of his having ever lived, save the one dark deed of which we have spoken. He was remarkable for only one personal quality, his exceeding agility, which, according to the almost invariable practice at that time adopted of designating persons by some trait of character or physical quality for which they were remarkable, procured him the appellation of Harold Harefoot.

A. D. 1039.—Although Hardicanute had been deemed by his father too young to sway the English sceptre, he himself held a different opinion, and he had occupied himself in his kingdom of Norway in preparing a force with which to invade England and expel his brother. Having completed his preparations, he collected a fleet under the pretence of visiting queen Emma, who had taken refuge in Flanders, and was upon the point of sailing when he received intelligence of Harold's death, upon which he immediately sailed for London, where he was received with the warmest welcome. He commenced his reign, however, very inauspiciously, by the mean and violent act of having Harold's body disinterred and thrown into the Thames. Being found by some fishermen, the royal body was carried to London and again committed to the earth; but Hardicanute obtaining information of what had occurred, ordered it to be again disinterred and thrown into the river. It was once more found; but this time it was buried so secretly, that the king had no opportunity to repeat his unnatural brutality.

The part which Godwin had, as it was alleged, taken in the murder of the unfortunate Alfred led prince Edward, who was invited over to the English court by Hardicanute, to accuse him of that crime, and to demand justice at the hands of the king. But Godwin, who had already exerted all the arts of servility to conciliate the king, made him a present of a magnificent galley, manned with sixteen handsome and gorgeously appointed rowers: and the king was so well pleased with the present, that he merely required that Godwin should swear to his own innocence, which that personage made no scruple of doing.

The reign of Hardicanute was short, yet his violent temper and cupidity caused it to be marked by a revolt. He had the injustice and imprudence to renew the tax known by the name of *Danegelt*, and charged a very heavy sum for the fleet which had conveyed him from Denmark. Complaints and resistance arose in many parts; and in Worcester the people not only refused to pay the tax, but actually put two of the collectors to death. Godwin, with Siward, duke of Northumberland, and Leofric, duke of Mercia, were immediately sent to Worcester with a powerful force, and with orders to destroy the city. They actually did set fire to it and gave it up to the pillage of the soldiery, but they saved the lives of the inhabitants until the king's anger was cooled and he gave them a formal pardon.

Though possessed of uncommon bodily strength, Hardicanute was an ultra Northman in the habit of drinking to excess; and he had scarcely reigned two years when, being at the wedding feast of a Danish nobleman, he indulged to such an extent that he died on the spot.

CHAPTER XI.

The Reign of Edward the Confessor.

A.D. 1042.—SWEYN, the remaining son of Canute, was in Norway when Hardicanute thus suddenly died; and as there was no one whom the Danes could set up in his place, or as his representative, the English had a most favourable opportunity to place upon the throne a prince of their own race. The real English heir was undoubtedly the elder son of Edmund Ironside; but that prince and his brother were in Hungary, and Edward, the son of Ethelred, was at the English court; and the necessity of instant action to prevent the Danes from recovering from their surprise was too obvious to allow the English to affect upon this occasion a punctiliousness upon direct succession which they had not yet learned to feel.

There was but one apparent obstacle of any magnitude to the peaceable succession of Edward, and that was the feud existing between him and the powerful earl Godwin relative to the death of prince Alfred. So powerful was Godwin at this time, that his opposition would have been far too great for Edward's means to surmount. But Godwin's power lay principally in Wessex, which was almost exclusively inhabited by English, among whom Edward's claim was very popular; and as Edward's friends induced him to disavow all rancour against Godwin, and even to consent to marry his daughter Editha, the powerful and crafty earl easily consented to insure his daughter a throne. He forthwith summoned a council, at which he so well managed matters, that while the majority were English and in favour of Edward, the few Danes were fairly silenced, and the more easily because whatever warmth might be in their individual feelings towards the absent Sweyn, they had no leader of influence to unite them, or of eloquence to impress and support their wishes.

The joy of the English on finding the government once more in the hands of a native prince was excessive, and would have been attended with extensive ill-consequences to the Danes, had not the king very equitably interposed on their behalf. As it was, they suffered not a little in property, for one

of the first acts of the king's reign was to revoke all the grants of his Danish predecessors, who had heaped large possessions upon their fellow-countrymen. In very many cases it may be assumed that the grants had been made unjustly; but the English made no distinction between cases, but heartily rejoiced to see the resumption of the grants reducing many of the hated Danes to their original poverty. To his mother, the queen Emma, Edward behaved with an unpardonable severity; unpardonable even admitting that he was right when he affirmed that, having been so much better treated by Canute than by Ethelred, she had always given the preference to Hardicanute, and held her children by Ethelred in comparative contempt or indifference. He not only took from her the great riches which she had heaped up, but also committed her to close custody in a nunnery at Winchester. Some writers have gone so far as to say that he accused her of the absurdly improbable crime of having connived at the murder of the prince Alfred, and that Emma purged herself of this guilt by the marvellous ordeal of walking barefooted over nine red-hot ploughshares; but the monks, to whom Emma was profusely liberal, needed not to have added fable to the unfortunate truth of the king's unnatural treatment of his twice-widowed mother.

Apart from mere feelings of nationality, the desire of the English to see their throne filled by a man of their own race was, no doubt, greatly excited by their unwillingness to see lands and lucrative places bestowed by stranger kings upon stranger courtiers. In this respect, however, the accession of Edward was by no means so advantageous to the English as they had anticipated. Edward had lived so much in Normandy that he had become almost a Frenchman in his tastes and habits, and it was almost exclusively among Frenchmen that he had formed his friendships and now chose his favourites and confidants. In the disposal of civil and military employments the king acted with great fairness towards the English, but as the Normans who thronged his court were both more polished and more learned, it was among them principally that he disposed of the ecclesiastical dignities, and from them that he chiefly selected his advisers and intimate companions. The favour thus shown to the Normans gave great disgust to the English, and especially to the powerful Godwin, who was too greedy of power and patronage to look with complacency upon any rivals in the king's good graces.

He was the more offended that the exclusive favour of the king did not fall upon him and his family, because, independent of the king having married the earl's daughter Editha, the mere power of Godwin's own family was so princely as to give him high claims, which he was by no means inclined to underrate. He himself was earl of Wessex, to which extensive government the counties of Kent and Sussex were added; Sweyn, his eldest son, had like authority over the counties of Hereford, Gloucester, Oxford, and Berks; while Harold, his second son, was duke of East Anglia, with Essex added to his government.

Possessed of such extensive power, still secretly hating Edward on account of their open feud about the murder of prince Alfred, and considering that to his forbearance alone, or principally, Edward owed his throne, Godwin, who was naturally haughty, was not inclined to bear the neglect of the king without showing his sense of it; and his ill-humour was the more deep and the more bitterly expressed, because his daughter Editha as well as himself suffered from the king's neglect. The king had married her, indeed, in compliance with his solemn promise, but he would never live with her. His determination on this head was rightly attributed by Godwin to his having transferred to the daughter a part of the hatred he entertained for the father; though the monks, with their usual ingenuity in finding piety where no one else would think of looking for it attribute this conduct to his religious feeling; and to this conduct it is that he chiefly owed the being honoured by the monks with the respectable surname of The Confessor.

A.D. 1048.—Entertaining strong feelings of both disappointment and discontent, it was not likely that a nobleman of Godwin's great power, and great ill-temper too, would fail to find some pretext upon which to break out into open quarrel. Politic as he was ill-tempered, Godwin seized upon the favouritism of the king towards the Normans as a cause of quarrel upon which he was sure to have the sympathy of the English, who were to the full as much prejudiced as himself against the foreigners.

While Godwin was thus anxious to quarrel with the king whom he had done so much to put upon the throne, and only waiting for the occurrence of an occasion sufficiently plausible to hide his meaner and more entirely personal motives, it chanced that Eustace, count of Boulogne, passed through Dover on his way back to his own country after a visit paid to the English court. An attendant upon the count got into a dispute with a man at whose house he was quartered, and wounded him; the neighbours interfered, and the count's attendant was slain; a general battle took place between the count's suite and the townspeople, and the former got so much the worst of the affray, that the count himself had some difficulty in saving his life by flight. The king was not merely angry, but felt scandalised that foreigners who had just partaken of his hospitality should be thus roughly used by his subjects; and he ordered Godwin—to whom, as we have said, the government of Kent, belonged—to make enquiry into the affair, and to punish the guilty. But Godwin, who was delighted at an occurrence which furnished him with a pretext at once plausible and popular for quarrelling with his sovereign and son-in-law, promptly refused to punish the Dover men, whom he alleged to have been extremely ill-treated by the foreigners. Edward had long been aware of the hostile

feelings of Godwin, but as he was also aware of the very great and widely spread power of that noble, he had prudently endeavoured to avoid all occasion of open disagreement. But this blank refusal of the earl to obey his orders provoked the king so much, that he threatened Godwin with the full weight of his displeasure if he dared to persevere in his disobedience.

Aware, and probably not sorry, that an open rupture was now almost utterly unavoidable, Godwin assembled a force and marched towards Gloucester, where the king was then residing with no other guard than his ordinary retinue. Edward, on hearing of the approach and hostile bearing of his too potent father-in-law, applied for aid to Siward and Leofric, the powerful dukes of Northumberland and Mercia; and to give them time to add to the forces with which they on the instant proceeded to aid him, he opened a negotiation with Godwin. Wily as the earl was, he on this occasion forgot the rebel maxim—that he who draws the sword against his sovereign should throw away he scabbard. He allowed the king to amuse him with messages and proposals, while the king's friends were raising a force sufficiently powerful to assure him success should the quarrel proceed to blows. As the descendant of a long line of English kings, and himself a king remarkable for humane and just conduct, Edward had a popularity which not even his somewhat overweening partiality to foreigners could abate; and when his subjects learned that he was in danger from the anger and ambition of Godwin, they hastened to his defence in such numbers that he was able to summon him to answer for his treasonable conduct. Both Godwin and his sons, who had joined in his rebellion, professed perfect willingness to proceed to London to answer for their conduct, on condition that they should receive hostages for their personal safety and fair trial. But the king was now far too powerful to grant any such terms, and Godwin and his sons perceiving that, in negotiating with the king while he was but slenderly attended, they had lost the golden opportunity of wresting the sovereignty from him, hastily disbanded their troops and went abroad; Godwin and three of his sons taking refuge with Baldwin, earl of Flanders, and his other two sons taking shelter in Ireland.

Having thus for the time got rid of enemies so powerful, the king bestowed their estates and governments upon some of his favourites; and as he no longer thought himself obliged to keep any measures with his imperious father-in-law, he thrust queen Editha, whom he had never loved, into a convent at Wherwell.

But the ruin of the powerful Godwin was more apparent than real; he had numerous friends in England, nor was he without such foreign alliances as would still enable him to give those friends an opportunity of serving him. His ally, the earl of Flanders, who was the more interested in his behalf because Godwin's son Tosti had married the earl's daughter, gave him the use of his harbours in which to assemble a fleet, and assisted him to hire and purchase vessels; and Godwin, having completed his preparations, made an attempt to surprise Sandwich. But Edward had constantly been informed of the earl's movements, and had a far superior force ready to meet him. Godwin, who depended fully as much upon policy as upon force, returned to Flanders, trusting that his seeming relinquishment of his design would throw Edward off his guard. It turned out precisely as Godwin had anticipated. Edward neglected his fleet and allowed his seamen to disperse; and Godwin, informed of this, suddenly sailed for the Isle of Wight, where he was joined by an Irish force under Harold. Seizing the vessels in the southern ports, and summoning all his friends in those parts to aid him in obtaining justice, he was able to enter the Thames and appear before London with an overwhelming force. Edward was undismayed by the power of the rebel earl; and as he was determined to defend himself to the utmost, a civil war of the worst description would most probably have ensued but for the interference of the nobles. Many of these were secretly friends of Godwin, and all of them were very desirous to accommodate matters; and the result of their timely mediation was a treaty, by which it was stipulated on the one hand that the obnoxious foreigners should be sent from the country, and on the other, that Godwin should give hostages for his future good behaviour. This he did, and Edward sent the hostages over to Normandy, being conscious that he could not safely keep them at his own court.

Though a civil war was undoubtedly for the present averted by this treaty between the king and Godwin, yet the ill example thus given of the necessities of the king compelling him to treat as upon equal terms with his vassal, would probably have produced farther and more mischievous acts of presumption on the part of Godwin, but for his death, which suddenly occurred as he was dining with the king shortly after this hollow reconciliation had been patched up between them.

Godwin was succeeded both in his governments and in the very important office of steward of the king's household by his son Harold. Although unavoidably prejudiced against him on account of his parentage, Edward was won by his seeming humility and anxiety to please. But though Edward could not refuse him his personal esteem, his jealousy was awakened by the anxiety and success with which Harold endeavoured to make partisans; and, in order to curb his ambition, he played off a rival against him in the person of Algar, son of Leofric duke of Mercia, upon whom was conferred Harold's old government of East Anglia. But this notable expedient of the king wholly failed. Instead of the power of Algar balancing that of Harold, the disputes between the two rivals proceeded to actual warfare, in which, as usual, the unoffending people were the greatest sufferers. The death of both Algar and his father put an end to this rivalry, or probably the very means which the king had taken to pre-

serve his authority would have wholly and fatally subverted it.

A.D. 1055.—There was now but one rival from whom Harold could fear any effectual competition,—Siward, duke of Northumberland; and his death speedily left Harold without peer and without competitor. Siward had greatly distinguished himself in the only foreign expedition of this reign, which was undertaken to restore Malcolm, king of Scotland, who had been chased from that kingdom after the murder of his father, king Duncan, by a traitorous noble, named Macbeth. In this expedition Siward was fully successful; but unfortunately, though he defeated and slew the usurper Macbeth, he in the same action lost his eldest son Osborne, who had given high promise of both will and power to uphold the glory of his family.

Siward's character had much of the Spartan resolution. He was consoled for the death of his gallant son when he learned that his wounds were all in front; and when he felt the hand of death upon himself he had his armour cleaned and a spear placed in his hand, that, as he said, he might meet death in a guise worthy of a noble and a warrior.

The health of the king was fast declining, and as he had no children, he grew anxious about the succession; and seeing that Harold was sufficiently ambitious to seize upon the crown, he sent to Hungary for his elder brother's son Edward. The prince died almost immediately after his arrival in England; and though the title of his son Edgar Atheling would have been fully as good and indisputable as his own, Edgar did not, to the anxious eyes of the king, seem either by years or character a competent authority to curb the soaring ambition of Harold. Willing to see anyone rather than Harold secure in the succession, the king turned his attention to William, duke of Normandy. This prince was the natural son of William, duke of Normandy, by Harlotta, the daughter of a tanner of the town of Falaise; but illegitimacy in that age was little regarded. He had shown great vigour and capacity in putting down the opposition made to his succession to the dukedom, and though he was of very tender age when his father died, his conduct, both at that difficult crisis and in his subsequent government, fully justified the high opinion of him which had induced his father to bequeath him the dukedom, to the prejudice of other branches of the ducal family. He had paid a visit to England and gained much upon the good opinion of Edward, who had actually made known to him his intention of making him his heir even before he sent to Hungary for prince Edward and his family.

Harold, though by no means ignorant of the king's desire to exclude him from all chance of succeeding to the throne, steadfastly pursued his plan of conciliating the powerful, and making himself noted as the friend and protector of the weak. In this respect he was eminently successful, but there was an obstacle in the way of his final triumph from which he anticipated very great difficulty. Among the hostages given by his father, earl Godwin, were a son and a grandson of that nobleman; and when Harold perceived that duke William, to whose custody the hostages were committed, had hopes of being left heir to the English crown, he naturally became anxious about the consequences of his intended rivalry to relatives so near. To get them out of the duke's power previous to the death of the king was of the utmost importance; and he applied to the king for their release, dwelling much upon the constant obedience and dutifulness of his conduct, upon which he argued it was in some sort an injurious reflection longer to keep the hostages. As his conduct really had been to all appearances of unbroken faith and undeviating loyalty, the king was unable to make any solid reply to his arguments, and at length yielded the point and empowered Harold to go to Normandy and release them. He hastened to fulfil this very agreeable commission, but a violent tempest arose while he was at sea, and drove him ashore upon the territory of Guy, count of Ponthieu, who made him prisoner in the hope of extorting a very large sum from him by way of ransom. Harold sent to the duke of Normandy for aid in this dilemma, representing that the duke's honour as well as his liberty was infringed by this imprisonment of a nobleman bound to the court of Normandy. Nothing could have happened more agreeable to the wishes of William, who, if of a more hasty temperament than Harold, was no less politic; and he at once clearly perceived that this unexpected incident would give him the means of practising upon his only formidable competitor for the English throne. He immediately despatched a messenger to demand the liberty of Harold; and the count of Ponthieu complied on the instant, not daring to irritate so warlike and powerful a prince as duke William. Harold then proceeded to William's court at Rouen, where he was received with every demonstration of the warmest good will. William professed the greatest willingness to give up the hostages, and at the same time took the opportunity—as if ignorant of Harold's own secret intentions—to beg his aid in his pretensions to the crown of England, assuring him in return of an increase to the grandeur and power already enjoyed by his own family, and offering him a daughter of his own in marriage. Though Harold had the least possible desire to aid in his own defeat, he clearly enough saw that if he were to refuse to promise it he would be made a prisoner in Normandy for the remainder of his life. He agreed, therefore, to give William his support. But a mere promise would not serve William's turn; he required an oath; and as oaths sworn upon reliques were in that age deemed of more than usual sanctity, he had some reliques of the most venerated martyrs privately hidden beneath the altar on which Harold was sworn; and, to awe him from breaking his oath, showed them to him at the conclusion of the ceremony. Harold

was both surprised and annoyed at the shrewd precaution of the duke, but was too politic to allow his concern to appear.

Imagining that he had now fully secured the support of Harold instead of having to fear his opposition, William allowed him to depart with many expressions of favour and friendship. But Harold had no sooner obtained his own liberty and that of his relatives, than he began to exert himself to suggest reasons for breaking the oath which actual durance had extorted from him, and the accompaniment of which had been brought about by an actual fraud. Determined to have the crown if possible, he now redoubled his efforts at gaining public favour, hoping that his superior popularity would deter the king from making any further advances to duke William, and relying, in the last resort, upon the armed defence of the nation. In pursuance of this plan he headed an expedition against the Welsh, and pressed them to such straits that they beheaded their prince, Griffith, and consented to be governed by two noblemen appointed by Edward.

The popularity he gained by this expedition was greatly enhanced by his rigid impartiality in a case in which his own brother, Tosti, duke of Northumberland, was a principal party. Tosti had conducted himself with such tyrannical violence that the Northumbrians expelled him; and the deceased duke Leofric's grandsons, Morcar and Edward, having sided with the people, the former was by them elected to be their duke. The king commissioned Harold to put down this insurrection, which it was naturally supposed that he would be all the more zealous in doing, as the interests of his own brother were concerned. But Morcar, having demanded a conference with Harold, gave him such proofs of the misconduct of Tosti, and appealed so flatteringly to his own very opposite conduct, that Harold not merely withdrew the army with which he was about to chastise the Northumbrians, but made such a representation of the case, as induced the king not only to pardon the Northumbrians but also to confirm Morcar in Tosti's government. Tosti fled to the court of Flanders, but subsequently took an opportunity to show the extent of his dissatisfaction with his brother's decision.

Shortly after this affair Harold married the sister of Morcar, a step which plainly intimated how little he felt himself bound to perform his engagements to William of Normandy. In fact, he was now so very popular, that he made no secret of his pretension to the throne, but openly urged that as Edgar Atheling was by all acknowledged to be unfit to wear the English crown, he was the fittest man in the nation to succeed Edward; and though the king was too much opposed to Harold's succession directly and positively to sanction his pretension, he was too weak in both mind and body to take any energetic steps for securing the succession of William.

The king had long been visibly sinking; and yet, though conscious of his approaching end, and really anxious to prevent the accession of Harold, he could not muster resolution to invite duke William, but left chance, policy, or arms to decide the succession at his death, which occurred in the sixty-fifth year of his age and the twenty-fifth of his reign. Though both Godwin and Harold excited his dislike by the influence they acquired over him by superior talent and energy, the peaceableness of his reign was, in fact, mainly attributable to their power and influence. Edward was naturally weak and superstitious; and if it had chanced that he had fallen into other hands, it is probable that his reign would have been both troubled and shortened. The superstitious custom of *touching* for the king's evil originated with this prince.

CHAPTER XII.

The Reign of Harold the Second.

A.D. 1066.—THE death of Edward the Confessor had so long been probable, that Harold had ample time to make his preparations, and in the mere fact of his being on the spot he had a great and manifest advantage over his Norman rival. Not only were his partisans numerous and powerful by their wealth and station, they were also compactly organised. Neither duke William nor Edgar Atheling was formally proposed, but it was taken for granted that the unanimous voice of the people was represented by that of the lay and clerical nobles who surrounded Harold; and, without even waiting for the formal sanction of the states of the kingdom, he was crowned by the archbishop of York on the very day after the decease of Edward. Nor, in fact, was the consent of the nation so mere an assumption as it sometimes has been; for Harold was universally popular, and the Normans were all universally hated as foreigners, and feared on account of their fierce and warlike character. But popular as Harold was in England, he was not long allowed to enjoy his elevation in peace. His brother Tosti, who had remained in voluntary banishment at the court of Flanders ever since Harold's memorable decision against him, deemed that his time was now arrived to take revenge. He exerted his utmost influence with the earl of Flanders, and sent messengers into Norway to raise forces, and journeyed personally to Normandy to engage duke William to join him in avenging both their grievances.

This last step Tosti had not the slightest occasion to take, for duke William was far too much enraged at Harold's breach of faith to require any urging. He had already determined that Harold should at the least have to fight for his throne; but as it was obviously important to stand as well as possible with the English people, he sent ambassadors summoning Harold to perform the promise he had made under the most solemn form of oath. Harold replied at some length and with considerable show of reason to the duke's message. As related to his oath, he said, that had been extorted from him under circumstances of durance and well-grounded bodily terror,

and was consequently null; and, moreover, he as a private person could not lawfully swear to forward the duke's pretensions. He had, himself, he added, been raised to the throne by the unanimous voice of his people, and he would indeed be unworthy of their love and trust were he not prepared to defend the liberties they had intrusted to his care. Finally, he said, should the duke attempt by force of arms to disturb him and his kingdom, he would soon learn how great is the power of a united people, led by a prince of its own choice, and one who was firmly determined that he would only cease to reign when he should cease to live.

William expected such an answer as this, and even while his messengers were travelling between Normandy and the English court he was busily engaged in preparations for enforcing his pretensions by arms. Brave, and possessed of a high reputation, he could count not only upon the zealous aid of his own warlike Normans, who would look on the invasion of such a country as England in the light of an absolute godsend, but also of the numerous martial nobles of the continent, who literally made a trade of war, and were ever ready to range themselves and their stalwart men-at-arms under the banner of a bold and famous leader, without expressing any troublesome curiosity as to the rightfulness of his cause. Among these unscrupulous swordersthe wealth, fame, and a certain blunt and hearty hospitality of William had made him extremely popular; and in the idea of conquering such a kingdom as England there was much to tempt the cupidity as well as to inflame their valour. Fortune, too, favoured William by the sudden death of Conan, count of Brittany. Between this nobleman and William there was an old and very inveterate feud, and Conan no sooner learned duke William's design upon England, than he endeavoured to embarrass and prevent him by reviving his own claim to the duchy of Normandy, which he required to be settled upon him in the event of the duke succeeding in England. This demand would have caused the duke much inconvenience, but Conan had scarcely made it when he died; and count Hoel, his successor, so far from seeking to embarrass William, sent him five thousand men under the command of his son Alain. The earl of Flanders and the count of Anjou permitted their subjects to join William's army; and though the regency of France ostensibly commanded him to lay aside his enterprise, the earl of Flanders, who was at the head of the regency and who was his father-in-law, took care to let the French nobility know that no obstruction would be offered to their enlisting under William. Still more important aid and encouragement were afforded to William by the emperor Henry IV., who not only assisted him in levying men in his dominion, but also promised to protect the duchy of Normandy during the duke's absence; but the most important protector and encourager of William in his projected enterprise was pope Alexander III., whom the duke, with shrewd judgement, had completely won to his interests by voluntarily making him the mediator between them. The great anxiety of the papal courts to have an influence as well over the temporal as over the spiritual affairs of the nation would have rendered this one stroke of William's policy quite decisive of Alexander's conduct; but that pontiff was still further interested in the duke's success by his belief that should the Normans conquer England, they would subject that nation more completely than it had yet been subjected to the papal see.

From the states of his own duchy William at first met with some opposition, the supplies he required being unprecedently and onerously large. But Odo, bishop of Bayeux, William Fitzosborne, count of Breteuil and constable of Normandy, with the count of Longueville and other Norman magnates, so effectually aided him, that this difficulty was got over, and the states agreed to furnish him with all the aid, only under protest that their compliance should not be drawn into a precedent injurious to their posterity.

By great activity, perseverance, and address, William at length found himself at the head of a magnificently appointed force of three thousand vessels of various rates, and upwards of 60,000 men; and so popular had his purpose now become among the warriors of the continent, that he could probably have nearly doubled the number of men had he thought it necessary to do so. Nor was it merely by dint of numbers that his force was imposing. His veteran and disciplined men-at-arms were led by some of the most famous knights of the age; among whom he could reckon Eustace, count of Boulogne, William de Warenne, Roger de Beaumont, Hugh d'Estaples, and other warriors.

While William excited the ardour of these and other gallant leaders by promising them rich spoils from the land they were about to conquer for him, Tosti, the infuriated brother of Harold, was busied by William's instructions in ravaging the coasts of England, and distracting the attention of Harold and his subjects from their more redoubtable enemy's preparations. In conjunction with Harold Hardrada, king of Norway, Tosti led a powerful fleet into the Humber, and began to despoil the country. Morcar, duke of Northumberland, and Edwin, duke of Mercia, got together such forces as time would allow, and endeavoured to beat back the marauders, but were put to the rout by them. But though the effort of these noblemen was in itself disastrously unsuccessful, it gave Harold time to raise a compact force and hasten to meet the invaders in person. He met them at Stamford-bridge, on the Derwent, and in the action that ensued the invaders were completely defeated, and both Tosti and the king of Norway perished on the field. Prince Olave, son of the king of Norway, was taken prisoner, and the whole of the Norwegian fleet was captured; but Harold, with great generosity, gave the young prince his freedom, and allowed him to

take twenty ships and depart to his own country.

Though this victory and Harold's moderation after it gave the English great reason to be satisfied with the choice they had made of a king, it was, in fact, very disastrous to Harold, as it cost him a great number of his best men and officers at the precise time when he most needed their services; and even his returning the spoils, though he was actuated by a desire to spare his people as much as possible in the approaching contest with duke William, gave so much disgust to his soldiery, that many of them actually deserted, and the rest were discontented. His brother Gurth, apprehending some fatal consequences from this really unreasonable discontent, endeavoured to dissuade Harold from risking his own person in the field against William. He urged that it would be unwise to risk all upon one battle, when by retiring before the enemy he, who could depend upon the loyalty and affection of his subjects for abundant supplies, could weary out the invaders, and starve them into submission or retreat; and he added, that as Harold had, however unwittingly, sworn upon the reliques to support instead of opposing the duke, it would be far better for him to refrain from taking any personal part in the approaching contest. But Harold would heed no reasoning and no remonstrance; he was determined literally to fulfil the terms of his reply to William's summons, and to cease to reign only in ceasing to live.

After some difficulties from bad weather and contrary winds, in which the duke lost some small vessels, the Norman fleet appeared off the coast of Sussex, and the army landed at Pevensey without opposition. The duke in his hurry to leap ashore stumbled and fell to the ground; but he with great presence of mind prevented his soldiers from interpreting this accident into an evil omen, by loudly exclaiming that he had now taken possession of the country.

Harold, who had approached with his army, sent a monk to duke William to demand his immediate departure from the kingdom.* William, who was equally confident of success, replied that he would, if Harold chose, put the issue upon a single combat, and thus spare the effusion of blood; but Harold declined this proposal, and said that the god of battles would soon decide between them.

The eve of the momentous day of strife was passed by the Normans in prayer, and in confessing their sins to the host of monks by whom they were accompanied; but the English, more confident or more reckless, gave themselves up to wassail and merriment.

Early in the morning the duke addressed the principal leaders. He represented to them that they had come to conquer a fine country from the hands of a usurper, whose perjury could not fail to call down destruction upon his head; that if they fought valiantly their success was certain, but that if any, from cowardice or treachery, should retreat, they would infallibly perish between a furious enemy and the sea towards which he would drive them. His address finished, the duke formed his immense force into three divisions,—the choice and heavy-armed infantry, the archers and light-armed infantry, by Roger de Montgomery, and the cavalry, which flanked both those divisions, under his own immediate leading.

Harold had chosen his ground with great judgement. His force was disposed upon the slope of a rising ground and the flanks were secured against cavalry, in which he was but weak, by deep trenches. In this position he resolved to await the attack of the enemy, and he placed himself on foot, accompanied by his brothers Gurth and Leofwin, at the head of his infantry. The first attack of the Normans was fierce, but the steadiness with which they were met and the great difficulty of the ground compelled them to retire, and the English pursued and threw them into a disorder which threatened to degenerate into actual rout. Duke William, who saw that all his hopes were at this moment in jeopardy, led on the flower of his cavalry, and speedily compelled the English to relinquish their hard-earned advantage, and retire to their original position. William now ordered up additional troops to the attack, but finding the English stand firm, he made a feint of retreat. With far more bravery than judgement, the English abandoned their advantageous post to pursue the flying and seemingly terrified enemy, when the Norman infantry suddenly halted and faced the English, whose flanks were at the same instant furiously charged by the Norman cavalry. William was admirably obeyed by his troops, and the English fell in vast numbers; but the survivors by great exertion regained the hill, where the aid and example of Harold enabled them to defend themselves to greater advantage. Extraordinary as it may seem, the ardour of the English enabled William to put the same feint into execution a second time, and with equal advantage to himself, though the main body of Harold's army still remained firmly entrenched upon the hill. But galled by the incessant play of William's archers, who discharged their deadly missiles over the heads of the advancing heavy infantry, the English were at length broken by the furious yet steady charges of these latter, and Harold and both his brothers being slain, the English fled and were pursued with terrible slaughter by the victorious Normans. William did not gain this important victory without vast loss, the battle having been continued with almost unabated fury on both sides from morning until evening. The dead body of the ill-fated Harold was found, and, by the orders of the duke, restored to his mother; and the Normans having solemnly returned thanks for their signal triumph, marched onward to pursue their advantage.

Had the English still possessed a royal

* Lappenberg's History of England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings, ii. 295.

mostly of the high courage and popularity of Harold, Duke William, in spite of his first brilliant success, might for years have been harassed by the necessity of continually fighting small and indecisive battles in every province of the kingdom. But Edgar Atheling, the only Saxon heir to the crown, had neither the capacity nor the reputation which would enable him to organise and direct a resistance of this stern and stubborn description. But his mere lineage went for much in the circumstances of the kingdom, and the dukes Morcar and Edwin, now the most powerful and popular men left to the English, proclaimed Edgar, and called upon the people to support their Saxon sovereign against the Norman invader. In this measure the dukes were zealously assisted by Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, whose wealth and influence made him of great service to them.

William, in the meantime, took possession of Romney and then of Dover, thus securing himself a communication with his duchy in the event of any adverse turn of fortune. Having given his troops a week's rest at Dover, the duke availed himself of the time to publish to the people the pope's bull in favour of his enterprise, it being a document which he well knew would have a great effect upon the superstitious minds of the multitude, and thus disincline them to aid the resistance planned by their leaders. He then marched towards London. A large body of Londoners attempted to arrest his course, but they were routed with terrible slaughter by about five hundred horse of the Norman advance; and this new disaster, together with the little confidence and enthusiasm excited by Edgar, so completely dispirited the people that even Morcar and Edwin now despaired of success, and retired to their respective governments. All Kent submitted; Southwark attempted some resistance, and was set on fire; and the Normans seemed so wholly irresistible, that Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, Edgar Atheling, and other leading men of the kingdom, tendered William the crown and made their submission to him. With a degree of hypocrisy, which the vast preparations he had made and the great toils he had undergone for the purpose of obtaining the crown made ridiculous, the duke pretended to have scruples about accepting the crown without some more formal consent of the English people. But his own friends, ashamed of his gratuitous hypocrisy, or afraid that his affected scruples might give rise to some adverse turn of events, remonstrated so plainly with him that his feigned reluctance was laid aside, and orders were given for the necessary preparations for his immediate coronation. Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, was, according to etiquette, the proper person to have crowned William. But the alacrity that prelate had shown in defending his country made him an object of the Conqueror's dislike, who refused to be crowned by him, on the plea that his pall had been irregularly obtained; and the melancholy office fell upon Aldred, archbishop of York.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Reign of WILLIAM I., *usually styled 'William the Conqueror.'*

THE principal English and Norman nobility being assembled in Westminster abbey (Dec. 25, 1066), Aldred asked them if they were willing to have William for their king, and being answered by affirmative acclamations, headmonished him to uphold the church, love justice, and execute justice with mercy; and then put the crown on his head amid the loud applauses of the spectators of both nations. A strong guard of Normans surrounded the abbey, and hearing the shouts within, they imagined that the duke was attacked; upon which they immediately fell upon the populace and fired the houses around, and it was only by great exertion and his personal presence that William was enabled to put an end to the outrage and disturbance.

Though he had experienced so much goodwill from the principal English, William even yet felt doubtful how far he might rely upon the peaceable conduct of his new subjects, especially the sturdy Londoners, and he showed the jealousy he felt by causing strong fortresses to be erected to overawe the English and serve as places of refuge for his own people.

A.D. 1067.— His jealousy of his new subjects was still further shown by his retiring from London to Barking in Essex, where he held a court for the purpose of receiving the homage of those English nobles who had not been presented at the coronation. Edric, surnamed the Forester, the brave earl Coxo, Edwin and Morcar who had so zealously though ineffectually endeavoured to prevent him from enslaving their country, and a crowd of nobles of smaller note, waited upon him there, made their submission in form, and were confirmed by him in their authority and possessions; and though the new reign had commenced in war and usurpation, there was thus far every appearance of its being both a just and a tranquil one.

Having received the submission of all his principal English subjects, William now busied himself in distributing rewards among the Norman soldiery to whom he owed his new crown. He was enabled to behave the more liberally to them, because, in addition to the large treasure of the unfortunate Harold which had fallen into his hands, he was enriched by great presents made to him by numerous wealthy English who were desirous of being among the earliest to worship the rising sun, that they might enlarge, or at the least preserve, their estates. As the clergy had greatly assisted him, he made rich presents to them also; and he ordered an abbey to be erected near the site of the late battle, and to be called after it.

William doubtless built this magnificent abbey partly for the sake of placing there his most zealous friends among the Norman monks, and partly as a splendid and durable monument of his great triumph; but he affected to dedicate it chiefly to the saying of daily masses for the repose of

that unfortunate prince whom he had deprived of both kingdom and life.

Though William had obtained his throne strictly by conquest and usurpation, he commenced his reign in a manner the best calculated to reconcile his subjects to their change of sovereigns. The pride of conquest did not blind him to the necessity of conciliation; and while he was in reality the most busy in placing all power and influence in Norman hands, he lost no opportunity of showing apparent favour to and confidence in the leading Saxons. Though he confiscated not only the estates of Harold, but also those of many of the leading men who had sided with that unfortunate prince, he in numerous cases availed himself of slender excuses for restoring the properties to their rightful owners. Satisfied that the imbecility of Edgar Atheling secured the peaceable behaviour of that prince, he confirmed him in the earldom of Oxford, with which he had been invested by the deceased king; and, by the studied kindness of his demeanour towards the Saxon nobles who approached him, he strove to add to their gratitude, for the solid favours he conferred upon them, a feeling of personal kindliness and affection. Nor did he omit to secure the goodwill of the people at large by maintaining among his troops that strict discipline for which he had been remarkable in Normandy. Victors though they were, and both ordered and encouraged to keep the Saxon population in strict obedience to the new government, they were not allowed to add insolence to authority, and the slightest disorder or invasion of property was promptly and strictly punished. His conciliating policy extended to the metropolis. That city had been warmly opposed to him, but his anger for the past opposition was kept down by a prudent consideration of the important part so powerful a city might at a future time take either for or against him; and he therefore confirmed its charter and privileges as early and with as much apparent goodwill as he did those of the other cities of the kingdom.

These instances of justice and moderation produced the greater effect on account of the warlike fame and generally stern character of the king; and while his imposing presence and brilliant reputation caused him to be looked upon with awe wherever he appeared, as he took care to do in those parts of which he most suspected the loyalty, his studied courtesy to the high and benignity to the lowly obtained him very general liking.

But at the same time that he was thus conciliating his new subjects by justice and moderation, which latter, under all the circumstances, might in some cases be called by the stronger name of mercy, he took abundant care to keep the one thing needful, *power*, in his own hands. While he confirmed the privileges of the prosperous and populous cities, he built fortresses in many of them and carefully disarmed them all. He thus commanded all the best military posts of the kingdom, and had them constantly occupied by his veteran soldiers; while by bestowing upon the leaders, to whose valour and conduct he owed so much, the confiscated possessions of the Saxon nobility and gentry, he created numerous minor despotisms, dependent upon his sway, and vitally interested in its prosperity.

His politic mixture of rigour and mildness had all the success he could have anticipated or even wished; and the kingdom settled down so calmly under his authority, and so implicitly obeyed his orders, that he even considered it safe to pay a visit to France. On this occasion, however, he exhibited his usual policy; while he intrusted the government of England to William Fitzosborne and his own half-brother, Odo, bishop of Bayeux, whom he knew that he could safely trust both as to ability and fidelity, he *invited* the principal Saxons to accompany him on his journey, thus making them hostages while seeming to make them attendants upon his state and companions in his pleasure. Among the personages whom he thus deprived of the power, even supposing them to have the will, of exciting any disturbances during his absence, were the earls Edwin and Morcar, and Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, of whose faith he was somewhat doubtful on account of their opposition to him when he first invaded their country. He also took with him Edgar Atheling, whose very name he thought likely to prove a spell to tempt the English to rebellion, and numerous personages who, though of less note, had great influence from wealth or civil or ecclesiastical station.

Though William on arriving in his old dominion played the hospitable host to his English attendants; and though they, anxious to furnish him with every inducement to continue in his gracious and just course, wore joyful and contented countenances, and endeavoured to do honour to their new master by displaying before his ancient subjects their utmost wealth and magnificence, they were in secret much galled and irritated by the insolent superiority which the Norman barons and courtiers did not fail to assume.

The complete submission and order to which William had reduced the kingdom of England, a submission and order so perfect as to encourage a monarch naturally so suspicious and politic to pay a transmarine visit within a quarter of a year from the date of his hostile landing in that kingdom, seems almost incredible, and can only be accounted for by the prodigious power and vindictiveness attributed to him personally. But Normandy is the near neighbour of England; and, on the slightest intimation from Odo and Fitzosborne, William could speedily return in person to exert his dreaded power in repressing rebellion, and to manifest his terrible vindictiveness in punishing the revolted; how then are we to account for the personal absence of the king almost immediately producing revolt in England? Are we to suspect that William absented himself purposely to encourage revolt, not doubting that the English, deprived of their best and most zealous

friends and leaders, who were in close attendance upon him, would easily be put down by his victorious army, and that he would thus, without any risk to his new conquest, acquire a plausible right to make a vast and sweeping transfer of the property of the kingdom from Saxon to Norman hands? Or shall we rather suppose, that the Saxon population willingly remained quiet while the personal presence of the stern and strict conqueror prevented his officers and soldiers from trampling and oppressing the conquered; and that the latter were so ill-treated during his absence as to be driven into an utter recklessness of consequences? The first supposition, though anything but honourable to William, tallies indifferently well with his dark and deep policy; the latter is in the very nature of things highly probable. Perhaps, however, the truth lies between. William's wishes and views would, no doubt, govern the chief men among the Normans left in England, as to the greater or less degree of severity they should exercise during his absence in keeping the Norman soldiery in order; and the latter would be abundantly ready to avail themselves of any relaxation in the strictness of discipline to which they had been accustomed, without greatly troubling themselves to dive into the politic motives in which that relaxation had its origin. And this view of the case is the more reasonable, because, while policy obliged William to conciliate the Saxons at the commencement of his reign, the vastness and the number of the Norman claims upon him must have made him much in want of more extended means to satisfy them than his early ostentation of lenity had left him; and, certainly, the Norman knights and leaders, who were so sure to profit by new confiscations of Saxon property, would not be slow to provoke the Saxon population, by every insult and injury in their power, to such conduct as would lead to confiscation. This view of the case, finally, is much strengthened by the improbability that so suspicious and politic a person as William would so early have exposed his new conquest to danger, however guarded against by the trustiness of those left to rule for him, in mere childish impatience to dazzle the eyes of his ancient subjects with his new splendour, and without some deep and important ulterior view.

From whatever cause, however, it is quite certain, very soon after the conqueror's departure for Normandy the English began to exhibit symptoms of impatience under their yoke. Kent, which had been the first to submit to him after the great battle of Hastings, was now also the first to take advantage of his absence and rebel against his authority. Headed by Eustace, count of Boulogne, they not only did much damage in the open country, but even had the boldness to attempt the capture of Dover castle; and almost at the same time Edric the Forester, whose possessions lay towards the Welsh border, leagued himself with some discontented Welsh chieftains, being induced to do so by the wanton insolence with which some of the Norman leaders in the neighbourhood had spoiled his property. These attempts at openly opposing the Normans were too hastily and loosely made to be successful, but they served to fan into a flame the smouldering fires of discontent which secretly, but no less steadily, burned in the heart of the people. Not merely to revolt against the Norman rule, but to rise on the same day in every village and town in the nation and massacre the Normans to a man, was now made the object of a general conspiracy among the Saxon population; and so general and so determined was the frenzied desire to carry this object into effect, that earl Coxo, having refused to place himself at the head of his numerous serfs, was actually put to death as an enemy to his country and an ally of the Norman oppressors.

Information of the rebellious state of his new kingdom was speedily conveyed to William, who hastened over and applied himself to the task of punishing those who had openly revolted, and of intimidating those who, though still in outward appearance loyal, might be contemplating a similar course. The estates of the revolted were, as a matter of course, confiscated; and William thus obtained a large increase of sure means to gratify the rapacity of his myrmidons and to insure their zeal and fidelity. But while he thus availed himself to the utmost of a plausible reason for confiscation or plunder, and at the very moment when he at once insulted and oppressed the Saxon people by reimposing the tax of *danegelt*, so especially onerous and odious to them, he with consummate art preserved an appearance of moderation and of strict adherence to justice, by ordering the restoration to their possessions of Saxons who had been violently and unjustly dispossessed during his absence in Normandy. By this plausible measure he at once taught his subordinates that he would allow no wrong to be done but with his own sanction, procured a certain popularity among the Saxons, and obtained a sort of anticipative counter-plea against the complaints that might be made of his subsequent injustice, even though it should be displayed towards the very proprietors whom he now restored.

A.D. 1069.—The activity, watchfulness, and severity of William rendered the general rising of the Saxons wholly impracticable; but the desire for it had spread too widely to pass away without some appeals to arms, however ill-concerted and partial. The inhabitants of Exeter, a city which had always been among the greatest sufferers from invaders, and in which great influence was possessed by Githa, mother of the deceased Harold, ventured openly to brave the resentment of William by refusing to admit a Norman garrison within its walls; and when the men of Exeter armed in support of this determination, they were instantly joined by a vast number of Devonshire and Cornwall men. But the more prudent among their leaders, greatly influenced, no doubt, by selfish considerations no sooner

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heard that William was approaching them with a vast body of his disciplined and unsparing troops, than they counselled submission, and induced their followers to send the king hostages for their good behaviour. But as it is ever far easier to excite the multitude to revolt than to lay the spirit of violence when once raised, the people broke out anew even after the delivery of the hostages. They soon found they had to do with one who had little inclination to halt at half measures. He immediately drew up his force under the walls of the place, and by way of showing the revolted people how little mercy they had to expect from him, he barbarously caused the eyes of one of the hostages to be put out. This stern and savage severity had all the effect he expected from it; the people instantly submitted themselves to his mercy, and he contented himself with placing a strong guard in their city. Githa, whose wealth would have furnished a rich booty for William and his followers, was fortunate enough to escape to Flanders with the whole of her treasures. The submissive example of Exeter was speedily followed by Cornwall; and William, having strongly garrisoned it, returned with his army to Winchester, where he then held his court, and being now joined by queen Matilda, who had not previously thought it safe to visit her new kingdom, he caused her coronation to be solemnised with much pomp. Soon after this ceremony the queen presented her husband with their fourth son, Henry; the three elder brothers of this prince, Robert, Richard, and William, were born and still remained in Normandy. The signal success and ease with which the king had quelled the revolt in the west did not prevent disturbances arising in other parts of the country. In fact, such disturbances were almost inevitable; for the Norman chiefs who were posted in various parts of the kingdom were far too much interested in causing confiscation, to imitate even the pretences made to moderation by their prince, and their exactions and insolence were such as to be well calculated to excite the discontent and resistance of a far more patient and orderly people than the Saxons. In the north, where, being remote from the king's immediate authority, the Norman nobles had probably carried their licence to an intolerable extent, the people were enraged to so bold a temper, that Edwin and Morcar thought it not impolitic to place themselves at their head; anticipating, it would seem, an effectual opposition to the hated rule of the invader. Their cause seemed the more likely to be successful, because, in addition to the number and resolution of the Saxons in revolt, they had the promise of support from Malcolm, king of Scotland, Blethyn, prince of Wales, who was related to them, and Sweyn, king of Denmark, who had a personal and peculiar interest in the success of the Saxon cause.

The conduct of Edwin and Morcar on William's first invasion, when they only withdrew their opposition on perceiving that they could no longer rely upon the zealous cooperation of the people, sufficiently attests their sincere love of country But we must not omit to state, that on this occasion of rising in the north the noblemen in question were to a considerable extent influenced by private animosity. How seldom, alas! is even the purest patriotism free from all taint of selfish and personal feeling!

To high-spirited nobles, like Edwin and Morcar, the mere indications of distrust which William could not, with all his policy, wholly avoid giving, would have been highly offensive in themselves. But as regarded Edwin, the distrust manifested by the king assumed a deeper tint of offence, inasmuch as he manifested it by an arbitrary and capricious refusal to perform the promise he had made on ascending the throne, to give to that nobleman the hand of his daughter in marriage. This affront, implying so much distrust, and, certainly, giving the rejected suitor and his brother good reason to infer the foregone determination of still further and more direct proofs of the king's ill-will, undoubtedly had its influence in causing the brothers openly to put themselves at the head of the present revolt.

However little reason William had to expect a new outbreak so soon after the example he had made in the west, he was not, in the military sense of the word at least, surprised. His troops were constantly kept in marching order, and though they were distributed over a large space of country, their lines of communication were so arranged that a vast number could on the shortest notice be assembled in one compact body. The instant, therefore, that he was informed of this new revolt, he set out for the north by forced marches; caused Warwick and Nottingham castles to be strongly garrisoned under the respective command of Henry de Beaumont and William Peveril, and reached York with such unexpected celerity, that he appeared in front of the astonished insurgents before they had received any of the foreign aid upon which they had so greatly reckoned when forming their plans. Edwin and Morcar, together with another very powerful noble who had taken part with them, wisely gave up all thought of making any resistance with their very inferior force, and were received into the king's peace and pardon. He not only spared them in person, but in their possessions also; still confiscations were too essential a part of his means of consolidating and perpetuating his power, to be generally dispensed with. While the leading men were thus allowed to escape impoverishment as well as the more severe punishment of rebellion, their humbler and, comparatively, unoffending followers were mulcted with the most merciless severity. The whole secret of his clemency to the three powerful leaders whom we have named seems to have been his doubt whether he could just then crush them without a risk more than proportioned to the gain.

The failure of this rebellion in the north

and the peace made between William and Malcolm of Scotland, which seemed to cut off all hope of future aid from that monarch, impressed the whole nation with a hopeless sense of utter and unfriended subjection. The multitude muttered the deep curses to which they dared not give louder utterance, and prepared to toil on in their ordinary routine, and bear more or less oppression as the caprice or the policy of their tyrants might determine. But the hopelessness of braver and more passionate spirits was of a less passive kind. Unable to free their land from the rule of the oppressor, they at least had philosophy enough to abandon it and seek freer homes in stranger climes, whence they could return should a brighter day beam upon England. Among those who thus voluntarily went into exile was Edgar Atheling, who, with his sisters Margaret and Christina, sought peace in Scotland. Malcolm not only showed every kindness to the illustrious exiles, but married Margaret; and partly on account of the connection he thus formed with the most illustrious of the Saxon families, though mainly, perhaps, with the politic view of strengthening his kingdom, he gave ready shelter to all Saxons, of whatever rank, who sought it in his dominions.

If many of the English were driven into exile by despair of being able to free their country, not a few of the Normans began to grow weary of living in a land so frequently disturbed, and among a people to whom they felt that they were so thoroughly hateful, that their lives as well as possessions would infallibly be forfeited should that people get the upper hand of them for even a single day. This weariness, moreover, was by no means exclusively confined to the meaner sort. Many of the higher chieftains, and among them Humphrey de Tellol and Hugh de Gratesmil, requested their dismissal and permission to return home. The king could scarcely refuse compliance with such a request, but he revoked his grants in the case of all who made it, telling them that the land and its defenders must go together. And though some of his bravest leaders left him upon these unfriendly terms, he had little occasion to regret them, for his liberality and ample means of displaying it insured him abundance of new adventurers, not merely willing but eager to enlist under his banner.

A.D. 1069.—The departure of so many malcontents from England had by no means the effect, as it might seem certain to have, of diminishing the chances of disturbances. The voluntary exiles carried their griefs and their rancour with them, and lost no opportunity of making friends for England and foes for England's Norman tyrants. Nor did they want for a rallying point. When Harold fell, bravely battling against the invaders, his three sons, Godwin, Edmond, and Magnus, sought shelter in Ireland. They were well received by the princes and chiefs of that wild country, and soon became very popular among them. Enraged at the cause of their exile from England, and constantly surrounded by such practical lovers of strife as the Irish princes of that time, they naturally began to contemplate a descent upon England, and to calculate what aid they could rely upon beyond that which Ireland's own wild chieftains and strife-loving kerns could afford them. Denmark they could with tolerable certainty depend upon; and they hoped that both Scotland and Wales would be induced to aid them when the strife should once fairly be afoot. Encouraged by these confident expectations of aid, they landed with a considerable but disorderly force upon the coast of Devonshire. But instead of finding the English peasantry flocking around them, grateful for their coming and eager to join in their enterprise, they, on the contrary, had scarcely set foot upon the shore when they found themselves vigorously assailed by the trained hirelings of the Norman, under the command of Brian, son of the count of Brittany, who worsted them in several petty battles, and at length drove them back, with much loss and some disgrace, to their vessels.

Unsuccessful as this attempt of the sons of Harold was in itself, it served as a signal for numerous risings, especially in the northern part of the kingdom. The Northumbrians rose, took Durham by surprise, and slew upwards of seven hundred men, among whom was the governor, Robert de Comyn, to whose negligence the Saxons were said to have been mainly indebted for their success. From Durham the inclination to revolt spread to York. There the governor, Robert Fitz-Richard, and many of his people, were slain; and the second in command, William Mallet, secured the castle, to which the rebels promptly laid siege. They were aided in this bold attempt by the Danes, who now landed from three hundred ships, and by the appearance among them of Edgar Atheling, who was accompanied by several Saxon exiles of rank and some influential Scots, who promised the aid of large numbers of their countrymen. The castle of York was so strong and so well garrisoned, that it is probable it might easily have held out against all the rude and unscientific attacks that the revolted Northumbrians and their allies could have made upon it, but for an accident. William Mallet, the gallant defender of the castle, perceiving that some houses were situated so near as to command a portion of the walls, ordered them to be fired, lest they should serve as works for the besiegers. But fire is a servant as uncertain and uncontrollable as it is swift. A brisk wind carried the flames beyond the houses which were specially devoted to their destroying ministry; everywhere the flames found abundant fuel, nearly all the buildings being of wood; and the conflagration, defying the inadequate means by which the people tried to stop it, destroyed nearly the whole of the city, which even at that time was very populous. The alarm and confusion which were caused by this event enabled the rebels to carry the castle by storm; and scarcely a man of the gar-

rison, numbering nearly three thousand, was spared alive. Hereward, an East Anglian nobleman, at the same time wrought much confusion and difficulty to the Normans; cutting off their marching parties and retiring with their spoils to the Isle of Ely. Somerset and Dorset were in arms to a man; and Devon and Cornwall also rose, with the exception of Exeter, which honourably testified its sense of the clemency twice shown to all its population save one unfortunate hostage, and held its gates closed for the king even against its nearest neighbours. Edric the Forester, who had many causes of quarrel with the Normans, allied himself with a numerous body of Welsh, and not only maintained himself against the Norman force under Fitzosborne and earl Brian, but also laid siege to the castle of Shrewsbury.

When to these instances of open and powerful rebellion we add innumerable petty revolts in other parts and the universal hostility and restlessness of the Saxons, it will be admitted that there was enough in the state of the country to have made the boldest of monarchs anxious. And William was anxious, but undismayed. To his eagle eye a single glance revealed where force was absolutely requisite, and where bribery would still more readily succeed. To the Danes, who were headed by Osborne, brother of the king of Denmark, and by Harold and Canute, sons of that monarch, he well knew that the freedom of the country was a mere pretext, and that their real incentive to strife was desire of gain. Them he at once resolved to buy off; and he quickly succeeded in getting them to retire to Denmark, by paying them a sum of money in hand and giving them leave to plunder the coast on their way. Deserted by so considerable an ally, the native leaders became alarmed, and William found no difficulty in persuading Waltheof, who had been made governor of York by the Saxons on their taking the castle by storm, to submit on promise of favour; a promise which the king strictly kept. Cospatric followed the example, and was made earl of Northumberland; and Edric the Forester also submitted and was taken into favour. Edgar Atheling had no course open to him but to hasten back to Scotland, for, while the loss of all his allies rendered any struggle on his part so hopeless that it would have been ridiculous, he feared, and with great apparent reason, that his Saxon blood-royal would incite William to put him to death. The king of Scotland, to whose tardy coming the confederates in some degree owed their ill success, seeing that the northern confederacy was broken up, marched his troops back again. The failure in the north struck terror into the rebels throughout the kingdom; and William saw all his late opponents subject to him, save Hereward, who still maintained his partisan warfare—owing his protection to the difficulty of access to his swampy retreat.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Reign of WILLIAM I. (*continued.*)

A.D. 1070.—HAVING by force and policy dissipated the confederacy which had threatened him, William now determined to show that whatever kindness and favour he might extend to individual Saxons, whether from genuine good feeling or from deep policy, the great body of the people had no mercy to hope from him. And as the north had been especially troublesome to him, so he selected that part to be the first to feel how terrible his wrath could be. Between the rivers Humber and Tees, a vast expanse of sixty miles of country, as fertile as it was beautiful, was by his stern order utterly laid waste. The cattle and such other property as could be conveyed away became the booty of the Norman soldiery; the houses were burned to the ground, and the wretched inhabitants left to perish upon their desolated lands, without shelter, without food, and without hope or pity. Vast numbers of them made their way into the lowlands of Scotland, but many there were who could not do so, or were so attached to the site of their once happy homes, that they remained in the woods, and perished slowly by hunger or the terrible diseases produced by exposure to the elements. It is calculated that by this one act of merciless severity not fewer than a hundred thousand Saxons miserably perished!

Though the north was thus especially marked out for the exterminating rigour of the Conqueror, the rest of the country was by no means allowed to escape. The unsuccessful revolts had placed nearly all the great landholders of the nation at his mercy; for they, being especially interested in throwing off his yoke, had nearly to a man been implicated either by personal appearance in the field or by furnishing supplies. Hitherto, the king, as a matter of policy, had affected something like moderation and mercy in putting the laws of attainder and forfeiture into effect. But now he no longer needed to pursue that wily policy; the unsuccessful attempts to shake off his authority had terminated in making it absolute and even unassailable. The whole nation lay bound hand and foot at his pleasure, and he proceeded so to dispose of the lands that he in fact became the one great landlord of the nation. No one knew better than he did that the property of a nation is its power; and that power of the Saxons he now transferred to the Normans in addition to their terrible power of the sword. No antiquity of family, no excellence of character, could save the Saxon proprietor from being despoiled of his possessions. The more powerful and popular the family, the more necessary was its abasement and impoverishment to the completion of William's purpose: he who had taken any share in the revolts was mulcted of his property, and assured that he owed it to the king's great lenity that his life was spared; and he who had taken no such part, but was convicted of the crime of being wealthy, was equally de-

spoiled, lest his wealth should at some future time lead him into rebellious practices.

Having thus effected the utter spoliation of the noble and wealthy Saxons, William's next care was to dispose of the lands of England in such wise as to give himself the most absolute power over them; and here he had no need of any inventive genius—he had merely to apply to England the old feudal law of France and his native Normandy. Having largely added to the already large demesnes of the crown, he divided all the forfeited lands—which might almost without hyperbole be said to be all the lands of England—into baronies, which baronies he conferred upon his bravest and most trusty leaders, not in fee-simple, but as fiefs held upon certain payments or services, for the most part military. The individual grants thus made were infinitely too vast to be actually held in use by the individual grantees, who, therefore, parcelled them out to knights and vassals, who held of them by the same suit and service by which they held from their lord paramount, the king. And that the feudal law might universally obtain in England, and that there might be no exception or qualification to the paramount lordship of the king over the whole land, even the few Saxon proprietors who were not directly and by attainder deprived of their lands were compelled to hold them by suit and service from some Norman baron, who in his turn did suit and service for them to the king.

Considering the superstition of the age, it might have been supposed that the church would have been exempted from William's tyrannous arrangement. But though, as we shall presently have occasion to show, he was anxious to exalt the power of Rome, he was not the less determined that even Rome should be second to him in power in his own dominions. He called upon the bishops and abbots for quit-rents in peace, and for their quota of knights and men-at-arms when he should be at war, in proportion to their possessions attached to sees or abbeys, as the case might be. It was in vain that the clergy bewailed the tyranny of the king, which, now that it affected themselves, they discovered to be quite intolerable; and it was equally in vain that the pope, who had so zealously aided and encouraged William in his invasion, remonstrated upon his thus confounding the clergy with the laity. William had the power of the sword, and wailings and remonstrances were alike ineffectual to work any change upon his iron will. As, by compelling the undeprived lay Saxons to hold under Norman lords, he so completely subjected them as to render revolt impracticable, so he took care that henceforth all ecclesiastical dignities should be exclusively conferred upon Normans.

But there was one Saxon, Stigand, the archbishop of Canterbury, whose authority was too great not to be obnoxious to the suspicions and fears of William, the more especially as Stigand had both wealth and powerful connections in addition to his official dignity, and was a man of both talent and courage. These considerations, while they made William desirous of ruining the primate, at the same time made him dissemble his intentions until he could securely as well as surely carry them into effect. He consequently seemed, by every civility, to endeavour to efface from the primate's recollection the affront offered to him at the coronation; and a superficial observer, or one unacquainted with the king's wily as well as resolute nature, would for a long time have imagined Stigand to have been one of his prime favourites—for a Saxon. But when William had subdued the rest of the nation so completely that he had no fear of his attempt upon Stigand eliciting any powerful or perilous opposition, the ruin of the primate was at once determined upon and wrought. And circumstances furnished him with an instrument by whose means he was able to accomplish his unjust work with at least some appearance of judicial regularity.

Pope Alexander II., whose countenance and encouragement had rendered William good service in his invasion, anxious to leave no means untried of increasing the papal influence in England, had only awaited William's seemingly perfect establishment upon the throne, and he now sent over Ermenfroy, a favourite bishop, as his legate. This prelate, who was the first legate ever sent into England, and the king served each other's ends to admiration. William, by receiving the legate at once, confirmed the friendly feeling of the papal court, and secured the services of an authority competent to deal with the primate and other prelates in ecclesiastical form, and nominally upon ecclesiastical grounds, while in reality merely wreaking the vengeance of the temporal monarch; and the legate, while serving as the instrument of the king's individual purposes, exalted both his own power and that of the pope in the eyes of the people. Having formed a court of bishops and abbots, with the assistance of the cardinals John and Peter, he cited Stigand to answer to three charges; viz. of holding the bishopric of Winchester together with the primacy of Canterbury; of having officiated in the pall of his predecessor; and of having received his own pall from Benedict IX., who was alleged to have intruded himself into the papacy. The substance of this last charge the reader will doubtless recognise as the pretext upon which William refused to be crowned by Stigand; and all the charges are so trivial that the mere mention of them must sufficiently show the animus with which they were made. Even the most serious charge, that of being a pluralist, was then comparatively trivial; the practice being frequent, rarely noticed at all, and never visited by any more severe condemnation than that of being compelled to resign one of the sees.

But when so powerful and wilful a monarch as William had determined upon the ruin of a subject, it matters but little how trivial may be the charge or how un-

conclusive the evidence; Stigand was degraded from his dignity by the obsequious legate, and thus thrown helpless into the hands of the king, who not merely confiscated all his possessions, but also committed him to prison, where he lingered in most undeserved suffering and neglect for the rest of his life.

Having thus easily crushed the chief and by far the most important Saxon personage of the hierarchy, William proceeded to bestow the same hard treatment upon bishops Agelric and Agelware, who, being formally deposed by the obsequious legate, were imprisoned by the king. Egelwin, bishop of Durham, was marked out for the same fate, but he had timely warning and escaped from the kingdom. Aldred, archbishop of York, was so grieved that, in having performed the ceremony of William's coronation, he had even incidentally aided in raising up so unsparing an enemy of his brethren of the hierarchy, that his mental sufferings produced a mortal disorder, and it is said that with his dying breath he called down heaven's vengeance upon William for his general tyranny, and for his especial misconduct towards the church in direct violation of his coronation oath.

Apparently regardless of the curses of the archbishop or of the deep hatred of the Saxons in general, William steadily pursued his course. He took care to fill all ecclesiastical vacancies with foreigners, who, while doing their utmost to promote the papal authority and interests in England, were at the same time zealous supporters of the authority of the king; whom they especially aided in that surest of all means of destroying a conquered people's nationality, the introduction of the language of the conquerors into general, but more especially into legal use.

In the recent general and signally unsuccessful revolt, the earls Morcar and Edwin had taken no part, or, at the least, no open part. But now that the Conqueror had no longer any temptation to hypocritical and politic mildness, the situation of these noblemen was a truly perilous and difficult one. Their very lineage and the popularity they enjoyed among the men of their own race made them hateful to the king, who felt that they were constantly looked up to as leaders likely at some period to aid the Saxons in throwing off his yoke. Their wealth, on the other hand, exposed them to the envy of the needy and grasping among the Norman nobles, who eagerly longed to see them engaged in some enterprise which would lead to their attainder and forfeiture. Being too certainly convinced that their ruin was only deferred, and would be completed upon the first plausible occasion that might present itself, they determined openly to brave the worst, and to fall, if fall they must, in the attempt to deliver both themselves and their country. Edwin, therefore, went to his possessions in the north to prepare his followers for one more struggle against the Norman power; and Morcar, with such followers as he could immediately command, joined the brave Hereward, who still maintained his position among the almost inaccessible swamps of the Isle of Ely. But William was now at leisure to bring his gigantic power to bear upon this chief shelter of the comparatively few Saxons who still dared to strive against his tyranny. He caused a large number of flat-bottomed punts to be constructed, by which he could land upon the island, and by dint of vast labour he made a practicable causeway through the morasses, and surrounded the revolted with such an overwhelming force, that a surrender at discretion was the only course that could be taken. Hereward, however, made his way through the enemy, and, having gained the sea, continued, upon that element, to be so daring and effective an enemy to the Normans, that William, who had enough generosity remaining to value even in an enemy a spirit so congenial to his own, voluntarily forgave him all his acts of opposition, and restored him to his estate and to his standing in the country. Earl Morcar, and Egelwin, the bishop of Durham, were taken among the revolted, and thrown into prison, where the latter speedily perished, either of grief or from the severities inflicted upon him. Edwin, on the new success of the king in capturing the garrison of the Isle of Ely, set out for Scotland, where he was certain of a warm welcome. But some miscreant who was in the secret of his route divulged it to a party of the Normans, who overtook him ere he could reach the border, and in the conflict that ensued he was slain. His gallantry had made him admired even by his enemies, and both Normans and Saxons joined in lamenting his untimely end. The king of Scotland, who had lent his aid to the revolted, was compelled to submit to the victorious William; and Edgar Atheling, no longer able to depend upon safety even in Scotland, threw himself upon William's mercy. The Conqueror, who seems to have held the character of that prince in the most entire contempt, not only gave him life and liberty, but even allowed him a pension to enable him to live in comfort as a subject in that land of which he ought to have been the sovereign.

Upon this occasion, as upon all others, William's policy made clemency and severity go hand in hand. While to the leading men of the revolted he showed either comparative or positive lenity, he visited the common herd with the most frightful rigour, putting out the eyes and cutting off the hands of very many of them, and sending them forth in this horrible condition as a warning to their fellow-countrymen.

A.D. 1073.—From England William was now obliged to turn his attention to France. The province of Maine in that country had been willed to him, before he became king of England, by count Herbert. Recently the people, encouraged by William's residence in England, and rendered discontented by the vexatious oppression of the Normans, to whom he had intrusted the government, rose and expelled them; to which decisive course they were encouraged by Fulke.

count of Anjou, who, but for count Herbert's will, would have succeeded to the province. The complete subjection of England furnished the king with leisure to chastise the people of Maine, and he accordingly went over with a large force, chiefly composed of English from the districts most prone to revolt. With these troops, who exerted themselves greatly in the hope of winning the favour of a monarch whose power they had no longer any means of shaking off, and with a sufficient number of natives of Normandy to insure him against any treachery on the part of the English, he entered Maine, and compelled the submission of that province, and the relinquishment by the earl of Anjou of all pretensions to it.

A.D. 1074.—While William was thus successful in France, England was disturbed, not by the English, but by the most powerful of the king's own favourite Normans. Obedient to their leader in the field, the Norman barons were accustomed in civil life to deem themselves perfectly independent; and these feudal chiefs having in their own territory absolute power, even to the infliction of death upon offenders, were too sovereign to brook without reluctance the arbitrary way in which William was accustomed to issue and enforce his orders. The consequence was a very general, though hitherto a secret, discontent among the Norman barons of England. The long-smouldering discontent was brought to light by the arbitrary interference of the king in the domestic affairs of Roger, son of his favourite Fitzosborne. Roger, who had been created earl of Hereford, wished to give his sister in marriage to Ralph de Gunder, earl of Norfolk, and, rather as a respectful formality than in the expectation that the king would interpose any obstacle, had requested his sanction, which William arbitrarily, and without assigning a reason, refused. Surprised, and still more indignant, at the king's refusal, both the earls determined that the marriage should proceed notwithstanding. They accordingly assembled the friends of their respective houses, and at the banquet which followed the ceremony, they openly and warmly inveighed against the caprice of the king, and especially against the rigour of the authority which he seemed so much determined to exercise over those very nobles to whose gallantry he owed the richest of his territories and the proudest of his distinctions. The company, after the Norman fashion, had drunk deeply; and to men warmed with wine any arguments will seem cogent. And certainly many of the arguments which were now used to induce some of the most powerful of the Norman nobility to rebel against the king, required all the aid of wine and wassail to enable them to pass muster before even the most superficial judges. Though every Norman present owed all that he had of English wealth or English rank to the ruin of the rightful Saxon owners, the cruelty of the king towards the Saxons was inveighed against with a most hypocritical and loathsome cant: merely because Waltheof, earl of Northumberland, who was present, was a Saxon by birth, and well known to be still Saxon in heart, though he was a prime favourite of the King, who had given him his niece Judith in marriage. Again, the illegitimacy of William's birth was dwelt upon as a reason for revolting against his authority; though it had from his very childhood been not the slightest bar to his succession to his father's dukedom; though it was considered no dishonour in any country in Europe; and though William himself made so little secret of his irregular birth, that he very commonly, as duke of Normandy, signed himself *Gulielmus Basturdus*.

It would have been far better, as it turned out, if the discontented Normans had left Waltheof out of their calculation. The enthusiasm of a festive meeting, acting upon his strong though deeply concealed sympathy with his unfortunate fellow-countrymen, caused him to enter very readily into the conspiracy that was now formed against the authority of William. But with cooler moments came other feelings. Tyrant though William was to others, to him he had been a most gracious monarch and liberal friend; there was danger, too, that any conspiracy against a king so watchful and so powerful would be ruinous only to the conspirators themselves; and, finally, setting aside both personal gratitude and personal fears, was it not probable that in aiding to overthrow William, he would, in fact, be aiding to overthrow a single and not invariably cruel despot, only to set up a multitude of despots to spoil and trample the unhappy people? Whichever way his reflections turned, he was perplexed and alarmed; and having confidence equally in the affection and in the judgement of his wife, he intrusted her with the secret of the conspiracy, and consulted her as to the course that it would best befit him to take. But Judith, whose marriage had been brought about with less reference to her inclination than to the king's will, had suffered her affections to be seduced from her husband, and in the abominable hope of ridding herself of him by exposing him to the fatal anger of the king, she sent William all the particulars which she had thus confidentially acquired of the conspiracy. Waltheof, in the meantime, growing daily more and more perplexed and alarmed, confided his secret and his consequent perplexities to Lanfranc, whom, from being an Italian monk, the Conqueror had raised to the archbishopric of Canterbury, on the degradation and imprisonment of the unfortunate Stigand. Lanfranc advised him faithfully and well, pointing out to him how paramount his duty to the king and his own family was to any consideration he could have for the conspirators, and how likely it was that even by some one of them the conspiracy would be revealed to the king, if he did not by speedy information at once secure himself from punishment, and obtain whatever merit William might attach to the earliest information upon so important a subject. These arguments coincided so exactly with

Waltheof's own feelings, that he no longer hesitated how to act, but at once went over to Normandy and confessed everything to the king. With his usual politic tact, William gave the repentant conspirator a gracious reception, and professed to feel greatly obliged by his care in giving him the information; but knowing it all already by means of Waltheof's treacherous wife, William inwardly determined that Waltheof, especially as he was an Englishman, should eventually profit but little by his tardy repentance.

Meanwhile, Waltheof's sudden journey to the king in Normandy alarmed the conspirators; not doubting that they were betrayed, yet unwilling to fall unresisting victims to the king's rage, they broke into open revolt far more prematurely than otherwise they would. From the first dawning of the conspiracy it had been a leading point of their agreement that they should make no open demonstration of hostility to the king until the arrival of a large fleet of the Danes, with whom they had secretly allied themselves, and whose aid was quite indispensable to their combating, with any reasonable chance of success, the great majority of the nobility, who, from real attachment to the king or from more selfish motives, would be sure to defend their absent sovereign. But now that they were, as they rightly conjectured, betrayed by Waltheof, they could no longer regulate their conduct by the strict maxims of prudence. The earl of Hereford, as he was the first of the conspirators, was also the first openly to raise his standard against the king. He was, however, hemmed in, and prevented from passing the Severn, to carry rebellion into the heart of the kingdom, by the bishop of Worcester and the mitred abbot of Evesham in that county, aided by Walter de Lacy, a powerful Norman baron. The earl of Norfolk was defeated at Tragadus in Cambridgeshire, by Odo, the king's half-brother, who was left as regent of the kingdom, and Richard de Bienfaite and William de Warenne, the lords-justiciaries. The earl of Norfolk was fortunate enough to escape to Norfolk, but those of his routed followers who were so unfortunate as to be made prisoners and not slain immediately after the action were barbarously condemned to lose their right feet. When news of this rigour reached the earl in his Danish retreat, he gave up all hope of being able, as it would seem he had still intended, to raise any further disturbance in England; he, therefore, proceeded to his large possessions in Brittany.

A.D. 1075.—When the news reached William of the conspiracy having actually broken out into open revolt, he hastened over to England, where, however, (so speedily was the premature and ill-managed outbreak put an end to,) he only arrived in time to signalise his severity once more by the punishments which he inflicted upon the common herd of the rebels. Many of these unhappy wretches had their eyes put out; and still more were deprived of their right hands or feet, and thus made a perpetual and terrific warning against arousing the terrible anger of the king. The earl of Hereford, who was taken prisoner, and upon whom, as the primary cause of the revolt and the consequent misery and suffering, it might have been anticipated that the king's wrath would have fallen with deadly severity, escaped far better than the wretched peasants whom his imprudence had led into ruin. He was deprived of his estate and condemned to imprisonment during the king's pleasure. But the king gave evident signs of an intention to release the prisoner, whom he, in that case, would most probably have restored to his estate and to favour; but the impolitic and peculiarly ill-timed hauteur of the earl gave fresh offence to the fiery-tempered monarch, and the sentence of imprisonment was made perpetual.

Thus far Waltheof had felt no fear for himself. He had been guilty of no overt act of treason, and he had not only repented of the crime of conspiracy almost as soon as he had committed it, but had hastened to warn the king, who had received his information with great apparent thankfulness. But Waltheof left out of his calculation one very important point; he forgot to take into consideration the fatal fact of his being an Englishman. Moreover, he had the pleadings against him of his infamous wife Judith. The influence she had over her uncle would scarcely, perhaps, have sufficed to save her husband, unless powerfully backed by some other circumstances: but it was quite powerful enough, when added to that of the numerous courtiers who looked with greedy eyes upon the great property of Waltheof, to close the king's ears to the voice of mercy, and the unhappy Waltheof was tried and executed. We have not said that he was condemned: having said that he was tried, his condemnation need not be mentioned; for who, when the king wished his ruin, could in that age be tried and not condemned?

Waltheof, being universally considered the last Englishman of rank from whose exertions his unhappy fellow-countrymen could have hoped for any amelioration of their sufferings, was greatly lamented; nay, to such an extent was the popular grief carried, and so much was it mixed up with the superstition of the age, that his remains were supposed to be endued with the power of working miracles, and of thus, indirectly at least, bearing testimony to his sanctity and to the injustice of his execution. In proportion to the regret felt for the deceased earl was the public detestation of his widow. To that detestation retributive fortune soon added the loss of the king's favour, and the whole remainder of her life was spent in obscure and unpitied misery.

Having completely put an end to all disturbance in England, William now hastened over to Normandy to prepare to invade the possessions of Ralph de Guader, earl of Norfolk. But that nobleman was so well supported by the earl of Brittany and the king of France, that he was able to maintain himself in the fortress of Dol against all the force that William could

array against him. It was no part of William's policy to have any permanent or serious quarrel with the king of France; and finding that both that monarch and the earl of Brittany were resolutely bent upon supporting Ralph de Guader at whatever consequences, he wisely made a peace with all three.

A.D. 1076.—Lanfranc, raised by William to the archbishopric of Canterbury, was at once an ambitious man and a faithful and zealous servant of the papacy. Though he had been raised to his high station by the favour of the king, to whom he was really and gratefully attached, he would not allow the rights of the church to be in any wise infringed upon. On the death of Aldred, by whom it will be remembered that William had chosen to be crowned, Thomas, a Norman monk, was appointed to succeed him in the archbishopric of York. The new archbishop, probably presuming upon the king's favour, pretended that the archiepiscopal see of York had precedence and superiority to that of Canterbury. The fact of Aldred, his predecessor, having been called upon to crown the king, most probably weighed with the prelate of York: in which case he must have forgotten or wilfully neglected the circumstances of that event. Lanfranc did neither one nor the other; and, heedless of what the king might think or wish upon the subject, he boldly commenced a process in the papal court, which, after the delay for which Rome was already proverbial, was terminated most triumphantly for Lanfranc. It will readily be supposed that under such a prelate the people of England were not allowed to lose any portion of their exorbitant respect for the papacy. William, indeed, was not a monarch to allow even the church, potent as it was, to master him. Very early in his reign he expressly forbade his subjects from acknowledging anyone as pope until authorised to do so by the king; he required all canons of the synods to be submitted for his approval; and though even he did not deem it safe to dispute the right of the church to excommunicate evil-doers, he very effectually curbed that right, as applied to his own subjects, by ruling that no papal bull or letter should be held to be an authoritative or even an authentic document until it should have received his sanction. It was rather, therefore, in imbuing the minds of the people with a solemn awe and reverence of the pope and the church, that Lanfranc was busy and successful during this reign; and in this manner he was so busy and so successful, that subsequent monarchs of less ability and firmness than William were grievously incommoded.

Gregory VII. probably pushed the power of the papacy over the temporal concerns of the kingdoms of Europe further than any previous pope. He excommunicated Nicephorus, the emperor of the east, and Robert Guiscard, the Norman conqueror of Naples; he took away from Poland her very rank as a kingdom; and he pretended to the right of parcelling out the territory of Spain among those adventurers who should conquer it from the Moors. Though he was boldly and ably opposed by the emperor Henry IV., he was not a whit deterred in his ambitious course: and even the warlike, able, and somewhat fierce character of William did not shield him from being assailed by the extravagant demands of Rome. Gregory wrote to him to demand the payment of Peter's pence, which Rome had converted into a rightful tribute, though a Saxon prince had originally given the contribution so called merely as a voluntary donation; and he at the same time averred that William had promised to do homage to Rome for his kingdom of England. William sent the money, but he plainly and somewhat tartly told the pope at the same time that he had neither promised nor ever intended to do homage to Rome. The pope wisely forbore to press the subject: but though, in addition to this plain refusal to comply with an unreasonable demand, William still further showed his independence by forbidding the English to attend a council which Gregory had summoned, he had no means (even had he himself been more free from superstition than he appears to have been), of preventing the progress of the clergy in subjecting the minds of the people. The greatest efforts were made to render the celibacy of the clergy general, and to give the appearance of additional sanctimoniousness to their outward life, in order the more deeply to impress the people with the notion of the genuine sanctity of their character.

Prosperous as William was in his public affairs, he had much domestic trouble. He was obliged to remain for some years in Normandy, though as a residence he greatly preferred England. But his eldest son Robert, surnamed Courthose on account of the shortness of his legs, made his father fear for the safety of Normandy. It appears that when Maine submitted to William, he promised the people of that province that they should have Robert for their prince; and when he set out to conquer England, he, in compliance with the wish of the French king, whom it was just then his especial interest and desire to satisfy, named Robert as his successor in the duchy of Normandy. He was well aware that doing this was his sole means of reconciling France to his conquest of England; but he had not the slightest intention of performing his promise. Indeed, when he was subsequently asked by his son to put him in possession of Normandy, he ridiculed the young man's credulity by replying, in the vulgar proverb, that he did not intend to undress till he went to bed. The disappointment enraged the naturally bad temper of Robert; some quarrels with his brothers William and Henry, whom he hated for the superior favour they enjoyed with their father, inflamed him still farther, and he factiously did all that he could to thwart his father's wishes and interest in Normandy; nay, he was more than suspected of having, by his intrigues, confirmed the king of France and the earl of Brittany in their support of his rebellious vassal the earl of Norfolk.

So thoroughly bent was Robert upon undutiful opposition to his father, that he seized upon the opportunity afforded by an extremely childish quarrel between himself and his brothers, in which he accused his father of partially siding against him, and hastened to Rouen, where he endeavoured to surprise and seize the citadel. He was prevented from succeeding in this treason by the suspicion and activity of the governor, Roger de Ivery. Still bent upon this unnatural opposition, Robert retired to the castle of Hugh de Neuchatel, who not only gave him a hospitable reception, but assisted and encouraged him to make open war upon his sovereign and father. The fiery but generous character of Robert made him a very great favourite among the chivalrous Normans, and especially among the younger nobles of Normandy and the neighbouring provinces; and as Robert was supposed to be privately favoured by his mother, he had no difficulty in raising forces sufficient to throw his father's hereditary dominions into trouble and confusion for several years.

So troublesome did Robert and his adherents at length become, that William, growing seriously alarmed lest he should actually have the mortification and disgrace of seeing Normandy forcibly wrested from him by his own son, sent over to England for forces. They arrived under some of the veteran chiefs who had helped to conquer England; and the undutiful Robert was driven from the posts he had conquered, and compelled to take refuge in the castle of Gerberoy, which refuge the king of France, who had secretly counselled and abetted his misconduct, had provided for him. He was followed thither by his father in person, but the garrison being strong and well provided, the resistance was obstinate in proportion. Frequent sallies were made, and on one of these occasions Robert was personally opposed to his father, whom, from the king's visor being down, he did not recognise. The fight was fierce on both sides; and Robert, having the advantage of superior agility, wounded and unhorsed his father. The king shouted to one of his officers for aid to remount; and Robert, recognising his parent's voice, was so struck with horror at the narrow escape he had had of slaying the author of his being, that he threw himself upon his knees and intreated forgiveness for his misconduct. But the king was too deeply offended to be reconciled on the instant to his erring and penitent son, and, mounting Robert's horse, he rode to his own camp. The siege was shortly afterwards raised; and queen Matilda having succeeded in bringing about a reconciliation, the king not only allowed Robert to accompany him to England, but also intrusted him with an army to chastise the Scotch for some incursions they had made upon the northern parts of England. The Welsh who, as well as the Scotch, had taken advantage of the king's absence to make incursions, were now also chastised and brought into submission.

A.D. 1081.—Having both his Norman and English dominions now in a state of profound quiet, William turned his attention to the important object of a survey and valuation of the lands of England. Taking for his model the survey which had been made by order of Alfred, and which was deposited at Winchester, he had the extent, tenure, value, and kind of the land in each district carefully noted down, together with the names of the proprietors, and, in some cases, the names of the tenants, with the number, age, and sex of the cottagers and slaves. By good arrangement this important work, in despite of its great extent, was completed within six years, and, under the name of the Domesday book, it to this day remains to give us the most accurate account of England at that time,—with the exception of the northern provinces, which the ravages of war and William's own tyranny had reduced to such a wretched condition, that an account of them was considered not worth taking.

The king's acts were not always of so praiseworthy a character. Attached, like all Normans, to the pleasure of the chase, he allowed that pleasure to seduce him into cruelties more characteristic of a demon than of a man. The game in the royal forests was protected by laws far more severe than those which protected the lives of human beings. He who killed a man could atone to the law by the payment of a pecuniary fine; but he who was so unhappy as to be detected in killing a deer, a boar, or even an insignificant hare, in the royal forest, had his eyes put out!

A.D. 1087.—The royal forests which William found on coming to England were very extensive; but not sufficiently so for his more than regal passion for the chase. His usual residence was at Winchester; and desiring to have a spacious forest in the immediate vicinity, he mercilessly caused no less an extent of country than thirty miles to be laid waste to form one. Houses, whole villages, churches, nay even convents, were destroyed for this purpose; and a multitude of wretched people were thus without any compensation deprived of their homes and property, and cast upon the world, in many cases to perish of want.

Besides the trouble which William had been caused by the petulance of his son Robert, he towards the end of his reign had two very great trials: the ungrateful conduct of his half-brother Odo, bishop of Bayeux, and the death of queen Matilda, to whom throughout he was fervently attached. The presumption of Odo had led him not only to aim at the papal throne, but also to attempt to seduce some of William's nobles from their allegiance and accompany him to Italy. William ordered the proud prelate to be arrested; and finding that his officers, deterred by their fear of the church, were afraid to seize the bishop, he went in person to arrest him; and when Odo, mistakenly imagining that the king shared the popular prejudice, pleaded his sacred character, William drily replied, 'I do not arrest the bishop of Bayeux, but the earl of Kent'—which title William had

bestowed upon him. He then sent him to Normandy, and there kept him in confinement. William's end, however, now approached. Some incursions made upon Normandy by French knights, and a coarse joke passed upon his corpulence by the French king, so much provoked him, that he proceeded to lay waste the town of Mantes, with the avowed intention of carrying his rage still further. But while he watched the burning of the town his horse startled, and the king was so severely bruised that he died a few days afterwards at the monastery of St. Gervas. During his mortal illness he made great grants to churches and monasteries, by way of atonement for the hideous cruelties of which he had been guilty; but, with the usual inconsistency of superstition, he could scarcely be persuaded to accompany this ostentatious penitence by the forgiveness and release of his half-brother Odo. He at length, however, though with a reluctance that did him no credit, consented to release and forgive Odo, and he at the same time gave orders for the release of Morcar and other eminent English prisoners. He had scarcely given these orders when he died, on the 9th of September, 1087, in the twenty-first year of his usurped reign over England.

Now that we are arrived at the close of William the Conqueror's reign, it may be as well, before we proceed farther with our narrative, to make a short digression relative to the genealogical right by which the future monarchs of England successively claimed the throne. The Norman conquest, as we have seen, introduced an entire change in law, language, manners, and customs. England began to make a more considerable figure among the nations of Europe than it had assumed previous to this important event; and it received a new race of sovereigns, which, either by the male or female line, has continued down to the present day. These monarchs were of several 'houses' or families, according to the persons who espoused the princesses of England, and from such marriages gave to the nations its kings or queens; or according to the different branches into which the royal family was divided. Thus the NORMANS began with William the Conqueror, the head of the whole race, and ended with Henry I., in whom the male line failed. Stephen (generally included in the Norman line) was the only one of the house of BLOIS, from the marriage of Adela, the Conqueror's fourth daughter, with Stephen, earl of Blois. The PLANTAGENETS, or House of ANJOU, began with Henry II. from the marriage of Matilda or Maud, daughter of Henry I., with Geoffrey Plantagenet, earl of Anjou; and continued undivided to Richard II. inclusive. These were afterwards divided into the houses of LANCASTER and YORK; the former beginning with Henry IV. son of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, fourth son of Edward III. and ending with Henry VI. The latter began with Edward IV. son of Richard, duke of York, who on the father's side was grandson to Edmund de Langley, fifth son of Edward III., and by his mother descended from Lionel, third son of the said king; and ended in Richard III. The family of the TUDORS began with Henry VII. from the marriage of Margaret, great granddaughter of John of Gaunt, with Edmund Tudor, earl of Richmond; and ended with queen Elizabeth. The house of STUART began with James I., son of Henry Stuart lord Darnley, and Mary queen of Scots, whose grandmother was Margaret, daughter to Henry VII.; and ended with queen Anne. William III. was the only one of the house of ORANGE, whose mother was Mary, daughter of Charles I. And the house of BRUNSWICK, now reigning, began with George I., whose grandmother was the princess Elizabeth, daughter of James I.

CHAPTER XV.

The Reign of WILLIAM II.

A.D. 1087.—RICHARD, one of the Conqueror's sons, died before his father. To Robert, his eldest son, he left Normandy and Maine; to Henry he left only his mother's possessions, but consoled him for this by prophesying that he would in the end be both richer and more powerful than either of his brothers; and to William was left the most splendid of all his father's possessions, the crown of England, which the Conqueror, in a letter written on his death-bed, enjoined Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, to place upon his head. The young prince William, who, from the colour of his hair, was surnamed *Rufus*, was so anxious to avail himself of this letter, that he did not even wait at the monastery of St. Gervas long enough to receive his father's last breath, but hastened to England before the danger of the Conqueror was generally known, and obtained possession of the royal treasure at Winchester, amounting to 60,000*l.*—a large sum at that time. He also possessed himself of the important fortresses of Pevensey, Hastings, and Dover, which from their situation could not fail to be of great service to him in the event of his right to the crown being disputed. Such dispute he, in fact, had all possible reason to expect. The manner in which Robert's right of primogeniture was completely set aside by an informal letter written upon a death-bed, when even the strongest minds may reasonably be supposed to be unsettled, was in itself sufficient to lead to some discontent, even had that prince been of a less fiery and fierce temper than his disputes with his father and brothers had already proved him to be. Lanfranc, who had educated the new king and was much attached to him, took the best means to render opposition of no effect. He called together some of the chief nobles and prelates, and performed the ceremony of the coronation in the most implicit obedience to the deceased Conqueror's letter. This promptitude had the desired effect. The partisans of Robert, if absence from England had left him any, made not the slightest attempt to urge his hereditary right; and he seemed to give his own sanction to the will of his father,

by peaceably, and as a matter of course, assuming the government of Maine and Normandy which it conferred upon him.

But though no opposition was made to the accession of William Rufus at the time when, if ever, such opposition could reasonably have been made, namely, previous to his coronation, he was not long seated upon his throne before he experienced the opposition of some of the most powerful Norman nobles. Hatred of Lanfranc, and envy of his great power, actuated some of them; and many of them, possessing property both in England and Normandy, were anxious that both countries should be united under Robert, foreseeing danger to their property in one or the other country whensoever the separate sovereigns should disagree. They held that Robert, as eldest son, was entitled to both England and Normandy; and they were the more anxious for his success, because his careless and excessively generous temper promised them that freedom from interference upon which they set so high a value, and which the haughty and hard character of William Rufus threatened to deprive them of. Odo, bishop of Bayeux, and Robert, earl of Mortaigne, another half-brother of the Conqueror, urged these arguments upon some of the most eminent of the Norman nobility. Eustace, count of Boulogne, Roger Bigod, Hugh de Grantmesnil, William, bishop of Durham, Robert de Moubray, and other magnates, joined in the conspiracy to dethrone William; and they severally put their castles into a state of defence. William felt the full value of promptitude. Even the domestic conspirators were powerful enough to warrant considerable alarm and anxiety, but the king's danger would be increased tenfold by the arrival of reinforcements to them from Normandy. The king therefore rapidly got together as strong a force as he could and marched into Kent, where Rochester and Pevensey were seized and garrisoned by his uncles Odo and Robert. He starved the conspirators at both places into submission, and he was strongly inclined to put the leaders to death; but the more humane counsel of William de Warenne and Robert Fitzhammond, who had joined him, prevailed upon him to content himself with confiscating the property of the offenders and banishing them from the kingdom. His success over the foremost men of the rebel party decided the struggle in his favour. His powerful fleet had by this time stationed itself upon the coast, so that Robert no longer had any opportunity to land the reinforcements which his indolence had, so fatally for his cause, delayed. The earl of Shrewsbury, upon whom the conspirators had greatly depended, was skilfully won over by the king; and the rest of the leaders became hopeless of success, and either fled from the country or made their submission. Some were pardoned, and others were very lightly punished; the majority were attainted, and their estates were bestowed upon those barons who had sided with the king while his crown was yet in danger.

As soon as he had completely broken up the confederacy which had so early threatened his throne, Rufus began to exhibit himself in his true nature towards his English subjects. As long as his cause was at all doubtful, he had promised the utmost kindness and consideration; and he especially won the support and the good wishes of his English subjects by promising a great relaxation of the odious forest laws of his predecessor. Now that he was secure, he not merely failed to mitigate the tyranny under which the people groaned, but he increased it. While Lanfranc lived, the zeal and ability of that prelate, added to the superstition of the age, rendered the property of the church sacred. But Lanfranc died soon after the accession of William Rufus, who made his own will the sole law for all orders of his subjects, whether lay or clerical. On the death of a bishop or abbot he either set the see or abbey up for open sale, as he would any other kind of property, or he delayed the appointment of a new bishop or abbot, and so kept the temporalities in hand for his own use. Such conduct produced much discontent and murmuring; but the power of the king was too great, and his cruel and violent temper was too well known, to allow the general discontent to assume a more tangible and dangerous form. So confident, indeed, did the king feel of his power in England, that he even thought it not unsafe to disturb the peace of his brother Robert in Normandy, where the licentious barons were already in a most disorderly state, owing to the imprudent indulgence and lenity of their generous and facile duke. Availing himself of this state of things, William bribed the governors of Albemarle and St. Valori, and thus obtained possession of those important fortresses.

He was also near obtaining possession of Rouen, but was defeated in that object by the singular fidelity of his brother Henry to Robert, under circumstances of no small provocation to very different conduct.

Henry, though he had inherited only some money out of all the vast possessions of his father, had lent duke Robert three thousand marks to aid him in his attempt to wrest the crown of England from William. By way of security for this money, Henry was put in possession of considerable territory in Normandy: yet upon some real or pretended suspicion, Robert not only deprived him of this, but also threw him into prison. Though he was well aware that Robert only at last liberated him in consequence of requiring his aid on the threatened invasion of England, Henry behaved most loyally. Having learnt that Conan, a very powerful and influential citizen of Rouen, had traitorously bargained to give up the city to king William, the prince took him to the top of a lofty tower, and with his own hand threw him over the battlements.

The king at length landed a numerous army in Normandy, and the state of things became serious and threatening indeed as regarded the duke. But the intimate connection and mutual interests of the leading men on both sides favoured him; and a

treaty was made, by which the English king, on the one hand, obtained the territory of Eu and some other territorial advantages, while, on the other hand, he engaged to restore those barons who were banished from England for espousing the cause of Robert in the late revolt, and to assist his brother against the people of Maine who had revolted. It was further agreed, under the witness and guarantee of twelve of the chief barons on either side, that whoever of the two brothers should survive should inherit the possessions of the other.

In all this treaty not a word was inserted in favour of prince Henry, who naturally felt indignant at being so much neglected by his brother Robert, from whom he certainly had merited better treatment. Withdrawing from Rouen, he fortified himself at St. Michael's Mount, on the Norman coast, and sent out plundering parties, who greatly annoyed the whole neighbourhood. Robert and William besieged him here, and during the siege an incident occurred which goes to show that Robert's neglect of his brother was owing rather to carelessness than to any real want of generous feeling. Henry and his garrison were so much distressed for water that they must have speedily submitted. When this was told to Robert, he not only allowed his brother to supply himself with water, but also sent him a considerable quantity of wine. William, who could not sympathise with this chivalrous feeling, reproached Robert with being imprudent. 'What!' replied the generous duke, 'should I suffer our brother to die of thirst? Where shall we find another when he is gone?' But this temporary kindness of Robert did not prevent the unfortunate Henry from being pressed so severely that he was obliged to capitulate, and was driven forth, with his handful of attendants, almost destitute of money and resources.

A. D. 1091.—Robert, who was now in strict alliance with the king and brother who had so lately invaded his duchy with the most hostile intentions, was intrusted with the chief command of an English army, which was sent over the border to compel Malcolm to do homage to the crown of England. In this enterprise Robert was completely successful.

A. D. 1093.—But both peace and war were easily and quickly terminated in this age. Scarcely two years had elapsed from Malcolm's submission and withdrawal of the English troops, when he invaded England. Having plundered and wasted a great portion of Northumberland, he laid siege to Alnwick castle, where he was surprised by a party of English under the earl de Moubray, and in the action which followed Malcolm perished.

A. D. 1094.—William constantly kept his attention fixed upon Normandy. The careless and generous temper of his brother Robert, and the licentious nature of the Norman barons, kept that duchy in constant uneasiness; and William took up his temporary abode there, to encourage his own partisans and be ready to avail himself of anything that might seem to favour his designs upon his brother's inheritance. While in Normandy the king raised the large sum of ten thousand pounds by a roguish turn of ingenuity. Being, from the nature of the circumstances in which he was placed, far more in want of money than in want of men, he sent orders to his minister, Ralph Flambard, to raise an army of twenty thousand men, and march it to the coast, as if for instant embarkation. It is to be supposed that not a few of the men thus suddenly levied for foreign service were far more desirous of staying at home; and when the army reached the coast, these were gratified by the information that on payment of ten shillings to the king, each man was at liberty to return to his home. With the money thus obtained, William bribed the king of France and some of those barons who had hitherto sided with Robert. But before he could gain any decisive advantage from his Machiavelian policy, he was obliged to hasten over to England to repel the Welsh, who had made an incursion in his absence.

A. D. 1095.—While William had been so discreditably busy in promoting discord in the duchy of his brother, his own kingdom had not been free from intrigues. Robert de Moubray, earl of Northumberland, the count D'Eu, Roger de Lacey, and many other powerful barons, who had been deeply offended by the king's haughty and despotic temper, were this year detected in a conspiracy which had for its object the dethronement of the king in favour of Stephen, count of Aumale, and nephew of William the Conqueror. With his usual promptitude, William, on gaining intelligence of the conspiracy, took measures to defeat it. De Moubray was surprised before he had completed his preparations, and though he resisted gallantly he was overpowered and thrown into prison. Attainder and forfeiture followed as a matter of course, and for the long period of thirty years the unfortunate noble lingered in prison, where he died. The count D'Eu, who also was surprised, firmly denied his participation in the conspiracy, and challenged Geoffrey Baynard, by whom he had been accused, to mortal combat. The count was defeated, and the brutal sentence upon him was castration and deprivation of sight. The historians speak of William de Alderi, another of the conspirators, who was hanged, as having been more severely dealt with; but we think most people would consider that death was among the most merciful of the sentences of this cruel and semi-barbarous age.

A war, or rather a series of wars, now commenced, to which all the skirmishes of Scotland, and Wales, and Normandy, were to prove as mere child's play in comparison. We mean the first crusade, or holy war, the most prominent events of which we have given in our brief 'Outline of General History.' Priest and layman, soldier and trader, noble and peasant, all were suddenly seized with an enthusiasm little short of madness. Men of all ranks and almost of all ages took to arms. A holy war, a cru

sade of the Christians against the infidels; a warfare at once righteous and perilous, where valour fought under the sacred symbol of the cross, so dear to the Christian and so hateful to the infidel! Nothing could have more precisely and completely suited the spirit of an age in which it was difficult to say whether courage or superstition was the master-passion of all orders of men.

The temper of Robert, duke of Normandy, was not such as to allow him to remain unmoved by the fierce enthusiasm of all around him. Brave even to rashness, and easily led by his energetic but ill-disciplined feelings to fall into the general delusion, which combined all the attractions of chivalry with all the urgings of a mistaken and almost savage piety, he very early added his name to that of the Christian leaders who were to go forth to the rescue of the holy sepulchre and the chastisement of heathenism. But when, in the language of that book which laymen of his period but little read, he 'sat down to count the cost,' he speedily discovered that his lifelong carelessness and profusion had left him destitute of journeying to the East in the style or with the force which would become his rank. It was now that the cooler and more sordid temper of William of England gave that monarch the fullest advantage over his improvident and headstrong brother, who recklessly mortgaged his duchy to William for the comparatively insignificant sum of ten thousand marks. William raised the money by means of the most unblushing and tyrannous imposts upon his subjects, and was forthwith put in possession of Normandy and Maine; while Robert, expending his money in a noble outfit, proceeded to the East, full of dreams of temporal glory to be obtained by that slaughter of pagans which was to insure his eternal salvation. Though William was thus ready, with a view to his own advantage, to expedite the departure of his brother to the Holy Land, he was himself not only too free from the general enthusiasm to go thither himself, but he also, and very wisely, discouraged his subjects from doing so. He seems, indeed, though sufficiently superstitious to be easily worked upon by the clergy when he deemed his life in danger, to have been careless about religion even to the verge of impiety. More than one unbecoming jest upon religion is on record against him; but we may, perhaps, safely believe that the clergy, the sole historians of those times, with whom his arbitrary and ungovernable nature made him no favourite, had painted him in this respect somewhat worse than he was.

It was in one of his fits of superstition that, believing himself on the point of death, he was at length induced to fill up the archbishopric of Canterbury, which he had kept nullified from the death of Lanfranc. In terror at his supposed approaching death he conferred this dignity upon Anselm, a pious and learned Norman abbot. Anselm at first refused the promotion, even with tears; but when he at length accepted it, he abundantly proved that he was not inclined to allow the interests of the church to lack any defence or watchfulness. His severity of demeanour and life, and his unsparing sternness towards everything that either reason or superstition pointed out as profane and of evil report, were remarkable. He spared not in his censures even the king himself; and as William, on recovering from the illness which had caused him to promote Anselm, very plainly showed that he was not a jot more pious or just than before, disputes very soon grew high between the king and the archbishop whom he had taken so much trouble to persuade into acceptance of dignity and power. The church was at this time much agitated by a dispute between Urban and Clement. Each maintained himself to be the true, and his opponent the anti-pope. While yet only an abbot in Normandy, Anselm had acknowledged the authority of Urban; and he now, in his higher dignity and wider influence, still espoused his cause, and resolved to establish his authority in England. As the law of the Conqueror was still in force that no pope should be acknowledged in England until his authority should have received the sanction of the king, William determined to make this disobedience the pretext upon which to endeavour to deprive the archbishop of his high ecclesiastical dignity. The king accordingly summoned a synod at Rockingham, and called upon it to depose Anselm. But the assembled suffragans declined to pass the required sentence, declaring that they knew of no authority by which they could do so without the command of the pope, who alone could release them from the respect and obedience which they owed to their primate. While the case was in this state of incertitude and pause, some circumstances arose which rendered it expedient for William to acknowledge the legitimacy of Urban's election to the papal throne, but the apparent reconciliation which this produced between the king and Anselm was but of short duration. The main cause of grievance, though itself removed by the reconciliation of William and the pope, left behind an angry feeling which required only a pretext to burst forth, and that pretext the haughty state despotism of William and the no less haughty church zeal of Anselm speedily furnished.

We mentioned among the numerous despotic arrangements of the Conqueror, his having required from bishopries and abbeys the same feudal service in the field as from lay baronies of like value. William Rufus in this, as in all despotism, followed closely upon the track left by his father; and having resolved upon an expedition into Wales, he called upon Anselm for his regulated quota of men. Anselm, in common with all the churchmen, deemed this species of servitude very grievous and unbecoming to churchmen; but the despotic nature of William, and that feeling of feudal submission which, next to submission to the church, seems to have been the most powerful and irresistible feeling in thos

days, prevented him from giving an absolute refusal. He, therefore, took a middle course; he sent his quota of men, indeed, but so insufficiently accoutred and provided that they were utterly useless and a disgrace to the well-appointed force of which they were intended to form a part. The king threatened Anselm with a prosecution for this obviously intentional and insulting evasion of the spirit of his duty, while complying with its mere letter; and the prelate retorted by a demand for the restoration of the revenue of which his see had been arbitrarily and unfairly deprived by the king, appealing to the pope at the same time for protection and a just decision. The king's violent temper was so much inflamed by the prelate's opposition, that the friends of Anselm became alarmed for his personal safety, and application was made to the king for permission for the prelate to leave the country; a permission which he readily gave, as the best way, at once, to rid himself of an opponent whose virtuous and religious character made him both troublesome and dangerous, and to obtain possession, temporarily at the very least, of the whole of the rich temporalities of the see of Canterbury. Upon these he seized accordingly; but Anselm, whom the papal court looked upon as a martyr in the cause of the church, met with such a splendid reception at Rome as left him little to regret in a worldly point of view.

A.D. 1097.—Though freed from the vexatious opposition of the indomitable and upright churchman, William was not even now to enjoy repose; if, indeed, repose would have been a source of enjoyment to a temper so fierce and turbulent. Though his cooler judgement had enabled him to obtain Normandy and Maine from his thoughtless and prodigal brother, it did not enable him to keep in subjection the turbulent and almost independent barons of those provinces. They were perpetually in a state of disorder, either from personal quarrels or as the result of the artful instigations of the king of France, who lost no opportunity of inciting them to revolt against the king of England. Among the most troublesome of these barons was Helie, lord of La Flechе, a comparatively small town and territory in the province of Anjou. He was very popular among the people of Maine; and though William several times went from England for the express purpose of putting him down, Helie as constantly returned to his old courses the moment the monarch had returned home. William at length took Helie prisoner, but at the intercession of the king of France and the earl of Anjou he gave him his liberty. Untamed by the narrow escape he had had from death, in being released from the hands of so passionate and resolute a prince as William, Helie again commenced his plundering and destroying course; took possession, with the connivance of the citizens, of the town of Mans, and laid siege to the garrison which remained faithful to the king of England. William was engaged in his favourite pursuit of hunting in the New Forest when he received this intelligence and he was so transported with fury, that he galloped immediately to Dartmouth and hurried on board a vessel. The weather was so stormy and threatening that the sailors were unwilling to venture from port; but the king, with a good-humoured recklessness and scorn, assured them that kings were never drowned, and compelled them to set sail. This promptitude enabled him to arrive in time to raise the siege of Mans, and he pursued Helie to Majol; but he had scarcely commenced the siege of that place when he received so severe a wound that it became necessary for him to return to England.

A.D. 1100.—The crusading mania was still as strong as ever. William, duke of Poictiers and earl of Guienne, emulous of the fame of the earlier crusaders and wholly untaught by their misfortunes, raised an immense force; some historians say, as many as sixty thousand cavalry and a much larger number of infantry. To convey such a force to the Holy Land required no small sum of money; and count William offered to mortgage his dominions to William of England, to whom alone, of all the lay sovereigns of Europe, the crusades promised to be truly profitable. The king gladly agreed to advance the money, in the confident belief that it would never be in the power of the mortgager to redeem his provinces, and was in the very act of preparing the necessary force to escort the money and to take possession of the provinces, when an accident, famous in history, caused his death.

The New Forest, planted by the most iniquitous cruelty, was very fatal to the Conqueror's family; so much so as to leave us little reason to wonder that, in so superstitious an age, it was deemed that there was a special and retributive fate in the royal deaths which occurred there. Richard, elder brother of king William Rufus, was killed there; as was Richard, a natural son of duke Robert of Normandy. William Rufus was now a third royal victim. He was hunting there when an arrow shot by Walter Tyrrel, a Norman favourite of the monarch, struck a tree, and, glancing off, pierced the breast of the king, who died on the spot. The unintentional homicide, dreading the violent justice which the slayer of a king was likely to experience, no sooner saw the result of his luckless shot, than he galloped off to the sea-shore and crossed over to France, whence he with all speed departed for the Holy Land. His alarm and flight, though perfectly natural, were, in fact, quite needless. William was little beloved even by his immediate attendants and courtiers; and his body when found was hastily and carelessly interred at Winchester, without any of the gorgeous and expensive ceremony which usually marks the obsequies of a powerful monarch.

London Bridge—taken down only a very few years since, and Westminster Hall, were built by this monarch. For the last-named structure, which has the largest roof in the world unsupported by pillars, he ob-

gained the timber from Ireland, which at that time was very celebrated for its timber of all kinds, but especially for the very durable and beautiful sort known by the name of bog oak.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Reign of HENRY I.

WILLIAM RUFUS, who died on the second of August, 1100, in the fortieth year of his age and the thirteenth of his reign, left no legitimate issue, and was succeeded by his brother Henry, who was of the hunting party at which the king lost his life.

Robert, duke of Normandy, who as the elder brother of the deceased king had a preferable claim to that of Henry, was, as has already been related, one of the chief and most zealous leaders of the crusaders. After slaughter terrible merely to think of, and sufferings from famine and disease such as the pen of even a Thucydides would but imperfectly describe, the crusaders had obtained possession of Jerusalem. Solyman, the Turkish emperor, was thoroughly defeated in two tremendous battles; and Nice, the seat of his government, was captured after an obstinate siege. The soldan of Egypt, however, succeeded the Turkish emperor in the possession of Jerusalem, and he offered to allow free ingress and egress to all Christian pilgrims who chose to visit the holy sepulchre *unarmed*. But the religious zeal of the champions of the cross was far too highly inflamed by their recent triumphs over the crescent to allow of their accepting this compromise; they haughtily demanded the cession of the city altogether; and, on his refusal, siege was laid to it. For five weeks the soldan defended himself with the utmost coolness and valour against the assaults of highly disciplined and veteran troops, whose military ardour was now excited to the utmost by fanaticism. But at the end of that time the zeal and fury of the Christians prevailed; Jerusalem was carried by assault, and a scene of carnage and suffering ensued which might almost bear comparison with that earlier and dread scene in the same city, of which we owe the undying narrative to Josephus. Nor was the carnage confined even to the first hours of success. Long after the streets of the holy city were strewed with carcasses, and upon every hearth lay the dead forms of those who had vainly endeavoured to defend them; long after the pulses of the warrior had ceased to be quickened by the perilous assault, and his better nature to be stifled by the irritation of resistance, an unarmed rabble of ten thousand people, of both sexes and all ages, to whom quarter had been promised as the reward of submission, were treacherously and brutally murdered in cold blood by ruffians who soon after knelt in tearful rapture at the sepulchre of Him who died, lamb-like, for the salvation of all! Awful, indeed, is the contrast between the professed motive of this holy war and the conduct of the warriors!

The city of Jerusalem was taken just about twelve months previous to the death of William Rufus; and the crusaders, having elected Godfrey of Boulogne king of Jerusalem, and settled other nobles and knights in the Holy Land, returned to Europe. Had Robert, duke of Normandy, hastened home direct, he probably would have been able to prevent the usurpation of England by his younger brother. His knowledge of the character of William Rufus might naturally have been expected to hurry him home by anxiety about Normandy: but Robert was to the full as careless as he was brave. Passing through Italy, he fell in love with and married a noble lady, Sibylla, daughter of the count of Conversana, and remained a whole year in her native clime, abandoning himself to the delights of love and the most delicious country, while his friends in England—and his natural character, as well as the fame of his achievements in the East, made them very numerous—were in vain hoping that he would arrive to defeat the unjust ambition of Henry. The latter prince was as alert as his brother was indolent. The instant that he ascertained the death of his brother, he galloped into Winchester and seized upon the royal treasure. De Breteuil, the keeper, endeavoured to secure it, and remonstrated with the prince on the absolute treason of seizing the treasure and crown, which belonged of right to his elder brother, who was no less his sovereign for being absent. But Henry, whose friends hastened to support him, threatened to put De Breteuil to death if he attempted any resistance to his will; and, hastening to London with the money, he made so judiciously prodigal a use of it, alike among friends in fact and foes by inclination, that he easily obtained himself to be elected king by acclamation; and he was crowned, by Maurice, bishop of London, within three days of his brother's sudden and violent death. Title to the throne it is quite plain that Henry had none. But he now had possession; and as his judicious bribery had procured him, at the least, the ostensible support of all the most eminent and powerful barons, even the most sincere and zealous friends of the absent Robert were obliged to confess, however sorrowfully, that his own indolence had deprived him of all possibility of obtaining the throne from his more active and enterprising brother, unless at the fearful expense of a civil war.

Politic as he was resolute, Henry felt that, as his crown had been obtained by the most flagrant and unqualified usurpation, he would, at least at the outset of his reign, be best secured against any attempts which in mere desperation his brother might make to dethrone him, by the affection of the great body of the people as well as of the nobles. To obtain this, the tyrannies of his immediate predecessors afforded an ample and easy scope.

'Besides,' says Hume, 'taking the usual coronation oath to maintain the laws and execute justice, he passed a CHARTER which was calculated to remedy many of

the grievous oppressions which had been complained of during the reigns of his father and brother. He there promised, that at the death of any bishop or abbot he never would seize the revenues of the see or abbey during the vacancy, but would leave the whole to be reaped by the successor; and that he would never let to farm any ecclesiastical benefice, nor dispose of it for money. After this concession to the church, whose favour was of so great importance to him, he proceeded to enumerate the civil grievances which he proposed to redress. He promised that upon the death of any earl, baron, or military tenant, his heir should be admitted to the possession of his estate on paying a just and lawful relief, without being exposed to such violent exactions as had been usual during the late reigns; he remitted the wardship of minors; and allowed guardians to be appointed who should be answerable for the trust: he promised not to dispose of any heiress in marriage but by the advice of all the barons; and if any baron intended to give his daughter, sister, niece, or other kinswoman in marriage, it should only be necessary for him to consult the king, who promised to take no money for his consent, nor ever to refuse permission, unless the person to whom it was purposed to marry her should be his enemy. He granted his barons and military tenants the power of bequeathing by will their money or personal estates; and if they neglected to make a will, he promised that their heirs should succeed to them. He renounced the right of imposing moneyage and of levying taxes at pleasure on the farms which the barons retained in their own hands, and he made some general professions of moderating fines, offered a pardon for all offences, and remitted all the debts due to the crown. He required that the vassals of the barons should enjoy the same privileges which he granted to his own barons; and he promised a general confirmation and observance of the laws of king Edward. This is the substance of the chief articles contained in that famous charter.'

Though, to impress the people with the notion of his great anxiety for the full publicity and exact performance of these gracious promises, Henry caused a copy of this charter to be placed in an abbey in every county, his subsequent conduct shows that he never intended it for anything but a lure, by which to win the support of the barons and people, while that support as yet appeared desirable to his cause. The grievances which he so ostentatiously promised to redress were continued during his whole reign; and as regards the charter itself, it was so completely neglected, that when, in their disputes with the tyrant John, the English barons were desirous to make it the standard by which to express their demands, scarcely a copy of it could be found.

The popularity of the king at the commencement of his reign owed not a little of its warmth to his just and politic dismissal and imprisonment of Ralph Flambard, bishop of Durham, who, as principal minister and favourite of William Rufus had been guilty of great oppression and cruelty, especially in raising money. The Dudley and Empson of a later reign were scarcely more detested than this man was, and nothing could be more agreeable to the people than his degradation and punishment. But the king, apart from his politic desire to gratify the public resentment against his brother's chief and most unscrupulous instrument of oppression, seems to have had his own pecuniary advantage chiefly in view. Instead of immediately appointing a successor to the bishopric, he kept it vacant for five years, and during all that time he, in open contempt of the positive promise of his charter, applied the revenues of the see to his own use.

This shameful invasion of the rights of the church, however, did not prevent him from otherwise seeking its favour. Well aware of the high rank which Anselm held in the affections of both the clergy and the people, he strongly invited him to leave Lyons—where he now lived in great state—and resume his dignity in England. But the king accompanied this invitation with a demand that Anselm should renew to him the homage he had formerly paid to his brother. Anselm, however, by his residence at Rome, had learned to look with a very different eye now upon that homage which formerly he had looked upon as so mere and innocuous a form, and he returned for answer, that he not only would not pay homage himself, but he would not even communicate with any of the clergy who should do so, or who would accept of lay investiture. However much mortified Henry was at finding the exiled prelate thus resolute, he was too anxious for the support and countenance of Anselm—which if thrown into the scale for Robert might at some future time prove so formidable—to insist upon his own proposal. He therefore agreed that all controversy on the subjects should be referred to Rome; and Anselm was restored to his dignity, and, undoubtedly, all the more powerful both from the circumstances which led to his exile and those which accompanied his return. His authority was scarcely reestablished when it was appealed to upon a subject of the highest interest to the king himself. Matilda, daughter of Malcolm III., king of Scotland and niece of Edgar Atheling, had been educated in the nunnery of Ramsay. Well knowing how dear the royal Saxon lineage of this lady made her to the English nation, Henry proposed to espouse her. It is a striking instance of the extent to which the public mind was enslaved by Rome, that the mere residence and education of this princess in a convent, the mere wearing of the veil without ever having taken or intended to take the vows, seemed to make it doubtful whether she could lawfully contract matrimony! So it, however, was; and a solemn council of prelates and nobles was held at Lambeth to determine the point. This council was held so soon after the restoration of Anselm to his dignity, that we may, without great breach of charity, suspect that a desire to secure the support of Anselm upon this very subject

was at least one of the motives, if not the chief one, by which the king was actuated in recalling him. Before this council Matildastated that she had never contemplated taking the vows, and that she had only worn the veil, as it was quite commonly worn by the English ladies, as a safeguard from the violence of the Norman soldiery. As it was well known that against such violence even an English princess really had no other secure guard, the council determined that the wearing of the veil by Matilda had in no wise pledged her to or connected her with any religious sisterhood, and that she was as free to marry as though she had never worn it. Henry and Matilda were married. The ceremony was performed by Anselm, and was accompanied with great and gorgeous rejoicing. This marriage more than any other of his politic arrangements attached the English people to him. Married to a Saxon princess, he seemed to them to have acquired a greater right to the throne than any Norman prince, without that recommendation, could draw from any other circumstances.

A.D. 1101.—It soon appeared, that great as Henry's care had been to fortify himself in the general heart of the people, it had been neither unnecessary nor excessive. Robert, who had wasted so much time in Italy, returned to Normandy about a month after the death of his brother Rufus. Henry had given no orders and made no preparations to oppose Robert's resumption of the duchy of Normandy. Possessed of that *point d'appui*, and being much endeared to the warlike Norman barons by his achievements in the Holy Land, Robert immediately commenced preparations for invading England, and wresting his birthright from the usurping hands of his brother. Nor were the wishes for his success confined to those barons who chiefly or wholly lived in Normandy. On the contrary, many of the great barons of England decidedly preferred Robert to Henry; and, feeling the same dislike to holding their English and Norman possessions under two sovereigns, which had been so strongly expressed at the accession of William, they secretly encouraged Robert, and sent him assurances that they would join him with their levies as soon as he should land in England. Among these nobles were Robert de Belesme, earl of Shrewsbury, William de Warenne, earl of Surrey, Hugh de Grantmesnil, Robert de Mallet, and others of the very highest and most powerful men in England. The enthusiasm in his favour extended to the navy; and when Henry had, with great expense and exertion, made a fleet ready to oppose his brother's landing, the seamen deserted with the greater number of the ships, and put themselves and their vessels at the disposal of Robert. This incident gave the king great alarm, lest the army, too, should desert him, in which case not only his crown but his life would be in the most imminent danger. Henry, notwithstanding this peril, preserved his coolness, and did not allow, as men too frequently do, the greatness of the danger to turn away his attention from the best means of meeting and overcoming it. Well knowing the superstition of the people, he considered nothing lost while he could command the immense influence which Anselm had over the public mind. Accordingly he redoubled his court to that prelate, and succeeded in making him believe in the sincerity of his professed design and desire to rule justly and mildly. What he himself firmly believed, Anselm diligently and eloquently inculcated upon the minds of others; and as his influence and exertions were seconded by those of Roger Bigod, Robert Fitzhamond, the earl of Warwick, and other powerful nobles who remained faithful to Henry, the army was kept in good humour, and marched in good order, and with apparent zeal as well as cheerfulness, to Portsmouth, where Robert had landed.

Though the two armies were in face of each other for several days, not a blow was struck: both sides seeming to feel reluctant to commence a civil war. Anselm and other influential men on either side took advantage of this pause to bring about a treaty between the brothers; and, after much argument and some delay, it was agreed that Henry should retain the crown of England, and pay an annual pension of three thousand marks to Robert; that the survivor should succeed to the deceased brother's possessions; that they should mutually abstain from encouraging or harbouring each other's enemies; and that the adherents of both in the present quarrel should be undisturbed in their possessions and borne harmless for all that had passed.

A.D. 1102.—Though Henry agreed with seeming cheerfulness to this treaty, which in most points of view was so advantageous to him, he signed it with a full determination to break through at least one of its provisions. The power of his nobles had been too fully manifested to him in their encouragement of Robert, to admit of his being otherwise than anxious to break it. The earl of Shrewsbury, as one of the most powerful and also the most active of those who had given their adhesion to Robert, was first fixed upon by Henry to be made an example of the danger of offending kings. Spies were set upon his every word and action, and his bold and haughty character left them but little difficulty in finding matter of offence. No fewer than five-and-forty articles were exhibited against him. He was too well aware both of the truth of some of the charges, and of the rigid severity with which he would be judged, to deem it safe to risk a trial. He summoned all the friends and adherents he could command, and threw himself upon the chances of war. But these were unfavourable to him. In the influence which Anselm possessed, and which he zealously exerted on behalf of the king, Henry had a most potent means of defence, and he with little difficulty reduced the earl to such straits, that he was glad to leave the kingdom with his life. All his great possessions were of course confiscated, and they afforded the king welcome means of purchasing new friends, and securing the fidelity of those who were his friends already.

A.D. 1103.—The ruin of the earl of Shrewsbury produced that of his brothers, Roger, earl of Lancaster, and Arnulf de Montgomery. But the vengeance or the policy of the king required yet more victims. Robert de Pontefract, Robert de Mallet, and William de Warenne were prosecuted, and the king's power secured their condemnation; and William, earl of Cornwall, though son of the king's uncle, was deprived of all his large property in England. The charges against these noblemen were artfully made, not upon their conduct towards the king in his dispute with his brother, but upon their misconduct towards their vassals. In this respect, indeed, they were guilty enough, as all the Norman barons were; but it was not this guilt, which was equally chargeable upon the king's firmest and most powerful defenders, for which they were prosecuted and ruined. Robert of Normandy, with his characteristic generosity and imprudence, was so indignant at the persecution of his friends, whose chief crime in the king's eyes he well knew to be the friendship they had shown to himself, that he crossed over to England and sharply rebuked his brother with the shameful and ill-veiled breach of a principal part of their treaty. Confident in his kingly power, Henry was but little affected by the just and eloquent reproaches of his brother. On the contrary, he so clearly gave him to understand how far his imprudent rashness in venturing to England had compromised his own safety, that Robert was glad to get liberty to return to Normandy at the expense of making a formal resignation of his pension.

The time soon came for Henry to complete the ruin of the brother whom he had already despoiled of the fairest and most precious portion of his inheritance. The imprudent thoughtlessness and levity of Robert not merely affected his conduct as far as he himself was concerned; it made him wholly unfit to rule, and opened the widest possible doors to the needy and profligate, the avaricious and the tyrannical, among his turbulent and unprincipled barons, to plunder him, as well as to rob and then ill-treat his unfortunate subjects. A monarch who was so utterly careless that his domestic servants plundered him, not merely of the little money which his prodigal habits left to him, but even of his clothes and furniture, was but ill-fitted to preserve his subjects from the ill-treatment of the most licentious nobility in all Europe. And it was very natural that when the more thoughtful and observant among the Normans contrasted the loose government of Robert—if indeed it deserved the name of a government at all—with the steady, firm, and orderly rule of Henry over a much larger and more important state, they should begin to think, and to whisper, too, that even a usurper, such as Henry, was far better for the welfare of his subjects, than such a legitimate, but utterly incapable, ruler as the good-natured and generous, but extravagant and debauched, Robert. Disorders at length rose to such a height in Normandy, as to give Henry a pretext for going over, nominally to mediate between the opposing parties, but, in reality, personally to observe how far affairs were in train to admit of his depriving his brother of the duchy altogether. Skilled in every art of intrigue, and having both the means and the will to bribe most profusely, Henry soon formed a strong party; and having returned to England and raised the necessary force by the most shameless and unsparing extortion, he, in 1105, landed again in Normandy, no longer under the hypocritical pretence of mediating, but with the avowed purpose of conquering if possible. He laid siege to Bayeux, and, although obstinately and bravely resisted, at length took that place by storm; Caen he prepared to besiege, but it was surrendered to him by the inhabitants. He then laid siege to Falaise, but here he was successfully opposed until the setting in of the winter compelled him to raise the siege.

A.D. 1106.—With the return of favourable weather, Henry returned to Normandy, and recommenced his operations; opening the campaign with the siege of Tinchebray with a force so mighty, that it was quite evident he contemplated nothing short of the entire subjugation of Normandy. It required all the success that Henry had as yet achieved, and all the persuasions of his own friends, to arouse Robert from his lethargy of natural indolence and sensual pleasure. But once aroused,—he showed that the warrior had slumbered, indeed, in his heart, but was not dead. Aided by Robert de Belesme, and by the earl of Mortaigne, the king's uncle, who was inveterately opposed to Henry on account of his treatment of Mortaigne's son William, earl of Cornwall, Robert speedily raised a powerful force, and marched against his brother, in the hope of putting an end to their controversies in a single battle. Animated at being led by the valiant prince whose feats in the plains of Palestine had struck terror into pagan hearts, and won the applause of Christian Europe, Robert's troops charged so boldly and so well, that the English were thrown into confusion. Had the Norman success been well followed up by the whole Norman force, nothing could have saved the English army from defeat and destruction. But the troops of Roger de Belesme were suddenly and most unaccountably seized with a panic, which communicated itself to the rest of the Normans. Henry and his friends skilfully and promptly availed themselves of this sudden turn in the state of affairs, charged the enemy again and again, utterly routed them, killing vast numbers and making ten thousand prisoners, among whom was Robert himself.

This great victory gained by Henry was soon after crowned by the surrender of Rouen and Falaise; and Henry now became completely master of Normandy, having got also into his power Robert's son, the young prince William, who was unfortunately in Falaise when that important fortress surrendered. As though there had been nothing of violence or unfairness in

his conduct, Henry now convoked the states of Normandy and received their homage as if he had been rightfully their duke; after which, having dismantled such fortresses as he deemed dangerous to his interests, and revoked the grants which Robert's foolish facility had induced him to make, he returned to England, taking his unfortunate brother with him as a prisoner, and committing young William to the custody of Helie de St. Laen, who had married Robert's natural daughter, and who treated the captive prince with a tenderness and respect which do him the highest honour. Robert himself was committed to the custody of the governor of Cardiff castle in Wales, where for twenty-eight years, the whole remainder of his life, he became a melancholy spectacle of fallen greatness, and a striking example of the utter uselessness of courage without conduct, and of the danger of generosity if unregulated by prudence.

At the battle of Tinchebray, so fatal to duke Robert, his friend Edgar Atheling was taken prisoner. Though on more than one occasion this prince gave signal proofs of bravery, both his friends and his enemies seem to have held his intellect in considerable contempt. The two Williams and Henry I., princes of such different qualities, yet so perfectly agreeing in despotic and jealous tempers, equally held his powers of exciting the English to revolt in the utmost scorn. Though his Saxon descent could not but endear him to the English people, and though both at home and in the Holy Land he had proved himself to possess very high courage, there was so general and apparently so well-founded an opinion of his deficiency in the higher intellectual qualities, that neither did the Saxons look up to him, as otherwise they gladly would have done, as a rallying point, nor did the Normans honour him with their suspicious fears. Even now when Henry, whose treatment of his own brother sufficiently proves how inexorable he could be where he saw cause to fear injury to his interests, had so fair an excuse for committing Edgar to safe custody, he showed his entire disbelief of that prince's capacity, by allowing him to enjoy his full liberty in England, and even granting him a pension.

A.D. 1107.—Henry's politic character and his judgement were both eminently displayed in managing his very delicate dispute with the pope on the subject of ecclesiastical investitures. While showing the most profound external respect, and even affection to both the pope and archbishop Anselm, Henry proceeded to fill the vacant sees concerning which there was dispute. But Anselm, though he had been on many important occasions a staunch and useful friend to the king, was far too good a churchman to brook disobedience to the papal authority, even when that disobedience was veiled by smiles and couched in gentle and holiday terms. He refused to communicate, far less to consecrate, the bishops invested by the king; and those prelates saw themselves exposed to so much obloquy by their opposition to so revered a personage as Anselm, that they resigned their dignities into the king's hands. The complete defeat of a scheme which he had prosecuted with such dexterous and painful art deprived the king of his usual command of temper; and he let fall such significant threats towards all opponents of his authority, that Anselm became alarmed for his personal safety, and demanded permission to travel to Rome to consult the pope. Well knowing the popularity of Anselm, Henry was very well pleased to be thus peaceably rid of his presence. Anselm departed, and was attended to the ship by hosts both of clergy and laity, who, by the cordial respect with which they took their leave of him, tacitly, but no less plainly, testified their sense of the justice of his quarrel with their sovereign.

As soon as Anselm had left England the king seized upon all the temporalities of his see; and, fearful lest the presence of Anselm at Rome should prejudice him and his kingdom, he sent William de Warelwast as ambassador extraordinary to Pascal, the pope. In the course of the argument between the pope and the king of England's envoy, the latter warmly exclaimed that his sovereign would rather part with his crown than with the right of investiture; to which Pascal as warmly replied that he would rather part with his head than allow the king to retain that right. Anselm retired to Lyons, and thence to his old monastery of Bec. The king restored him the revenues of his sees, and great anxiety was expressed by all ranks of men for his return to England, where his absence was affirmed to be the cause of all imaginable impiety, and of the most gross and disgusting immorality. The disputes, meantime, between Henry and the pope grew warmer and warmer. The emperor Henry V. and the pope were at feud on the same subject, and the pope being made an actual prisoner was compelled by a formal treaty to grant the emperor the right of investiture. The king of England was less advantageously situated than the emperor. He could not, by getting the pope into his power, cut the Gordian knot of the controversy between them. The earl of Mellent and other ministers of Henry were already suffering under the pains of excommunication; Henry was in daily expectation of hearing the like dreadful sentence pronounced on himself, and he well knew that he had numerous and powerful enemies among his nobles who would both gladly and promptly avail themselves of it to throw off their uneasy allegiance. He and the pope were mutually afraid, and a compromise was at length entered into, by which the pope had the right of ecclesiastical investiture, while Henry had the right of demanding homage from the prelates for their temporalities. The main difference being thus settled, minor points presented no difficulties, and Henry now had leisure to turn his attention to Normandy.

In committing the natural son of his brother Robert to the care of Helie, Henry

was probably desirous to show the world, by the unblemished character of the man to whom he intrusted the infant prince, then only six years old, that he meant fairly by him. But as the young prince grew up, and became remarkable for talent and gracefulness of person, he acquired a popularity which gave so much uneasiness to Henry, that he ordered his guardian to give up his young ward. Helie, probably doubtful of the king's intentions, yet feeling himself unable to shelter him should the king resort to force, immediately placed young William under the protection of Fulke, count of Anjou. The protection of this gallant and eminent noble and his own singular graces enabled William to create great interest on his behalf, and at every court which he visited he was able to excite the greatest indignation against the injustice with which his uncle had treated him. Louis le Gros, king of France, joined with Fulke, count of Anjou, and the count of Flanders, in disturbing Henry in his unjust possession of Normandy, and many skirmishes took place upon the frontiers. But before the war could produce any decisive results, Henry, with his customary artful policy, detached Fulke from the league by marrying his son William to that prince's daughter. The peace consequent upon this withdrawal of Fulke did not, however, last long. Henry's nephew was again taken in hand by the gallant Baldwin of Flanders, who induced the king of France to join him in renewing the attack upon Normandy. In an action near Eu Baldwin was slain; and the king of France, despairing, after the loss of so capital an ally, of liberating Normandy from the power of Henry by force of arms, resolved to try another method, of which, probably, he did not perceive all the remote and possible consequences.

The papal court had always manifested a more than sufficient inclination to interfere in the temporal concerns of the nations of Christendom; and Louis now most unwisely gave sanction and force to that ambitious and insidious assumption, by appealing to Rome on behalf of young William. A general council having been assembled by the pope at Rheims, Louis took his protegé there, represented the tyranny of Henry's conduct towards both the young prince and his father, and strongly and eloquently dwelt upon the impropriety of the church and the Christian powers allowing so trusty and gallant a champion of the cross to linger on in his melancholy imprisonment. Whatever might be the personal feelings of Calixtus II., the then pope, he showed himself strongly inclined to interfere on behalf both of William and his father. But Henry was now, as ever, alert and skilful in the defence of his own interest. The English bishops were allowed by him to attend this council; but he gave them fair notice at their departure, that, whatever might be the demands or the decisions of the council, he was fully determined to maintain the laws and customs of England, and his own prerogative. 'Go,' said he, as they took leave of him, 'salute the pope in my name, and listen to his apostolical precepts; but be mindful that ye bring back none of his new inventions into my kingdom.' But while he thus outwardly manifested his determination to support himself even against the hostility of the church, he took the most effectual means to prevent that hostility from being exhibited. The most liberal presents and promises were distributed; and so effectually did he conciliate the pope, that having shortly afterwards had an interview with Henry, he pronounced him to be beyond comparison the most eloquent and persuasive man he had ever spoken with. Upon this high eulogy of the sovereign pontiff, Hume, with dry causticity, remarks that Henry at this interview 'had probably renewed his presents.'

Louis, finding that he was out-manœuvred by Henry in the way of intrigue, renewed his attempts upon Normandy in the way of arms. He made an attempt to surprise Noyen; but Henry's profuse liberality caused him to be well served by his spies, and he suddenly fell upon the French troops. A severe action ensued, and prince William, who was present, behaved with great distinction. Henry also was present, and, penetrating with his customary gallantry into the very thickest of the fight, was severely wounded by Crispin, a Norman officer in the French army. Henry, who possessed great personal strength, struck Crispin to the earth, and led his troops onward in a charge so fierce and heavy that the French were utterly routed, and Louis himself only escaped with great difficulty from being made prisoner. The result of this action so discouraged Louis that he shortly afterwards entered into a treaty with Henry, in which the interests of William and the liberty of Robert were wholly left out of question.

Thus far the career of king Henry had been one unbroken series of prosperity; he was now, under circumstances the least to have been feared, doomed to suffer a very terrible misfortune. Judging from the facility with which he had usurped the crown of England and the duchy of Normandy, that similar wrong—as *he* chose to call it, though wrong it would surely not have been—might easily be done to his own son, unless proper precaution were taken, he accompanied his son William to Normandy, and caused him to be recognised as his successor to the states, and to receive in that character the homage of the barons. This important step being taken, the king and the prince embarked at Barfleur on their return to England. The weather was fair, and the vessel which conveyed the king and his immediate attendants left the coast in safety. Something caused the prince to remain on shore after his father had departed; and the captain and sailors of his ship, being greatly intoxicated, sailed, in their anxiety to overtake the king, with so much more haste than skill, that they struck the ship upon a rock, and she immediately began to sink. William was safely got into the long boat, and had even been towed some dis-

mance from the ship when the screams of his natural sister, the countess of Perche, who in the hurry had been left behind, compelled his boat's crew to return and endeavour to save her. The instant that the boat approached the ship's side, so many persons leaped in, that the boat also foundered, and William and all his attendants perished; a fearful loss, there being on board the ill-fated ship no fewer than a hundred and forty English and Norman gentlemen of the best families. Fitzstephen, the captain, to whose intemperance this sad calamity was mainly attributable, and a butcher of Rouen clung to the mast, but the former voluntarily loosed his hold and sank on hearing that the prince had perished. The butcher, free from cause of remorse, resolutely kept his grasp, and was fortunate enough to be picked up by some fishermen the following morning.

When news reached Henry of the loss of the vessel, he for a few days buoyed himself up with the hope that his son had been saved: but when the full extent of the calamity was ascertained he fainted; and so violent was his grief, that he was never afterwards known to smile. So deeply could he suffer under his own calamity, though so stern and unblenching in the infliction of calamity upon others.

The death of prince William, the only male legitimate issue of Henry, was, as will be perceived in the history of the next reign, not merely an individual calamity, but also a very serious national one, in so far as it gave rise to much civil strife. But it was probable that William would have been a very severe king, for he was known to threaten that whenever he came to the throne he would work the English like mere beasts of burthen. The early Norman rulers in fact, however policy might occasionally induce them to disguise it, detested and scorned their English subjects.

Prince William, son of the wronged and imprisoned duke of Normandy, still enjoyed the friendship and protection of the French king, though circumstances had induced that monarch apparently to abandon the prince's interest in making a treaty with Henry. The death of Henry's son, too, broke off the connection between Henry and the count of Anjou, who now again took up the cause of prince William, and gave him his daughter in marriage. Even this connection, however, between Fulke and William did not prevent the artful policy of Henry from again securing the friendship of the former. Matilda, Henry's daughter, who was married to the emperor Henry V., was left a widow; and the king now gave her in marriage to Geoffrey Plantagenet, earl of Anjou, and he at the same time caused her to receive, as his successor, the homage of the nobles and clergy of both Normandy and England.

In the meantime prince William of Normandy was greatly strengthened. Charles, earl of Flanders, was assassinated, and his dignity and possessions were immediately bestowed by the king of France upon prince William; but this piece of seeming good fortune, though it undoubtedly gave greater strength to William's party and rendered his recovery of Normandy more probable, led, in the result, to his destruction; so blind are we in all that relates to our future! The landgrave of Alsace, deeming his own claim upon Flanders superior to that of William, who claimed only from the wife of the conqueror, and who moreover was illegitimate, attempted to possess himself of it by force of arms, and almost in the first skirmish that took place William was killed.

Many disputes during all this time had taken place between Henry and the pope, chiefly upon the right to which the latter pretended of having a legate resident in England. As legates possessed in their respective provinces the full powers of the pope, and, in their anxiety to please that great giver and source of their power, were even disposed to push the papal authority to the utmost, the king constantly showed a great and a wise anxiety to prevent this manifestly dangerous encroachment of Rome. After much manœuvring on both sides, an arrangement was made by which the legatine power was conferred upon the archbishop of Canterbury; and thus while Rome kept, nominally at least, a control over that power, Henry prevented it being committed to any use disagreeable to him, and had, moreover, a security for the legate's moderation in the kingly power over the archbishop's temporalities.

A perfect peace reigning in all parts of England, Henry spent part of 1131 and 1132 in Normandy with his daughter Matilda, of whom he was passionately fond. While he was there Matilda was delivered of a son, who was christened by the name of Henry. In the midst of the rejoicing this event caused to the king, he was summoned to England by an incursion made by the Welsh; and he was just about to return when he was seized, at St. Dennis le Forment, by a fatal illness, attributed to his having eaten lampreys to excess; and he expired Dec. 1, 1135, in the thirty-fifth year of his reign and the sixty-seventh of his age.

Though a usurper, and though somewhat prone to a tyrannous exertion of his usurped authority, Henry at least deserves the praise of having been an able monarch. He preserved the peace of his dominions under circumstances of great difficulty, and protected its interests against attempts under which a less firm and politic prince would have been crushed. He had no fewer than thirteen illegitimate children. Other vices he was tolerably free from in his private capacity; but in protecting his resources for the chase, of which, like all the Norman princes, he was passionately enamoured, he was guilty of very unjustifiable cruelty. In the general administration of justice he was very severe. Coining was punished by him with death or the most terrible mutilation; and on one occasion fifty persons charged with that offence were subjected to this horrible mode of torture. It was in this reign that wardnotes, common-halls, a court of hustings, the liberty of hunting in Middlesex and Surrey—a great and honour-

able privilege at that time—the right to elect its own sheriff and justiciary, and to hold pleas of the crown, trials by combat, and lodging of the king's retinue, were granted to the city of London.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Reign of Stephen.

A.D. 1135.—The will of Henry I. left the kingdom of England and the duchy of Normandy to his daughter Matilda. By the precautions which he had taken, it was very evident that he feared lest anyone should imitate the irregularity by which he himself had mounted to power. Strangely enough, however, the attempt he anticipated, and so carefully provided against, was made by one who to Henry's own patronage and liberality owed his chief power to oppose Henry's daughter. A new proof, if such were wanting, of the blindness on particular points of even the most politic and prudent men.

Adela, daughter of William the Conqueror, was married to Stephen, count of Blois. Two of her sons, Henry and Stephen, were invited to England by Henry I., who behaved to them with the profuse liberality which he was ever prone to show to those whom he took into his favour. Henry was made abbot of Glastonbury and bishop of Winchester; and Stephen was even more highly favoured by the king, who married him to Matilda, daughter and heiress of Eustace, count of Boulogne; by which marriage he acquired both the feudal sovereignty of Boulogne as well as enormous landed property in England. Subsequently the king still farther enriched Stephen by conferring upon him the forfeited possessions of the earl of Mortaigne, in Normandy, and of Robert de Mallet, in England. The king fondly imagined that by thus honouring and aggrandising Stephen he was raising up a fast and powerful friend for his daughter whenever she should come to the throne; and the conduct of Stephen was so wily and skilful, that to the very hour of Henry's death he contrived to confirm him in this delusion. Brave, active, generous, and affable, he was a very general favourite; but while he exerted himself to the utmost to retain and increase his popularity, especially among the Londoners, of whom he anticipated making great use in the ultimate scheme he had in view, he took good care to keep those efforts from the king's knowledge. He professed himself the fast friend and ready champion of the princess Matilda; and when the barons were required by the king to do homage to her, as the successor to the crown, Stephen actually had a violent dispute with Robert, earl of Gloucester, who was a natural son of the king, as to which of them should first take the oath!

But with all this lip-loyalty to the king and seeming devotion to the princess, Stephen seems all along to have harboured the most ungrateful and faithless intentions. The moment the king had ceased to live, he hurried over to England to seize upon the crown. His designs having been made known at Dover and Canterbury, the citizens of both those places honourably refused to admit him. Nothing daunted by this honest rebuke of his ungrateful design, he hurried on to London, where he had emissaries in his pay, who caused him to be hailed as king by a multitude of the common sort.

The first step being thus made, he next busied himself in obtaining the sanction and suffrage of the clergy. So much weight was in that age attached to the ceremony of unction in the coronation, that he considered it but little likely that Matilda would ever be able to dethrone him, if he could so far secure the clergy as to have his coronation performed in due order and with the usual formalities. In this important part of his daring scheme good service was done to him by his brother Henry, bishop of Winchester, who caused the bishop of Salisbury to join him in persuading William, archbishop of Canterbury, to give Stephen the royal unction. The primate having, in common with all the nobility, taken the oath of allegiance to Matilda, was unwilling to comply with so startling a step; but his reluctance, whether real or assumed, gave way when Roger Bigod, who held the important office of steward of the household, made oath that Henry on his death-bed had evinced his displeasure with Matilda, and expressed his deliberate preference of Stephen as his successor. It is not easy to believe that so shrewd a personage as the archbishop really gave any credence to this shallow tale; but he affected to do so, and upon its authority crowned Stephen. The coronation was but meagrely attended by the nobles; yet as none of them made any open opposition, Stephen proceeded to exercise the royal authority as coolly as though he had ascended the throne by the double right of consent of the people and heirship.

Having seized upon the royal treasure, which amounted to upwards of a hundred thousand pounds, Stephen was able to surround his usurped throne with an immense number of foreign mercenaries. While he thus provided against open force, he also took the precaution to endeavour, by the apparent justice of his intentions, to obliterate from the general memory, and especially from the memory of the clergy, all thought of the shameful irregularity and ingratitude by which he had obtained the throne. He published a charter calculated to interest all ranks of men; promising to abolish *Danegelt*, generally to restore the laws of king Edward, to correct all abuses of the forest laws, and—with an especial view to conciliating the clergy—to fill all benefices as they should become vacant, and to levy no rents upon them while vacant. He at the same time applied for the sanction of the pope, who, well knowing what advantage possession must give Stephen over the absent Matilda, and being, besides, well pleased to be called upon to interfere in the temporal affairs of England, very readily gave it in a bull, which Stephen took great care to make public throughout England.

In Normandy the same success attended Stephen, who had his eldest son, Eustace, put in possession of the duchy on doing homage to the king of France; and Geoffrey, Matilda's husband, found himself reduced to such straits, that he was fain to enter into a truce with Stephen, the latter consenting to pay, during the two years for which it was made, a pension of five thousand marks. Though Stephen was thus far so successful, there were several circumstances which were calculated to cause him considerable apprehension and perplexity. Robert, a natural son of the late king, by whom he had been created earl of Gloucester, possessed considerable ability and influence, and was very much attached to Matilda, in whose wrongs he could not fail to take great interest. This nobleman, who was in Normandy when Stephen usurped the throne of England, was looked upon, both by the friends and the enemies of Stephen, as the most likely person to head any open opposition to the usurper. In truth, the earl was placed in a very delicate and trying situation. On the one hand, he was exceedingly zealous in the cause of Matilda; on the other hand, to refuse when required to take the oath of allegiance to Stephen, was inevitably to bring utter ruin upon his fortunes, as far as England was concerned. In this perplexing dilemma he resolved to take a middle course, and, by avoiding an open rupture with Stephen, secure to himself the liberty and means of acting according to the dictates of his conscience, should circumstances become more favourable to Matilda. He, therefore, consented to take the oath of allegiance to Stephen, on condition that the king should duly perform all that he had promised, and that he should in no wise curtail or infringe the rights or dignities of the earl. This singular and very unusual reservation clearly enough proved to Stephen, that he was to look upon the earl as his good and loyal subject just so long as there seemed to be no chance of a successful revolt, and no longer; but the earl was so powerful and popular, that he did not think it safe to refuse his oath of fealty, even on these unusual terms.

Though we correctly call these terms unusual, we do so only with reference to former reigns; Stephen was obliged to consent to them in still more important cases than that of the earl of Gloucester. The clergy, finding the king willing to sacrifice to expediency, and well knowing how inexpedient he would find it to quarrel with their powerful body, would only give him their oath of allegiance with the reservation that their allegiance should endure so long as the king should support the discipline of the church, and defend the ecclesiastical liberties. To how much dispute, quibble, and assumption were not those undefined terms capable of leading, under the management of the possessors of nearly all the learning of the age; men, too, especially addicted to and skilled in that subtle warfare which renders the crafty and well-schooled logician absolutely invulnerable by any other weapon than a precise definition of terms?

To the reservations of the earl of Gloucester and the clergy, succeeded the still more ominous demands of the barons. In the anxiety of Stephen to procure their submission and sanction to his usurpation, the barons saw an admirable opportunity for their aggrandising their already great power, at the expense of the security of both the people and the crown. They demanded that each baron should have the right to fortify his castle and put himself in a state of defence; in other words, that each baron should turn his possessions into an *imperium in imperio*, dangerous to the authority of the crown on occasions of especial dispute, and injurious to the peace and welfare upon all occasions, as making the chances of wrong and oppressions more numerous, and making redress, already difficult, for the future wholly hopeless. A legitimate king, confident in his right and conscientiously mindful of his high trust, would have perilled both crown and life ere he would have consented to such terms; but in the case of Stephen, the high heart of the valiant soldier was quelled and spell-bound by the conscience of the usurper; and to uphold his tottering throne in present circumstances of difficulty, he was fain to consent to terms which would both inevitably and speedily increase those difficulties tenfold.

The barons were not slow to avail themselves of the consent thus extorted from the king. In every direction castles sprang newly up, or were newly and more strongly fortified. Even those barons who had at the outset no care for any such privilege, were soon in their self-defence obliged to follow the example of their neighbours. Jealous of each other, the barons now carried their feuds to the extent of absolute petty wars; and the inferior gentry and peasantry could only hope to escape from being plundered and ill used by one party, at the expense of siding with the other, in quarrels for neither side of which they had the slightest real care.

The barons having thus far proceeded in establishing their *quasi* sovereignty and independence of the crown, it is not to be wondered at that they soon proceeded still farther, and arrogated to themselves within their mimic royalties all the privileges of actual sovereignty, even including that of coining money.

Though Stephen, as a matter of policy, had granted the privilege of fortification, out of which he must, as a shrewd and sensible man, have anticipated that these abuses would issue, he was by no means inclined to submit to the abuses themselves, without a trial how far it was practicable to take back by his present force what had been extorted from his former weakness. And thus, as the nobles abused the privileges he had granted, he now by his mercenary force set himself not merely to annihilate those extorted privileges, but also to make very serious encroachments upon the more ancient and legitimate rights of the subject. The perpetual contests that

thus existed between the king and the barons, and among the barons themselves, and the perpetual insult and despoiling to which the great body of the people were in consequence subjected, caused so general a discontent, that the earl of Gloucester, deeming that the favourable and long-wished-for time had at length arrived for the open advocacy of the claims of Matilda, suddenly departed from England. As soon as he arrived safely abroad, he forwarded to Stephen a solemn defiance and renunciation of fealty, and reproached him in detail, and in the strongest language, with his breaches of the promises and conditions upon which that fealty had been sworn.

A.D. 1138.—Just as Stephen was thus doubly perplexed a new enemy arose to threaten him, in the person of David, king of Scotland, who, being uncle to Matilda, now crossed the borders with a large army to assert and defend her title. So little was Stephen beloved by the turbulent barons, with not a few of whom he was even then at personal feud, that had David now added a wise policy to his sincere zeal in the cause of his niece, there seems little reason to doubt that Matilda would have ousted Stephen almost without difficulty or bloodshed; for he had by this time so nearly expended his once large treasure, that the foreign mercenaries, on whom he chiefly depended for defence, actually, for the most part, subsisted by plunder. But David, unable or unwilling to enter into points of policy and expediency, marked his path from the border to the fertile plains of Yorkshire by such cruel bloodshed and destruction, that all sympathy with his intention was forgotten in disgust and indignation at his conduct. The northern nobles, whom he might easily have won to his support, were thus aroused and united against him. William Albemarle, Robert de Ferres, William Percy, Robert de Bruce, Roger de Mowbray, Ilbert Lacy, Walter l'Espec, and numerous other nobles in the north of England, joined their large forces into one great army and encountered the Scots at Northallerton. A battle, called the battle of the Standard, from an immense crucifix which was carried on a car in front of the English army, was fought on August 22, 1138, and ended in so total a defeat of the Scottish army, that David himself, together with his son Henry, very nearly fell into the hands of the English. This defeat of the king of Scotland greatly tended to daunt the enemies of Stephen, and to give a hope of stability to his rule; but he had scarcely escaped the ruin that this one enemy intended for him, when he was engaged in a bitter controversy with an enemy still more zealous and more powerful—the clergy.

A.D. 1139.—The bishops, as they had been cated for military service in common with the barons, so they added all the state and privileges of lay barons to those proper to their own character and rank. And when the custom of erecting fortresses and keeping strong garrisons in pay became general among the lay barons, several of the bishops followed their example. The bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln had done so; the former had completed one at Sherborne and another at Devizes, and had even commenced a third at Malmesbury; and the latter, who was his nephew, had erected an exceedingly strong and stately one at Newark. Unwisely deeming it safer to begin by attacking the fortresses of the clergy than those of the lay barons, Stephen, availing himself of some disturbances at court between the armed followers of the bishop of Salisbury and those of the earl of Brittany, threw both the bishop of Salisbury and his nephew of Lincoln into prison, and compelled them, by threats of still worse treatment, to surrender their fortresses into his hands. This act of power called up an opponent to Stephen, in a person from whom, of the whole of the clergy, he had the least reason to fear any opposition.

The king's brother, Henry, bishop of Winchester, to whom he owed so much in accomplishing his usurpation of the crown, was at this time armed with the legatine commission in England; and deeming his duty to the church paramount to the ties of blood, he assembled a synod at Westminster, which he opened with a formal complaint of, what he termed, the impiety of the king. The synod was well inclined to acquiesce in Henry's view of the case, and a formal summons was sent to the king to account to the synod for the conduct of which it complained. With a strange neglect of what would have been his true policy—a peremptory denial of the right of the synod to sit in judgement upon the sovereign on a question which really related, and related only, to the police of his kingdom—Stephen virtually put the judgement of his case into the hands of a court that, by the very charge made against him by its head, avowed itself inimical, partial, and prejudiced, by sending Aubrey de Vere to plead his cause. De Vere set out by charging the two bishops with seditious conduct and treasonable designs; but the synod refused to entertain that charge until the fortresses, of which, be it observed, the bishops had been deprived upon that charge, should be restored by the king.

The clergy did not fail to make this quarrel the occasion of exasperating the minds of the always credulous multitude against the king. So general was the discontent, that the earl of Gloucester, constantly on the watch for an opportunity of advocating the cause of Matilda, brought that princess to England, with a retinue of a hundred and forty knights and their followers. She fixed her residence first at Bristol, but thence removed to Gloucester, where she was joined by several of the most powerful barons, who openly declared in her favour and exerted every energy to increase her already considerable force. A civil war speedily raged in every part of the kingdom; both parties were guilty of the most atrocious excesses, and, as is usual or, rather, universal in such cases, whichever party was temporarily triumphant, the unhappy peasantry were massacred and plundered, to the sound of watchwords which they scarcely comprehended.

A.D. 1140.—While the kingdom was thus torn and the people thus tormented, the varying successes of the equally selfish opposing parties led to frequent discussions, which led to no agreement, and frequent treaties, made only to be broken.

An action at length took place which promised to be decisive and to restore the kingdom to peace. The castle of Lincoln was captured and garrisoned by the partisans of Matilda, under Ralph, earl of Chester and William de Roumard. The citizens of Lincoln, however, remained faithful to the cause of Stephen, who immediately proceeded to lay siege to the castle. The earl of Gloucester hastened to the support of the beleaguered garrison, and on the 2nd of February, 1141, an action took place, in which Stephen was defeated, and carried prisoner while fighting desperately at the head of his troops. He was taken in triumph to Gloucester, and though he was at first treated with great external respect, some real or pretended suspicions of his friends having formed a plan for his rescue caused him to be loaded with irons and thrown into prison.

The capture of Stephen caused a great accession of men of all ranks to the party of Matilda; and she, under the politic guidance of the earl of Gloucester, now exerted herself to gain the goodwill of the clergy, without which, in the then state of the public mind, there could be but little prospect of permanent prosperity to her cause, just as it doubtless was.

She invited Henry, bishop of Winchester and papal legate, to a conference, at which she promised everything that either his individual ambition or his zeal for the church could lead him to desire; and as all the principal men of her party had offered to become responsible for her due fulfilment of her promises, which she made with the accompanying solemnity of an oath, Henry conducted her with great pomp and form to Winchester cathedral, and there at the high altar solemnly denounced curses upon all who should curse her, and invoked blessings upon all who should bless her. To give still greater triumph and security to her cause, Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, also swore allegiance to her.

Subsequently the crown was formally adjudged to Matilda, in a speech made by Henry to the assembled clergy and a few of the chief men of London; and Henry, with an assurance perfectly marvellous after having been so powerful an instrument of his brother's usurpation, now spoke of him as having merely filled the throne in the absence of the rightful owner, and dwelt with great force and bitterness upon the breach by Stephen of the promises he had made of respect and protection to the church.

Matilda to a masculine daring added a very harsh and imperious spirit, and she had scarcely placed her cause in apparently permanent prosperity when she most unwisely disgusted some of those whose favour was the most important to her.

The Londoners, though circumstances had compelled them to submit to Matilda, were still very partial to Stephen. They joined his wife in petitioning that he might be released on condition of retiring to a convent. A stern and laconic refusal was Matilda's answer both to this petition and a subsequent one presented by the Londoners for the establishment of king Edward's laws instead of those of Henry. An equally harsh, and still more impolitic refusal was given to the legate who requested that his nephew, Eustace, should inherit Boulogne and the other patrimonial possessions of Stephen; a refusal which gives one as low an opinion of Matilda's sense of justice as of her temper and policy.

Her mistaken conduct was not long in producing its appropriate ill effects to her cause. The legate, whose very contradictory conduct at different times can only be satisfactorily explained upon the supposition, that to his thoroughly selfish ambition that cause ever seemed the best which promised the greatest immediate advantages to himself or to the church, marked the mischief which Matilda's harshness did to her cause, and promptly availed himself of it to excite the Londoners to revolt against her government. An attempt was made to seize upon her person; and so violent was the rage that was manifested by her enemies, that even her masculine and scorning spirit took alarm, and she fled to Oxford. Not conceiving herself safe even there, and being unaware of the underhand conduct of the crafty legate, she next flew for safety to him at Winchester. But he, deeming her cause now so far lost as to warrant him in openly declaring his real feelings towards her, joined his forces to the Londoners and other friends of Stephen, and besieged her in the castle of that city. Here, though stoutly supported by her friends and followers, she was unable to remain long, from lack of provisions. Accompanied by the earl of Gloucester and a handful of friends, she made her escape; but her party was pursued, and the earl of Gloucester, in the skirmish, was taken prisoner. This capture led to the release of Stephen, for whom Matilda was glad to exchange the earl, whose courage and judgment were the main support of her hopes and the main bond of her party; and with the release of Stephen came a renewal of the civil war, in all its violence and in all its mischief. [A.D. 1143.] Sieges, battles, skirmishes, and their ghastly and revolting accompaniments, followed with varying success; but the balance of fortune at length inclined so decidedly to the side of Stephen, that Matilda, broken in health by such long-continued exertion, both bodily and mental, at length departed from the kingdom and took refuge in Normandy.

A.D. 1147.—The retirement of Matilda and the death of the earl of Gloucester, which occurred about the same time, seemed to give to Stephen the utmost opportunity he could desire firmly to establish himself in the possession of the kingdom. But he kindled animosities among his nobles by demanding the surrender of their fortresses, which he justly deemed dangerous to both

himself and his subjects; and he offended the pope by refusing to allow the attendance of five bishops, who had been selected by the pontiff to attend a council at Rheims, the usual practice being for the English church to elect its own deputies. In revenge for this affront, as he deemed it, the pope laid all Stephen's party under his interdict; a measure which he well knew could not fail to tell with fearful effect against the interests of a prince who was seated not only upon a usurped, but also a disputed throne.

A. D. 1153.—Prince Henry, son of Matilda, who had already given signal proofs of talent and bravery, was now encouraged, by the divided state of the public mind, to invade England. He defeated Stephen at Malmesbury, and they again met before Wallingford, when a negotiation was entered into, by which Henry ceded his claim during the life of Stephen on condition of being secured of the succession, Boulogne and the other patrimonial possessions of Stephen being equally secured to his son William—his eldest son Eustace being dead. This treaty having been executed in due form, prince Henry returned to Normandy: whence he was recalled by the death of Stephen on the 25th of October, 1154.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Reign of HENRY II.; *preceded by Observations on the Right of the English to Territory in France.*

METHODICAL reading, always desirable, is especially so in reading History; and before we commence the narrative of the eventful and, in many respects, important reign of Henry II., we deem that we shall be doing the reader good service in directing his attention to the origin of the earlier wars between England and France; a point upon which all our historians have rather too confidently assumed the intuitive knowledge of their readers, whom they have thus left to read of results without acquaintance with processes, and to indulge their imaginations in the details of warlike enterprises, without any data upon which to judge of the justice or injustice with which those enterprises were undertaken.

Even with the invasion of William the Conqueror, England, by its new sovereign, became interested in no small or insignificant portion of France. Up to that period England's connection with foreigners arose only from the invasions of the Northmen, but with William's invasion quite a new relation sprang up between England and the continent. From this moment the connections of Normandy, and its feuds, whether with the French king or with any of his powerful vassals, entered largely into the concerns of England. With Henry II. this connection of England with the affairs of the continent was vastly increased. In right of his father that monarch possessed Touraine and Anjou; in right of his mother he possessed Maine and Normandy; and in right of his wife, Guienne, Poictou, Xaintonge, Auvergne, Perigord, Angoumois, and the Limousin; and he subsequently became really, as he was already nominally, possessed of the sovereignty of Brittany. If the reader now cast his eyes over the map of that vast and populous territory which is called France, he will perceive that Henry thus possessed a third of it, and the third of greatest fertility and value. Left unexplained as this usually is by our historians, the impression upon the minds of even readers not wholly deserving of the censure implied in the term superficial, must almost necessarily be, that the wars of which by and by we shall have to speak between France and England, originated in the mere greed and ambition of kings of the latter country, who, dissatisfied with their insular possessions, desired to usurp territory in France; whereas the direct contrary is the case; and they in these wars made use of their English conquests to retain possession of, or to extend by way of reprisal, their earlier conquered or fairly inherited French territory. The kings of France, in point of fact, at this early period of French history, were *not* kings of France in the present acceptation of that title. They had a nominal rather than a real feudal superiority over the whole country; there were six great ecclesiastical peerages, besides the six lay peerages of Burgundy, Normandy, Guienne, Flanders, Toulouse, and Champagne. Each of these peerages, though nominally subject to the French crown, was, in reality, an independent sovereignty. If it chanced that the warlike designs of the king coincided with the views and interest of his great vassals, he could lead an immense and splendid force into the field; but if, as far more frequently happened, any or all of his great vassals chanced to be opposed to him, it at once became evident, that he was only nominally their master. That in becoming masters of our insular land, the Norman race should sooner or later see their French territory merging itself into that of the French king and adding to his power was inevitable, as we can now perceive: but in the time of our second Henry, the king of France feared—and the aspect of things then warranted his fear—the precisely opposite process. But bearing this brief explanation carefully in mind, the reader will find himself greatly assisted in understanding the feelings and views of the sovereigns of England and France, in those wars which cost each country rivers of its best blood.

Previous to the death of Stephen, Henry married Eleanor, the divorced wife of Louis VII. of France. She had accompanied that monarch to the Holy Land, and her conduct there partook so much of the levity and immorality which marked that of too many of her sex in the same scene, that Louis felt bound in honour to divorce her, and he at the same time restored to her those rich provinces to which we have already alluded as her dower. Undeterred by her reported immorality, Henry, after six weeks' courtship, made her his wife, in defiance of the disparity in their years; having an eye, probably, to the advantage which her wealth could not fail to give

him, should he have to make a struggle to obtain the English crown.

A. D. 1155.—So secure, however, was Henry in the succession to England at Stephen's death, that not the slightest attempt was made to set up any counter claim on the part of Stephen's surviving son William, and Henry himself, being perfectly acquainted with the state of the public mind, did not even hasten to England immediately on receiving news of Stephen's death, but deferred doing so until he had completed the subjection of a castle that he was besieging on the frontier of Normandy. This done, he proceeded to England, and he was received with the greatest cordiality by all ranks and conditions of men. The popularity that he already enjoyed was greatly increased by the first act of his reign, which was the equally wise and just dismissal of the hordes of foreign mercenaries whom Stephen had introduced into England, and who, however serviceable to the usurper in question, had been both in peace and in war a burthen and a curse to the English people. Sensible that his popularity was such as to enable him to dispense with these fierce prætorians, who, while mischievous and offensive to the subject under all circumstances, might by peculiar circumstances be rendered mischievous and even fatal to the sovereign, he sent them all out of the country, and with them he sent William of Ypres, their commander, who was extremely unpopular from having been the friend and adviser of Stephen, many of whose worst measures, (perhaps untruly, for Stephen was not of a temper requiring to be prompted to arbitrary courses), were attributed to his counsels.

In the necessities caused by civil war, both Stephen and Matilda had made many and large grants, which — however politic or even inevitable at the time — were extremely injurious to the interests of the crown; and Henry's great object was to resume these grants, not even excepting those of Matilda herself.

His next measure was one as dangerous as it was necessary. The country was in a perfectly dreadful state of demoralisation; the highways and byways alike were traversed by troops of daring and violent robbers, and these obtained encouragement and opportunity from the wars carried on by the nobles against each other. The troop of soldiers following the baron's pennon, or keeping watch and ward upon the battlements of his strong castle, became, whenever his need for their services ceased, the banditti of the roads and forests. In such a state of things it would have been hopeless to have attempted to reduce the country warder, without first dismantling those fortresses to which the disorder was mainly owing. A weak or unpopular sovereign would most probably have been ruined had he made any attempt upon this valued and most mischievous privilege of the nobles; and even Henry, young, firm, and popular, did it at no inconsiderable risk. The earl of Albemarle and one or two other proud and powerful nobles prepared to resist the king; but his force was so compact, and his object was so popular with the great body of the people, that the factious nobles submitted at the approach of their sovereign.

A. D. 1156.—Having by an admirable mixture of prudence and firmness reduced all parts of England to complete peace and security, Henry went to France to oppose in person the attempts his brother Geoffrey was making upon the valuable provinces of Maine and Anjou, of some portions of which that prince had already possessed himself. The mere appearance of Henry had the effect of causing the instant submission of the disaffected, and Geoffrey consented to resign his claim in consideration of a yearly pension of a thousand pounds.

A.D. 1157.—Just as Henry had completed his prudent regulations for preventing futuredisturbances in his French possessions, he was called over to England by the turbulent conduct of the Welsh, who had ventured to make incursions upon his territory. They were beaten back before his arrival; but he was resolved to chastise them still farther, and for that purpose he followed them into their mountain fastnesses. The difficult nature of the country was so unfavourable to his operations, that he was more than once in great danger. On one occasion his van guard was so beset in a rocky pass, that its discipline and valour could not prevent it from being put to complete rout; Henry de Essex, who held the high office of hereditary standard-bearer, actually threw down his standard and joined the flying soldiery, whose panic he increased by loudly exclaiming that the king was killed. The king, who fortunately was on the spot, galloped from post to post, re-assured his main body, and led it on so gallantly, that he saved it from the utter ruin with which it was for a time threatened by this foolish and disgraceful panic.

Henry de Essex, whose behaviour had been so remarkably unknightly on this occasion, was on its account charged with felony by Robert de Montford, and lists were appointed for the trial by battle. De Essex was vanquished, and condemned to pass the remainder of his life in a convent and to forfeit all his property.

A.D.1158.—The war with the Welsh ended in the submission of that people, and Henry's attention was again called to the continent. When his brother Geoffrey gave up his pretensions to Anjou and Maine, that prince took possession of the county of Nantes, with the consent of its inhabitants, who had chased away their legitimate prince. Geoffrey died soon after he had assumed his new dignity; and Henry now claimed to succeed as heir to the command and possession which Geoffrey had himself owed only to the voluntary submission of the people. His claim was disputed by Conan, earl of Brittany, who asserted that Nantes properly belonged to his dominions, whence it had, as he alleged, only been separated by rebellion; and he accordingly took possession of it. Henry secured himself against any interference on the part of Louis of France by betrothing his son and

heir Henry, then only five years old, to Louis's daughter Margaret, who was nearly four years younger. Having by this politic stroke rendered it hopeless for Conan to seek any aid from Louis, Henry now marched into Brittany, and Conan, seeing the impossibility of successful resistance, at once agreed to give up Nantes. Soon after, Conan, anxious to secure the powerful support of Henry, gave his only daughter and heiress to that prince's son Geoffrey. Conan died in a few years after this betrothal, and Henry immediately took possession of Brittany in right of his son and daughter-in-law.

A.D. 1159.—Henry, through his wife, had a claim upon the country of Toulouse, and he now urged that claim against Raymond, the reigning count, who solicited the protection of the king of France; and the latter, both as Raymond's feudal superior, and as the prince more than all other princes interested in putting a check on the vast aggrandisement of Henry, immediately granted Raymond his protection, in spite of the startling fact, that Louis himself had formerly, while Eleanor was his wife, claimed Toulouse in her right, as Henry now did. So little, alas! are the plainest principles of honesty and consistency regarded in the strife of politics.

Henry advanced upon Toulouse with a very considerable army, chiefly of mercenaries. Assisted by Trincaral, count of Nismes, and Berenger, count of Barcelona, he was at the outset very successful, taking Verdun and several other places of lesser note. He then laid siege to the capital of the county, and Louis threw himself into it with a reinforcement. Henry was now strongly urged by his friends to take the place by assault, as he probably might have done, and by thus making the French king prisoner, obtain whatever terms he pleased from that prince. But Henry's prudence never forsook him, even amid the excitement of war and the flush of success. Louis was his feudal lord; to make him prisoner would be to hold out encouragement to his own great and turbulent vassals to break through their feudal bonds; and instead of prosecuting the siege more vigorously, in order to make Louis prisoner, Henry immediately raised it, saying that he could not think of fighting against a place that was defended by his superior lord in person, and departed to defend Normandy against the count de Dreux, brother to Louis.

The chivalrous delicacy which had led Henry to depart from before Toulouse did not immediately terminate the war between him and Louis; but the operations were feebly conducted on both sides, and ended first in a cessation of arms, and then in a formal peace.

A new cause of bitter feeling now sprang up between them. When prince Henry, the king's eldest son, was affianced to Margaret of France, it was stipulated that part of the princess's dowry should be the important fortress of Gisors, which was to be delivered into the hands of the king on the celebration of the marriage, and in the meantime to remain in the custody of the knights templars. Henry, as was suspected, bribed the grand master of the templars to deliver the fortress to him, furnishing him with a pretext for so doing by ordering the immediate celebration of the marriage, though the affianced prince and princess were mere children. Louis was naturally much offended at this sharp practice on the part of Henry, and was on the point of commencing war again, when pope Alexander III., whom the triumph of the anti-pope, Victor IV., compelled to reside in France, successfully interposed his mediation.

A.D. 1162.—Friendship being, at the least nominally and externally, established between Louis and Henry, the latter monarch returned to England, and devoted his attention to the delicate and difficult task of restraining the authority of the clergy within reasonable limits. That he might the more safely and readily do this, he took the opportunity now afforded him by the death of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, to place that dignity in the hands of a man whom he deemed entirely devoted to himself, but who, in the result, proved the greatest enemy to the authority of the crown, and the stoutest and haughtiest champion of the church, and taught Henry the danger of trusting to appearances, by embittering and perplexing whole years of his life. This man, in whose character and temper the king made so grievous a mistake, was the celebrated Thomas à Becket.

Born of respectable parentage in London, and having a good education, he was fortunate enough to attract the attention and obtain the favour of archbishop Theobald, who bestowed some offices upon him, the emoluments of which enabled him to go to Italy, where he studied the civil and canon law with so much success, that on his return archbishop Theobald gave him the lucrative and important appointment of archdeacon of Canterbury, and subsequently intrusted him with a mission to Rome, in which he acquitted himself with his usual ability. On the accession of Henry, the archbishop strongly recommended Becket to his notice; and Henry, finding him remarkably rich in the lighter accomplishments of the courtier, as well as in the graver qualities of the statesman, gave him the high office of chancellor, which in that age included, besides its peculiar duties, nearly all those of a modern prime minister. Kings often take a delight in overwhelming with wealth and honours those whom they have once raised above the struggling herd. It was so even with the prudent Henry, who proceeded to confer upon his favourite chancellor the provostship of Beverley, the deanery of Hastings, and the constableship of the Tower; made him tutor to prince Henry, and gave him the honours of Eye and Berkhamstead, valuable new baronies which had escheated to the crown. Becket's style of living was proportioned to the vast wealth thus heaped upon him; his sumptuousness of style and the numerous attendance paid to his lordship exceeded all that had ever been seen in the

case of a mere subject; the proudest nobles were his guests, and gladly placed their sons in his house as that in which they would best become accomplished gentlemen; he had a great number of knights actually retained in his service, and he attended the king in the war of Toulouse with seven hundred knights at his own charge; on another occasion he maintained twelve hundred knights and twelve hundred of their followers during the forty days of their stipulated service; and when sent to France on an embassy, he completely astonished that court by his magnificent attendance.

With all this splendour Becket was a gay companion. Having taken only deacon's orders, he did not hesitate to join in the sports of laymen, or even to take his share of warlike adventure. He was consequently the favourite companion of the king in his leisure hours. It is said that Henry, riding one day with Becket, and meeting a poor wretch whose rags shook in the wind, seized the chancellor's scarlet and ermine-lined coat, and gave it to the poor man, who, it may well be supposed, was much surprised at such a gift.

Living thus in both the official and private intimacy of the king, Becket was well acquainted with all his views and designs towards the church; and as he had always professed to agree with them, and was manifestly possessed of all the talent and resolution which would make him valuable in the struggle, the king made him archbishop at the death of his old patron Theobald.

Having thus obtained the second place in the kingdom, Thomas à Becket at once cast off all the gay habits and light humour which he had made the instruments of obtaining and fixing the personal favour of the king. His first step on being consecrated archbishop of Canterbury was to resign his chancellorship into the hands of the king, on the significant plea that his spiritual function would henceforth demand all his energies and attention, to the utter exclusion of all secular affairs. In his household and equipages he retained all his old magnificence, but in his own person he now assumed a rigid austerity befitting an anchorite. He wore a hair cloth next his skin, which was torn and raw with the merciless discipline that he inflicted upon himself; bread was almost his only diet, and his only beverage was water, which he rendered unpalatable by an infusion of disagreeable herbs. He daily had thirteen beggars into his palace and washed their feet; after which ceremony they were supplied with refreshments, and dismissed with a pecuniary present. While thus exciting the wonder and admiration of the laity, he was no less assiduous in aiming at the favour of the clergy, to whom he was studiously accessible and affable, and whom he still further gratified by his liberal gifts to hospitals and convents: and all who were admitted to his presence were at once edified and surprised by the grave and devotional aspect and rigid life of one who had but recently been foremost among the gayest and giddiest of the courtiers. Far less penetration than was possessed by Henry might have enabled him to see in all this sudden and sanctimonious austerity, a sure indication that he would find a powerful foe in Becket whenever he should attempt to infringe upon the real or assumed rights of the church. But, in truth, Becket was too eager to show his ecclesiastical zeal, even to wait until the measures of the king should afford him opportunity, and himself commenced the strife between the mitre and the crown by calling upon the earl of Clare to surrender the barony of Tunbridge to the see of Canterbury, to which it had formerly belonged, and from which Becket affirmed that the canons prevented his predecessors from legally separating it. The earl of Clare was a noble of great wealth and power, and allied to some of the first families, and his sister was supposed to have gained the affections of the king; and as the barony of Tunbridge had been in his family from the conquest, it seems probable that Becket was induced to select him for this demand of restitution of church property, in order the more emphatically to show his determination to prefer the interests of the church to all personal considerations, whether of fear or favour.

William D'Eynsford, one of the military tenants of the crown, was the patron of a living in a manor held of the archbishop of Canterbury. To this living Becket presented an incumbent named Laurence, thereby infringing the right of D'Eynsford, who instantly ejected Laurence *vi et armis*. Becket forthwith cited D'Eynsford, and, acting at once as accuser and judge, passed sentence of excommunication upon him. D'Eynsford applied for the interference of the king, on the ground that it was illegal that such a sentence should be passed on one who held *in capite* from the crown, without the royal assent first obtained. Henry accordingly, acting upon the practice established from the conquest, wrote to Becket, with whom he no longer had any personal intercourse, and desired him to absolve D'Eynsford. It was only reluctantly, and after some delay, that Becket complied at all; and even when he did so he coupled his compliance with a message, to the effect that it was not for the king to instruct him as to whom he should excommunicate and whom absolve! Though this conduct abundantly showed Henry the sort of opposition he had to expect from the man whom his kindness had furnished with the means of being ungrateful, there were many considerations, apart from the boldness and decision of the king's temper, which made Henry resolute in not losing any time in endeavouring to put something like a curb upon the licentious insolence to which long impunity and the gross superstition of the great body of the people had encouraged the clergy. The papacy was just now considerably weakened by its own schismatical division, while Henry, wealthy in territory, was fortunate in having the kingdom of England thoroughly in submission, with the sole exception of the clerical disorders and assumptions to which he had now determined to put a stop. On

the other hand, those disorders were so scandalous, and those assumptions in many cases were so startlingly unjust, that Henry could scarcely fail to have the best wishes of his subjects in general for the success of his project. The practice of ordaining the sons of villains had not merely caused an inordinate increase in the number of the clergy, but had also caused an even more than corresponding deterioration of the clerical character in England. The incontinence, gluttony, and roystering habits, attributed to the lower order of clergy by the writers of a much later day, were light and comparatively venial offences compared to those which seem but too truly to be attributed to that order in the reign of Henry II. Robbery, adulterous seduction, and even rape and murder, were attributed to them; and the returns made to an inquiry which Henry ordered, showed that, only counting from the commencement of his reign—i.e. a period of somewhat less than two years, a hundred murders had been committed by men in holy orders who had never been called to account.

Henry resolved to take steps for putting a stop to this impunity of criminals whose sacred profession only made their criminality the greater and more detestable. An opportunity of bringing the point of the clerical impunity to issue was afforded by a horrible crime that was just now committed in Worcestershire, where a priest, on being discovered in carrying on an illicit intercourse with a gentleman's daughter, put her father to death. The king demanded that the offender should be delivered over to the civil power, but Becket confined the clerkly culprit in the bishop's prison to prevent his being apprehended by the king's officers, and maintained that the highest punishment that could be inflicted upon the priest was degradation. The king acutely caught at this, and demanded that after degradation, when he would have become a mere layman again, the culprit should be delivered to the civil power to be further dealt with as it might deem fit; but Becket demurred even to this, on the plea that it would be unjust to try an accused man a second time upon the same charge.

Angered by the arrogance of Becket, and yet not wholly sorry to have such a really sound pretext for putting some order into the pretensions of the church, Henry summoned an assembly of the prelates of England, for the avowed purpose of putting a termination to the frequent and increasing controversies between the ecclesiastical and the civil jurisdiction.

Henry himself commenced the business of the assembly by asking the bishops, plainly and categorically, whether they were willing or unwilling to submit to the ancient laws and customs of the kingdom. To this plain question the bishops, in a more jesuitical spirit, replied, that they were willing so to submit, 'saving their own order;' a mental reservation by which they clearly meant that they would so submit—until resistance should be safe and easy! So shallow and palpable an artifice could not impose upon so shrewd a prince as Henry, whom it greatly provoked. He departed from the assembly in an evident rage, and immediately sent to require from Becket the surrender of the castles and honours of Eye and Berkhamstead. This demand, and the anger which it indicated, greatly alarmed the bishops; but Becket was undismayed; and it was not without more difficulty that Philip, the pope's legate and almoner, prevailed upon him to consent to the retractation of the offensive saving clause, and give an absolute and unqualified promise of submission to the ancient laws. But Henry was now determined to have a more precise understanding; a formal and definite decision of the limits of the ecclesiastical and the civil authority; and thus in some measure to destroy the undue ascendancy which, as effectually as insidiously, the former had for a long time past been obtaining. He therefore collated and reduced to writing those ancient customs of the realm which had been the most egregiously contravened by the clergy, and having called a great council of the barons and prelates at Clarendon, in Berkshire, he submitted this digest to them in the form of a series of articles, which are known in history under the title of the 'Constitutions of Clarendon;' which are thus briefly summed up. 'It was enacted by these constitutions that all suits concerning the advowson and presentation of churches should be determined in the civil courts; that in future the churches belonging to the king's see should not be granted in perpetuity without his consent; that clerks accused of any crime should be tried in the civil courts; that no one, particularly no clergyman, of any rank should depart the kingdom without the king's licence; that excommunicated persons should not be bound to give security for their continuing in their present place of abode; that laics should not be accused in spiritual courts, except by legal and reputable promoters and witnesses; that no chief-tenant of the crown should be excommunicated, nor his lands be put under an interdict, except with the king's consent; that all appeals in spiritual causes should be carried from the archdeacon to the bishop, from the bishop to the primate, and from the primate to the king, and should proceed no farther but with the king's consent; that should any lawsuit arise between a layman and a clergyman concerning a tenant, and it be disputed whether the land be a lay or an ecclesiastical fee, it should be first determined by the verdict of twelve lawful men to what class it belonged, and if the land be found to be a lay fee, then the cause should finally be determined in the civil courts; that no inhabitant in a lay demesne should be excommunicated for non-appearance in a spiritual court until the chief officer of the place where he resides be consulted, that he may compel him by the civil authority to give satisfaction to the church; that the archbishops, bishops, and other spiritual dignitaries should be regarded as barons of the realm, should possess the privileges and be subjected to the burthens belonging to

that rank, and should be bound to attend the king in his great councils, and assist at all trials, till the sentence either of death or of loss of members be given against the criminal; that the revenue of vacant sees should belong to the king, the chapter, or such of them as he chooses to summon, should sit in the king's chapel till they made the new election with his consent, and that the bishop elect should do homage to the crown; that if any baron or tenant *in capite* should refuse to submit to the spiritual courts, the king should employ his authority in obliging him to make such submissions; that if any one threw off his allegiance to the king, the prelates should assist the king with their censures in reducing him; that goods forfeited to the king should not be protected in churches or churchyards; that the clergy should no longer pretend to the right of enforcing payment of debts contracted by oath or promise; but should leave these lawsuits, equally with others, to the determination of the civil courts; and that the sons of villains should not be ordained clerks without the consent of their lord.'

The barons present at this great council were all on the king's side, either from actual participation of his sentiments towards the clergy or from awe of his power and temper; and the prelates, perceiving that they had both the king and the lay peerage against them, were fain to consent to these articles, which accordingly were voted without opposition. But Henry, misdoubting that the bishops, though they now found it useless to oppose the united will of the crown and the peerage, would, whenever circumstances should be favourable to them, deny the authority of the constitutions, as being enacted by an authority in itself incomplete, would not be contented with the mere verbal assent of the prelates, but demanded that each of them should set his hand and seal to the constitutions, and to their solemn promise to observe them. To this demand, though the rest of the prelates complied with it, Becket gave a bold and flat refusal. The earls of Cornwall and Leicester, the most powerful men in the lay peerage, strongly urged him, as a matter of policy as well as of obedience, to comply with the king's demand. He was so well aware of Henry's drift, and so far from being desirous of securing the permanent observance of the constitutions of Clarendon, that no intreaties could induce him to yield assent, until Richard de Hastings, English grand prior of the knights templars, knelt to him, and in tears implored him, if not for his own sake, at least for the sake of the church, not to continue an opposition which must be unsuccessful, and would only excite the ruinous opposition of a monarch equally resolute and powerful. Stern and resolved as Becket had shown himself as regarded the importunity of laymen, this evident proof that upon this point, at least, he no longer had the sympathy of even churchmen, caused Becket to give way; and he therefore, though with evident reluctance, took an oath 'legally, with good faith, and without fraud or reserve, to observe the constitutions of Clarendon.'

But the king, though he had thus far triumphed even over the firm and haughty temper of the primate, was by no means so near to complete success as he deemed himself. Pope Alexander, who still remained in France, and to whom in his contests with the anti-pope Henry had done no unimportant services, no sooner had the constitutions presented to him for ratification, than he perceived how completely they were calculated to make the king of England independent of his clergy and the kingdom itself of the papacy; and he was so far from ratifying, that he condemned and annulled them. When Becket found his own former opposition thus sanctioned by the present feelings and conduct of the pope, he regretted that he had allowed any considerations to induce him to give his signature and assent. He immediately increased his already great and painful austerities of life and severity of discipline, and would not even exercise any of the functions of his dignity until he received the absolution of the pope for what he deemed his offence against the ecclesiastical privileges. Nor did he confine himself to mere verbal repentance or his own personal discipline, but used all his eloquence to induce the English prelates to engage with him in a fixed and firm confederacy to regain and maintain their common right. Henry, hoping to beat Becket at his own weapons, now applied to Alexander to grant the legatine commission to the archbishop of York, whom he obviously only wished to arm with that inordinate and dangerous authority, in order that he might make him the instrument of Becket's ruin. But the design was too obvious to escape so keen an observer as Alexander, who granted the commission of legate, as desired, but carefully added a clause inhibiting the legate from executing any act to the prejudice of the archbishop of Canterbury. On finding himself thus baffled upon the very point on which alone he was solicitous, Henry so completely lost his temper, that he sent back the document by the very messenger who brought it over:—thus giving to Alexander the compliment of discernment, and the satisfaction of having completely baffled his plan.

The anger which the king now exhibited threatening extreme measures, Becket twice endeavoured to leave the kingdom, but was detained on both occasions by contrary winds; and Henry was thus enabled to cause him much expense and annoyance, by inciting John, mareschal of the exchequer, to sue the archbishop in his own court for some lands belonging to the manor of Pageham, and thence to appeal to the king's court. When the day arrived for trying the cause on the appeal, the archbishop did not personally appear, but sent four knights to apologise for his absence on the score of illness, and to make certain technical objections to the form of John's appeal. The king treated the absence of Becket as a wilful and offensive contempt, and the knights who bore his

apology narrowly escaped being committed to prison for its alleged falsehood. Being resolved that neither absence nor technicality should save Becket from suffering, the king now summoned a great council of barons and prelates at Northampton. Before this court Becket, with an air of great moderation, urged that the mareschal's cause was proceeding in the archiepiscopal court with all possible regularity, though the testimony of the sheriff would show that cause to be iniquitous and unjust; that he, Becket, far from showing any contempt of the king's court, had most explicitly acknowledged and submitted to his authority by sending four of his knights to appear for him; that even if their appearance should not be accepted as being tantamount to his own, and he should be technically made guilty of an offence of which he was virtually innocent, yet the penalty attached to that crime was but a small one, and as he was an inhabitant of Kent, he was entitled to an abatement even of that; and that he was now, in loyal obedience to the king's summons, present in the great council, and ready before it to justify himself against the charges of the mareschal. Whatever may be thought of the general arrogance of the primate and of his ambition, both as man and churchman, it is impossible not to perceive that the reasonings were here very just, and that the king's whole conduct was far more indicative of the monarch who was intent on crushing a too powerful subject, than of one who was sincerely and righteously desirous of 'doing justice and loving mercy;' and it is equally impossible not to feel some sympathy with the haughty and courageous primate, who, when pressed down by a foe so powerful and so vindictive, was abandoned by the dignitaries of that very church for whose sake, principally at least, he had so courageously combated. In the present case, as in the case of the constitutions of Clarendon, the bishops were induced to coincide with the lay barons, who had from the first determined to side with the king, and notwithstanding the convincing logic of his defence, he was pronounced guilty of contempt of the king's court and of neglect of the fealty which he had sworn to his sovereign; and Henry, bishop of Winchester, the once powerful brother of the late king Stephen, was, in spite of all his remonstrances, compelled to sentence the primate to confiscation of all his goods and chattels.

Even this severe sentence, upon what we cannot but consider a most iniquitous judgement, did not sufficiently satisfy the vengeance of the king, who on the very next day demanded from Becket the sum of three hundred pounds, which had been received by him from the manors of Eye and Berkhamstead. To this demand Becket replied, that as this suit was not mentioned in his summons to the council, he ought not to be called upon to answer it: that, in point of fact, he had expended more than that sum upon Eye and Berkhamstead castles and the royal palace in London; but that rather than a dispute about money should make any difference between his sovereign and himself, he would at once consent to pay the sum, for which he immediately gave the necessary sureties. Even this submission could not soften the king's determination; he demanded five hundred marks which he had lent to Becket in the war of Toulouse—during which war he had done the king much zealous and good service!—and a similar sum for which the king alleged that he had become Becket's surety to a Jew; and then, as if to leave him without the slightest hope of escape, he called upon him to furnish an account of his administration as chancellor, and to pay in the balance due from him on account of all the baronies, prelacies, and abbeys which had been under his management during his chancellorship. To this demand Becket replied, that it was so suddenly and unexpectedly made that he must require some delay ere he could answer to it. The king then demanded sureties, and Becket desired leave to consult his suffragans upon that point. They agreed with him that it would be utterly impossible for him to procure satisfactory security for the enormous amount of 44,000 marks, at which the king chose to estimate a demand which must in its very nature be uncertain; and Henry, bishop of Winchester, advised him at once to make the king an offer of two thousand marks, by way of payment in full of all demands, certain or uncertain. This he accordingly offered, but the king refused it, as he might have been expected to do; for in the first place he desired money far less than the torment and ruin of Becket, and in the next place, the sum of two thousand marks, though large in itself, was small indeed in comparison of the sum demanded by the king, and could hardly be expected to satisfy him if money really were his object. Some of Becket's suffragans, now plainly perceiving that his ruin was the king's object, advised him to resign his see by way of terminating all the king's charges and demands; while others advised that he should plainly submit himself to the king's mercy. But Becket seemed to gather courage from the very circumstances which would have plunged men of a more timid spirit into utter despair, and resolved to brave the utmost that the king could inflict.

CHAPTER XIX.

The Reign of HENRY II. (*continued*).

HAVING spent a few days in retirement and meditation upon the trying and difficult circumstances in which he was placed, Becket at length went to church and performed mass; having the communion service commenced with the words 'Princes sat and spake against me,' by the selection of which passage he appeared to desire to liken himself to the persecuted and martyred St. Stephen. From church Becket proceeded to the royal palace. On arriving at the gate he took the cross from the hands of the bearer, and, holding it before him, marched to the royal apartments as though in some danger, which made the

presence of the sacred symbol necessary for his protection. The king, who from an inner apartment perceived the extraordinary demeanour of Becket, sent some of the bishops to reason with him upon its impropriety. They reminded him that he, by subscribing the constitutions of Clarendon, had agreed with them that it was necessary to do so; and they complained that he appeared to wish to induce them now, by his example, to revolt against the civil power, when it was too late for either of them to do so without the guilt of offending against laws to which they had consented and sworn to support. To this Becket replied, that if he and they had done wrong in swearing to support laws destructive of the ecclesiastical privileges, the best atonement they now could make would be to submit themselves to the authority of the pope, who had solemnly nullified the constitutions of Clarendon, and had absolved them from the oath taken to secure those constitutions; that, for his own part, the heavy penalty to which he had been condemned for an offence which would be but slight even had he been guilty of it, which he was not, and the preposterous demands subsequently made upon him by the king, very clearly showed that it was intended utterly to ruin him, and thus prepare a way for the destruction of all spiritual immunities; that to the pope he should appeal against whatever iniquitous sentence might be passed upon him; and that, terrible as the vengeance of so powerful a king as Henry most undoubtedly was, it had power only to slay the body, while the sword of the church could slay the soul.

In thus speaking of appealing to the pope, Becket not only opposed the express provision of the constitutions of Clarendon, by which appeals were done away with even in ecclesiastical cases, but opposed even common custom, such appeals never having lain in civil cases. Whatever excuse Henry's violence might furnish for appealing to Rome, in the eye of reason, to do so was an offence both by the letter and the spirit of the law; Becket, however, waited not for any further proof of the king's vindictiveness, but departed secretly for Northampton, and after wandering about for some time in disguise, and undergoing much difficulty, at length procured a ship and arrived in safety at Gravelines.

In France the persecuted churchman was sure to find warm friends, if not actually from their conviction of his having the right in the quarrel between himself and the king, at least because it was their interest to uphold all who were likely in any degree to check the proud prosperity of Henry. In this both the king of France and his powerful vassal the earl of Flanders had an interest; and in that particular interest they forgot their infinitely greater concern in the obedience of subjects to their sovereign, and gave the self-exiled prelate a warm reception, the king of France even going so far as to pay him a personal visit at Soissons, where he had fixed the prelate's residence. Henry sent a magnificent embassy to Lyons to justify his conduct to the pope, who, deeply interested in the success of Becket, gave the envoys of Henry a very cool reception, while upon Becket, who also attended to justify his conduct, he lavished his kindness and distinction. The king, doubly annoyed that Becket's person was beyond his power and that he had obtained so marked a welcome abroad, not only put all the revenues of Canterbury under sequestration, but even proceeded to the meanly malignant length of banishing the whole of the archbishop's family and dependants, to the number of four hundred. In order that there might be no doubt that his intent in this measure was to embarrass Becket, by throwing upon him the support of this host of helpless people, a burthen then the more ruinous from the simultaneous sequestration of his revenue, he compelled them before their departure to swear that they would immediately join the archbishop. In this part of his vindictive design, however, Henry was defeated by the pope; for as soon as these exiles arrived in France, Alexander absolved them from their involuntary oath, and distributed them among the convents of Flanders and France; and to Becket himself the convent of Pontigny was given for a residence, his income being furnished by the revenues of that convent and a very liberal pension allowed to him by the king of France; and here Becket remained in great esteem and magnificence for some years.

A.D. 1165.—Though far removed from Henry's presence, Thomas à Becket had lost neither the will nor the power to annoy him. Both with that end and for the purpose of confirming the favourable opinion of the pope himself, he now resigned into Alexander's hands his see of Canterbury on the alleged ground that he had been uncanonically presented to it by the king; apparently quite unaware or careless of the fact, that that plea made the whole of his conduct illegal and gratuitous by his own showing. Alexander, well pleased at the deference thus shown to him, accepted his resignation, but immediately reinvested him and granted him a bull by which he pretended to free Becket from the sentence passed on him at Northampton by the great council. Another glaring inconsistency; this sentence being fully authorised as to jurisdiction, tyrannical as it was, in fact, by the constitutions of Clarendon, which Becket himself had signed and sanctioned. But, in truth, this whole quarrel was a 'sorites' of inconsistencies, absurdity, and wilfulness, both on the one side and on the other. Being unable to obtain an interview with Alexander, the favourable state of whose affairs enabled him to return to Rome, Henry now made earnest and wise preparations for preserving his kingdom and himself from the worst consequences of the open quarrel with the pope which now seemed to be inevitable. He issued the strictest orders to his justiciaries neither to forward nor to allow of any appeals from their courts either to Becket or the pope, or in anywise to appeal to or obey their

authority. He at the same time made it a treasonable offence to bring any interdict into the kingdom from either of those dignitaries, and denouncing upon all such offences the punishment, in the case of clerks, of castration and deprivation of sight, and in the case of laics, of death; while sequestration and banishment were to be the punishment not only of all persons who should obey such interdict, but also of all their relations: and to give the more solemn effect to these stern orders, he obliged all his subjects to swear obedience to them. Some notion may be formed of the tremendous power that Henry possessed, when it is considered that orders so sweeping as these, which in some sort severed the kingdom from its dependence on the papal court, were made not by the great council of the nation, but by the king's will alone. As Becket still possessed vast influence over the clergy, who in that age had an almost absolute power over the minds of the great mass of the people, Henry did not deem himself sufficiently armed by these orders, but entered into a close engagement with the celebrated emperor Frederic Barbarossa, who was at open war with pope Alexander; and still further to alarm the pope, Henry showed some inclination to acknowledge the anti-pope, Pascal III.

A.D. 1166.—Nothing daunted by the prudent arrangements of Henry, or by the effect which they undoubtedly had upon the mind of Alexander, Becket now issued a censure in which he excommunicated the king's chief advisers by name and generally all persons who should favour or even obey the constitutions of Clarendon. Thus placed in the dilemma of being unable to release his friends from the terrible effects of excommunication, without undoing all that he had done, and making a formal and complete acknowledgement of the pope's power to absolve and therefore to excommunicate, Henry listened to the advice of John of Oxford, his agent with the pope, and consented to admit the mediation of the legates Otho and William of Pavia. When these personages proceeded to examine into the affair, the king required that all the constitutions of Clarendon should be fully ratified; Becket, on the other hand, insisted that before any such agreement were made, both himself and his adherents should be restored to their possessions and position. The legate William, who was greatly interested for Henry, took care to protract the negotiation as far as possible, and to represent Henry's disposition in the most favourable light to the pope. But the pretensions and demands of the opponent parties were far too much opposed at the very outset to admit of any good result, and the negotiation soon fell to the ground; Henry, however, profited by its duration and the partial restoration of the pope's good opinion, to procure a dispensation for the marriage of his third son Geoffrey to the heiress of Brittany, a favour to which he attached all the more importance because it very deeply mortified both Becket and the king of France.

A.D. 1167.—The count of Auvergne, a vassal of the Duchy of Guienne, having offended Henry, that monarch entered his vassal's domain; and the count appealing to the king of France as superior lord, a war ensued between the two kings; but it was conducted with no vigour on either side, and peace was then made, on terms sufficiently unfavourable to Henry to show that his quarrel with Rome had lost him not a little of that superiority which he had previously enjoyed over the king of France.

Both the pope and Henry began to tire of their pursuits, which they at length perceived to be mutually injurious, and still more dangerous as to the future than presently injurious. This consideration inclined both parties to a reconciliation, but was not sufficient to put an end to their jealousies and suspicions. Several attempts at coming to an understanding were frustrated by petty doubts or petty punctilio on either side; but at length the nuncios Gratian and Vivian were commissioned by the pope to bring about an accommodation, and for that purpose they had a meeting with Henry in Normandy. After much tedious discussions, all difficulties seemed happily brought to an end. Henry offered to sign a treaty in the terms proposed by the pope, only with a salvo to his royal dignity. But Becket, who, however much wronged at one time, seems at length to have learned to love strife for its own sake, took fire at this limitation, and the excommunication of the king's ministers was immediately renewed. No fewer than four more treaties were broken off by a similar pettiness of temper on either side; and it is quite clear from all accounts, that the fault lay chiefly with Becket, who certainly, whatever other qualities of a Christian prelate he was endowed with, was sadly deficient in meekness.

A.D. 1169.—Henry, who perceived this fault of Becket, did not fail to point it out to the attention of king Louis. 'There have been,' said Henry, with great force and shrewdness, 'many kings of England, some of greater, some of less authority than myself; there have also been many archbishops of Canterbury, holy and good men, and entitled to every kind of respect: let Becket but act towards me with the same submission which the greatest of his predecessors have paid to the least of mine, and there shall be no more controversy between us.' This view of the case was so reasonable that it induced Louis for a time to withdraw his friendship and support; but bigotry and interest proved an overmatch for reason, and the prelate soon regained the French king's favour.

A.D. 1170.—At length, to the great joy of all sensible men and well-wishers to England, all difficulties were done away with, and Becket returned to England. By this treaty he was not required to yield any of the original points in dispute; he and his adherents were restored to their possessions, and in cases where vacancies in the see of Canterbury had been filled up by the king, the incumbents he had appointed were now expelled, and their places filled by men of Becket's own choice. On the

king's side the only advantages derived from this reconciliation were the removal of the terrible sentence of excommunication from his friends and ministers, and the termination of the dread in which he had so long lived of seeing an interdict laid upon his whole dominions. But *that* was an advantage the preciousness of which it is scarcely possible for our generation, so happily free from terrors which Rome could then strike into the hearts of the mightiest nations, adequately to appreciate. That Henry set no ordinary value upon the peace thus procured may be judged from the fact, that this proud and powerful king, among the many servile flatteries with which he wooed the good-humour of the man whose greatness was his own creation, actually on one occasion stooped so low as to hold the stirrup of Becket while the haughty churchman mounted! In a king this excessive and unseemly condescension passes for policy and astuteness; in a meaner man it would scarcely escape being called by the plainer and less complimentary names of hypocrisy and servility.

But the peace procured by so much sacrifice of dignity did not last long. Henry during Becket's absence had associated his heir, prince Henry, with him in the sovereignty, and had caused the unction to be bestowed upon him by Roger, archbishop of York. This had not been done so secretly but that the exiled prelate had been informed of it, and both he and the king of France demanded that the archbishop of Canterbury, who alone could regularly bestow the unction, should renew the ceremony both upon prince Henry and his youthful bride, Margaret of France. To this reasonable demand, which indeed was of the utmost importance to the prince and princess, the king readily and frankly acceded; but not contented with this tacit confession, that in a case of urgency the king trenched upon his privilege and was now ready to make the best reparation in his power, Becket had scarcely landed in England ere he suspended the archbishop of York and excommunicated the bishops of London and Salisbury, by authority with which the pope had armed him. De Warenne and Gervase, two of the king's ministers, astonished and disgusted at this wanton and gratuitous breach of the peace so lately made up, indignantly demanded whether the archbishop really desired to return to his native land only to bring fire and sword with him.

Utterly unmindful of the construction which sensible and just men might put upon his litigious and vain-glorious airs and conduct, he proceeded to make a triumphal entry into his see; and he was received by the multitude with a rapturous joy and applause well fitted to confirm him in his uncompromising humour. Stimulated by his evident popularity, he now published sentence of excommunication against Nigel de Sackville, Robert de Broc, and others, on the ground of their having assisted either at the coronation of prince Henry, or joined in the king's persecution of the exiled clergy.

When the archbishop of York and the bishops of London and Salisbury arrived at Bayeux, where Henry then was, and informed him of Becket's new violence, the king's indignation that all his careful policy, and the condescension which could not but have been most painful to so proud a prince, were thus completely thrown away, was tremendous. He broke out into the most violent invectives upon the arrogance and ingratitude of Becket, and unfortunately allowed himself, in reply to the archbishop of York, who remarked that peace was hopeless while Becket lived, to say that it was the want of zeal on the part of his friends and servants that had caused him so long to be exposed to so much insolence and annoyance. Such words could not in that age fall innocuously from the lips of a monarch far less powerful and far less beloved by his courtiers than Henry was. Reginald Fitzurse, William de Tracey, Hugh de Moreville, and Richard Brito, four gentlemen of the king's household, taking a mere expression of very natural peevishness for an actual wish for the death of Becket, immediately agreed to cross over to England and put their master's enemy to death. They were missed by Henry, who, fearing their desperate purpose, despatched a message charging them on their allegiance to do no personal injury to Becket. Unhappily they were not overtaken in time to arrest them in their ruthless design. Becket, proud of the power he had displayed, was residing at Canterbury in all the haughty security of one who felt the peace and safety of the whole nation to be in some sort hostages for his safety; of one, in fact, whose person the most daring of his enemies must look upon as something sacred and inviolable. This high opinion of his value in the eyes of mankind was fatal to him. When the four resolved assassins reached Canterbury the archbishop was but slenderly guarded, and they saw him go without fear or suspicion to hear vespers in his cathedral, whither they followed and brutally butchered him; unopposed equally in the commission of their foul and cowardly crime and in their subsequent departure.

To Henry the news of this detestable and no less impolitic crime came like a thunderbolt. Confident that even the pope would see the impropriety of Becket's conduct, he had already contemplated the arrest and regular punishment of the proud prelate, not doubting that by dexterous management he could induce the pope not merely to approve, but even to aid his measures. But now his position was completely altered; instead of proceeding as an injured and insulted king, he would have to defend himself against the odious charge of assassination. He could not but see that, even in the judgement of the most disinterested and unprejudiced men, there would be but too many circumstances of shrewd suspicion at the least; while the pope, whose policy it was to seize upon every circumstance that could tend to increase the subjection of so powerful a king to Rome, would not fail publicly to attribute this

crime to him, whatever might be his private judgement; and for himself and his devoted kingdom he could now anticipate nothing but excommunication and interdict!

So completely was the king unmanned by his fears, that he shut himself up in his own apartments for three days, allowing no light to enter them, wholly abstaining from food, and not permitting even the most favoured of his subjects to approach him. Alarmed lest this conduct should actually be carried to the extent of self-destruction, his friends at length forced their way to him, and prevailed upon him to emerge from his solitude, and resume the cares of government, which now more than ever demanded the fullest possible exertion of his fine talents.*

A.D. 1171.—It must be evident that the main difficulty of Henry's situation originated in the unwillingness which the pope would feel to admit even the most cogent reasonings against the king's participation of the guilt of Becket's murderers. Men do not easily yield credence to arguments—and Henry could only offer arguments, not proofs—that militate against their own dear and cherished interests. But this calamity both to king and kingdom was too terrible and too instant to allow of anything being left unattempted which promised even the probability of success; and Henry immediately sent the archbishop of Rouen, together with the bishops of Worcester and Evreux, and five other men of talent and station, to make, in the king's name, the most humble submission to the pope. There was some difficulty in gaining admission to his holiness, who was at the very time that his forbearance was thus abjectly sought by the potent and proud Henry, almost a prisoner in his own palace; so surrounded and pressed was he by his enemies. It was now nearly Easter, and it was expected that the name of Henry would be included in the list of those who at that season received the solemn and terrible curses of the church. Happily, however, Richard Barre, one of Henry's envoys, and others, contrived so far to mollify the anger of the pope, that his fearful anathema was bestowed only in general terms upon Becket's murderers and their instigators or abettors. Two legates were appointed to enquire into the affair; and thus, after all his fears, Henry escaped the worst consequences of a crime of which he seems really to have been innocent, but of which the circumstances would as certainly have enabled the pope to *seem* to think him guilty—if, indeed, it had not been, just then, rather more to the papal interest to obtain a strong hold upon England, by accepting the king's submission and allowing his assertions to pass for proof, than harshly to drive both king and nation to despair. Thus happily delivered from a peril so imminent, Henry directed his attention to Ireland.

A.D. 1173.—All men's eyes had of late been anxiously turned upon the king's heir, the young prince Henry. He had given many proofs that he possessed in no ordinary degree the princely qualities of courage, liberality, and a kindly disposition; but those who looked beneath the surface perceived that his very kindness, unless ruled by a severe and uncommon discretion, was likely to give him a fatal facility in listening to the advice of any friends who should unduly minister to his other chief characteristic—an excessive ambition. At the time when, during Becket's absence, he irregularly received the royal unction, he made a remark which was much commented upon, and which many did not fail to interpret into proof of a haughty and aspiring turn. His father waited upon him at table, and good-humouredly observed that never was king more royally attended; upon which the prince remarked to one of his favourites, that it surely was nothing so very remarkable that the son of a count should wait upon the son of a king.

Agreeable to the promise made by the king at the period of the return of Becket, young Henry and the princess Margaret were now crowned and anointed by the archbishop of Rouen; and in the subsequent visit which the prince paid to his father-in-law, it is thought that the latter persuaded him that the fact of his being crowned during the lifetime of his father, instead of being a mere ceremony to secure his future succession, gave him an instant claim upon a part, if not upon the whole, of his father's dominions; and the prince was, unfortunately, but too well inclined to give credit to the arguments by which this view of the case was supported. Eager to enjoy the power, of which he probably but little understood the pains, he formally demanded that his father should resign either England or Normandy to him. The king very properly refused to comply with so extravagant a request; and after upbraiding his father in undutiful terms, he hastened to Paris and put himself under the protection of the king of France.

Nor was this the only domestic vexation that assailed the king just as his public affairs looked so hopeful. Queen Eleanor, who as queen of France had been remarkable for her levity, was in her second marriage no less remarkable for her jealousy. As she was just now labouring under a new access of that feeling, her anger with her husband led her to the most unjustifiable length of exciting their children against him. Acting upon the hint afforded by the demand of prince Henry, she persuaded the princes Geoffrey and Richard that they too were unkindly and unjustly used by their father, who, she affirmed, ought no longer to withhold from them possession of the portions he had formally assigned to them. Offering them aid in the undutiful course which she recommended to them, she actually disguised herself in male attire, and was on the point of departing for the French court, there to carry on intrigues contrary to her duty alike as wife, mother, and

* See the account of Becket in Milman's Latin Christianity, Book VII. ch. viii.

subject, when the king obtained information of her designs, and placed her in confinement. This, however, did not put an end to the misconduct she had mainly originated; and there were princes who were sufficiently envious of the power and prosperity of Henry, to lend their aid and countenance to this unnatural coalition of sons against their father, and of subjects against their sovereign. Judging by his own experience of the terror in which even the proudest and boldest men held the censure and interdict of Rome, Henry in this most distressing situation did not hesitate to apply to the pope. But he had to learn, that to arm the papal interdict with all its terrors, it was necessary that the clergy should have some strong interest in the question.

The pope issued his bulls, excommunicating the enemies of Henry; but as the interests of the church were in no wise concerned, the clergy cared not to exert themselves, and the bulls fell to the ground a mere *brutum fulmen*. Disappointed and disgusted at finding that weapon so powerless for him which was so formidable against him, Henry now had recourse to the sword; and, as he had prudently amassed great treasures, he was able to take into his pay large bodies of the banditti-like soldiery with whom the continent swarmed, and who were always ready to fight zealously and bravely, too, in any cause that afforded regular pay and promised large plunder. His sons, on the other hand, were not without the means or the inclination to imitate this part of their father's conduct; and most of the barons of Normandy, Gascony, and Brittany willingly took part with the young princes, who they knew must in the course of nature become their rightful sovereigns, their several territories being already irrevocably settled upon them in the usual forms. Nor, to the disgrace of the English chivalry, did the disaffection to the injured king and parent stop even here; several powerful English barons, and among them the earls of Chester and Leicester, openly declared against the king. That no sane man could have been led into this opposition to the king by any doubt as to the justice of his cause is morally certain; and to all the other foulness of treason, these at the least laid themselves open to the low and disgraceful charge of basely deserting from what they knew to be the more just side, but deemed to be also the weaker one. And the weaker one, to all human judgement, it doubtless appeared to be. But few, comparatively, of his barons brought their retainers to the aid of the king, whose chief disposable force was an army of about twenty thousand of those foreign mercenaries of whom we just now made mention, and some well-disciplined English whom he withdrew from Ireland. On the other hand, the combination was potent and threatening indeed. In addition to the numerous wealthy and warlike barons already alluded to as having given in their adhesion to the young princes, the four counts of Eu, Blois, Flanders, and Boulogne. followed their example; and William, king of Scotland, the natural enemy of England, gladly joined this unholy alliance.

Louis of France summoned the chief vassals of the crown to Paris, and solemnly bound them by oath to adhere with him to the cause; and prince Henry on his part swore to be faithful to his allies, among whom he distributed large gifts of territory —to be conquered from his king and parent — under the seal of state which he treasonably caused to be made for that purpose.

The counts of Boulogne and Flanders began the unnatural war by laying siege to Aumale, on the frontier of Normandy. The count d'Aumale, who seems to have been only withheld by some prudential and merely selfish motive from openly and in form allying himself with his master's enemies, made a mere show of defence and then surrendered the place. Being thus apparently a prisoner in the hands of those whose confederate he seems really to have been, he had a specious ground for committing still farther treason, without exposing himself to any very deadly peril in the event of the king being ultimately triumphant over this formidable and unscrupulous confederacy.

The king of France, in the meantime, was not idle; with seven thousand knights and their followers and a proportionate force of infantry, he, accompanied by the young prince Henry, laid siege to Verneuil. The place was bravely defended by Hugh de Beauchamp, but the garrison at the end of a month became so short of provisions, that de Beauchamp was obliged to consent to a surrender should he not be relieved in the course of three days. Ere the expiration of this time king Henry and his army appeared on the neighbouring heights, and the French monarch then demanded a conference, for the purpose, as he alleged, of putting an end to the differences between Henry and his sons—differences, it should never be forgotten, which Louis had himself done his utmost to fan into a flame. Henry, not for a moment suspecting Louis of any treacherous intention, agreed to this proposal; and Louis having thus beguiled him into abstaining from forcible interference on behalf of the brave garrison until the term agreed upon for the truce had completely expired, called upon Beauchamp to make good his promise of surrender, on pain of being held man sworn; and then, having set fire to Verneuil, set his army on the retreat from before it, and Henry fell upon the rear, which lost many both in killed and prisoners.

The barons of Brittany, headed by Ralph de Fougeres and the earl of Chester, were encountered by the king's troops near Dol, and defeated with the loss of fifteen hundred in killed, besides an immense number of wounded and prisoners. The leaders with their diminished forces took shelter in Dol, but Henry besieged the place so vigorously, that they were speedily compelled to surrender.

Instead of being seduced by his successes into any inveteracy of purpose against his

enemies, Henry once more agreed to treat with the chief of them, Louis of France. A meeting accordingly took place between the two monarchs, the three young princes, to their infinite discredit, prominently appearing in the retinue of their father's enemy. As their outrageous demands were in fact the main cause of dispute between the two monarchs, Henry addressed himself to those demands, and made his sons offers far more liberal than became him to offer or them to accept; but the peaceable purpose of this memorable meeting was wholly frustrated by the earl of Leicester, who, probably at the secret instigation of Louis, behaved with such open insolence to Henry, that the meeting was broken up without any conclusion being arrived at.

Though Henry had been so successful on the continent in repressing his enemies and in upholding his authority, it was in no small danger in England; for, prince Henry having agreed to resign Dover and the other strongholds of Kent into the hands of the earl of Flanders, there was so little of pure public spirit among the English, that a most extensive confederacy was formed to aid in this scheme, which would have deserved no milder name than that of a national suicide. But fortunately for both Henry and his kingdom, while the lay nobles and their dependants were thus hostile or indifferent, he was in good odour with the clergy just at this period, to which, probably, he mainly owed t that he was not utterly ruined.

Richard de Lacy, whom Henry had intrusted with the high and important office of guardian of the realm, greatly distinguished himself at this period, both by his loyalty and his conduct. He repelled and obtained the submission of the king of Scotland, who had led his ravaging troops into Northumberland; and immediately after having done this good service, led his victorious troops southward to oppose a far superior force of Flemings, who had landed on the coast of Suffolk, and thence marched into the very heart of the kingdom. In the action which ensued, the Flemish force, consisting for the most part of hastily-raised and ill-disciplined artisans, were routed almost at the first charge of De Lacy's disciplined followers, and nearly ten thousand were slain or made prisoners, the earl of Leicester himself being among the latter.

This defeat of the Flemings delivered the kingdom from that particular danger, indeed, but in no wise abated the evil determination of the king's heartless sons and their allies. The earl of Ferrers and several powerful friends of the earls of Leicester and Chester were openly in arms against their king; the earls of Clare and Gloucester were strongly suspected of being prepared to take the same course; and the king of Scotland scarcely allowed the term to expire during which he had engaged to keep the peace, ere he invaded the northern counties of England with a force of eighty thousand men, who committed the most wanton and extensive spoliation. In this state of things, Henry, having put his continental territories into a state of comparative security, hastened over to England to try upon his enemies the effect of his personal presence.

Well knowing the effect of all superstitious observances upon the principal part of his subjects, he had no sooner landed at Southampton than he hastened to the city of Canterbury, distant as it was, and, arriving there, quitted his horse and walked barefooted to the shrine of that now-sainted Thomas à Becket, who in life had caused him so much annoyance and danger. Having prostrated himself before the shrine, he next caused the monks of the place to be assembled, and, stripping off his garments, submitted his bare shoulders to the scourge. How humiliating an idea does it not give us of that age to reflect that this degrading conduct was, perhaps, the most politic that Henry could have chosen, to forward the great object he just then had in view, the conciliation of the zealous good-will of all ranks of his subjects,—for amongst all ranks, not excepting the very highest, superstition then had a mysterious and a mighty power. Having completed all the degrading ceremonials that the monks chose to consider essential to the final and complete reconciliation of the king to the saint, absolution was solemnly given to Henry, and he departed for London. News shortly after arrived of a great victory that Henry's troops had obtained over tLe Scots; and the monks, ever inclined to the *post hoc, propter hoc*, principle, did not fail to attribute that victory to the pious means by which Henry had appeased Saint Thomas à Becket, who had thus signalised his forgiveness.

William of Scotland, though repulsed by Henry's generals, still showed himself unwilling to deprive his troops of the agreeable employment of wasting the northern provinces of England; and, like a half-gorged vulture disturbed in its ravening feast, he still lingered near. Having formed a camp at Alnwick, in Northumberland, he sent out numerous detachments in quest of spoil. However favourable this course might be to his cupidity, it greatly weakened him in a military point of view; and Glanville, the celebrated lawyer, who at this time was a very principal leader and support of the English army, having obtained exact information of William's situation, resolved to make a bold attempt to surprise him. After a fatiguing march to Newcastle, he barely allowed his troops time for hasty refreshment, of which both man and horse stood in dire need, and then set out on a forced night march to Alnwick, a distance of upwards of thirty miles, where he arrived very early in the morning of the 13th of July, and, fortunately, under cover of a genuine Scotch mist, so dense as to prevent his approach from being observed. Though, after making all allowance for the detachments which William had sent out, Glanville felt that he was far inferior in force to the Scots, he gallantly gave his troops the order to charge. So completely secure had William felt from any such attack, that it was not until English banners flew and English

blades flashed in his very camp, that he dreamed of any English force being within many miles of him. In the furious scene that ensued he behaved with great personal gallantry, boldly charging upon the serried ranks of the English with only a hundred of his immediate followers. But his negligence as a commander had produced a state of disadvantage which was not to be remedied by any valour, however great. This little band was speedily dispersed, and he being fairly ridden down was made prisoner. The news of his capture speedily spread among his troops, whose confusion was thus rendered too complete to allow of their leaders rallying them; and they hastily retreated over the borders, fighting among themselves so furiously during their retreat, that they are said to have actually lost more in killed and wounded by Scottish than by English swords.

This utter defeat of the Scotch, and the capture of William, upon whom the English rebels had so mainly depended for diversion of their king's strength, as well as for more direct assistance, left these latter no safe course but submission; and that course, accordingly, was speedily followed by all ranks among them. The clergy, with their usual self-complacency, attributed all this success to the submission which they had induced the king to make to Becket; and Henry, well knowing how much more power superstition had over the minds of his subjects than any political or even moral considerations, however clear or important, astutely affected to believe all that they affirmed, and by every means endeavoured to propagate the like belief among his subjects.

Meantime the serpent of revolt was on the continent, 'scotched not killed;' the young prince Henry, with a perseverance worthy of a better cause, having in spite of all his father's triumph persisted in carrying on his rebellious designs. He and the earl of Flanders had assembled a large army, with which they were preparing to embark at Gravelines; but when they heard of the signal defeat which king Henry's troops had inflicted upon the Flemings, they laid aside their intention of invading England, and proceeded to join their force to that of the king of France, who was besieging Rouen, in Normandy.

The people of Rouen, who were much attached to king Henry, and proportionally fearful of falling under the rule of Louis, defended the place with so much courage and success, that Louis deemed it necessary to have recourse to a stratagem that did far more credit to his ingenuity than to his honour. The festival of St. Laurence occurring just at that time, he proclaimed, under pretence of a pious desire to keep it with due solemnity, a cessation of arms. This was agreed to on the part of the unsuspecting citizens; and Louis, hoping to surprise them, immediately made preparations for the attack. It chanced that while all in the French camp were in motion, some priests of Rouen had mounted to a steeple to overlook it, merely for curiosity. Struck with a degree of bustle that seemed so inappropriate to the solemn truce that had been proclaimed, they caused the alarm-bell of the city to be rung, and the soldiers and citizens immediately hastened to their appointed stations, and were but just in time to repulse the enemy, many of whom had already succeeded in mounting the walls. The French lost many men in this attack; and on the following day, before they could renew it, king Henry marched into the place in full view of the enemy, and, ordering the gates to be thrown open, dared them to the renewal of their attack. Louis, who now saw Rouen completely safe at the very moment when he fancied it completely within his grasp, had no thought left but how he should best release himself from the danger of a decisive defeat. Trusting to the desire which Henry had all along manifested to come to peaceable terms, Louis proposed a conference. Henry readily fell into the snare, and Louis profited by the interval which he thus gained, and marched his army into France.

Having thus secured his army, however, Louis, who by this time was nearly as anxious as Henry for a termination of their disputes, agreed to a meeting, which accordingly took place near the ancient city of Tours, and peace was concluded on terms far more favourable to Henry than those he had offered at the memorable conference which was abruptly terminated by the insolent misconduct of the earl of Leicester.

CHAPTER XX.

The Reign of HENRY II. (*concluded*).

A. D. 1175.—FIRM in adversity, Henry had the still farther and more uncommon merit of being moderate in prosperity. He had in various actions taken nearly a thousand knights prisoners, and these he now liberated without ransom, though the customs of the age would have warranted contrary conduct without the slightest impeachment of either his honour or his generosity. To William of Scotland, as the repeated enmity of that monarch fully warranted, he behaved with more rigour. As the price of his release William was obliged to agree to do homage for his territories to Henry, to engage that the prelates and barons of his kingdom should also do homage, and that they should swear to side with the king of England even against their native prince; and that, as security for the performance of this agreement, the five principal Scottish fortresses, namely, Edinburgh, Stirling, Berwick, Roxburgh, and Jedburgh, should be placed in the hands of king Henry. Even when the terms of the agreement had been duly complied with by the Scotch, Henry showed no inclination to relax from his severity upon a people who had caused him so much annoyance by their inveterate enmity. Contrariwise, he now required that Berwick and Roxburgh should be given up to him altogether, and that he should for a given time retain the castle of Edinburgh. Thus the eagerness with which William lent his aid in the endeavour to crush Henry ended in the latter prince obtaining the

first triumph over that kingdom which was ever obtained by an English monarch.

A. D. 1176.—Henry wisely employed the peace which his victories had procured him, in remedying those disorders which had sprung up among his own subjects. He made or restored laws against those crimes which had most flagrantly increased, such as counterfeiting coin, arson, robbery, and murder. If when we read of his enacting such severe punishments for those offences as amputation of the right hand and foot, we feel inclined to censure the king, we must bear in mind that he had to deal with an age little better than semi-barbarous, and was probably obliged against his will to legislate *down* to the public intelligence. We are the more inclined to make this allowance for him in some cases, because in others he gave very plain proofs that he possessed both understanding and good feeling far in advance of his age. In the case, for instance, of the absurd trial by battle, which disgraced the statute-book even so lately as the reign of George III., Henry, though the time was not ripe for its utter abolition, enacted that either of the parties might challenge in its stead a trial by a jury of twelve freeholders.

To make the administration of justice more certain, with a view both to repressing crime and to protecting the community against the oppressions of the nobles, Henry divided England into four great circuits, to be traversed by itinerant justices selected from among those prelates and lay nobles who were most remarkable for learning and their love of justice. He also made some very useful regulations with a view to the defence of the kingdom, each man being obliged to arm himself according to his rank.

While the king was thus wisely employing his leisure, his sons were meditating farther annoyance to him. Prince Henry renewed his demand for the complete resignation of Normandy, and on receiving a refusal proceeded to the court of France with his queen with the evident design of renewing his hostilities against his too indulgent father. But Philip, who had just succeeded to Louis on the throne of France, was not just now prepared for war against so powerful a king as Henry, and the young prince was therefore once more obliged to make his submission to his much enduring sovereign and parent. Prince Henry and Geoffrey now became engaged in a feudal strife with their brother, prince Richard. The king, with the usual anxiety for the welfare of these most turbulent and undutiful princes, interfered to restore peace among them, but had scarcely succeeded in doing so when he once more found prince Henry arrayed against him.

A. D. 1183.—To what end the shameful conspiracies of this incorrigible and ungrateful prince would at length have arrived it is difficult to judge, though we may but too reasonably presume that his real aim was the actual deposition of his father. But the career of the prince now drew to an end. He had retired to the castle of Martel, near Turenne, to mature his schemes, and was there seized with a fever Finding himself in danger, he sent to intreat that his father would visit him and personally assure him of forgiveness. But the king, though not less affectionate than of yore, had received so many proofs of his son's perfidy, that he feared to trust himself in his hands. The prince died on June 11; and the king, who fainted on hearing the news, bitterly, but surely most unjustly, reproached himself with hardheartedness in having refused to visit him.

Prince Henry, who died in the twenty-eighth year of his age, though married left no children. The prince Richard therefore now filled the important situation of heir to the English throne; and the king proposed that in this altered state of things, prince John, who was his favourite son, should inherit Guienne. But Richard, unmindful of the grief which his father was already enduring, not only refused to consent to this arrangement, but proceeded to put that duchy into a condition to make war against his brother Geoffrey, who was in possession of Brittany, and to resist, if needful, the king himself. Well knowing how much more influence Eleanor had over their sons than he had, the king sent for her, and as she was the actual heiress of Guienne, Richard, so undutiful towards his father, at once delivered the duchy up to her.

A. D. 1185.—Scarcely had Richard become reconciled to his father, when Geoffrey, being refused Anjou, of which he had demanded the annexation to his duchy of Brittany, levied troops and declared war against his father: but before this unnatural prince could do any considerable portion of the mischief which he obviously intended, he was slain accidentally by one of his opponents at a tournament. His posthumous son, who was christened Arthur, was invested with the duchy of Brittany by king Henry, who also constituted himself the guardian of the youthful prince.

The attention of both Henry and his rival, Philip of France, was soon called from their personal differences to a new crusade, which Rome was now anxious that the European sovereigns should engage in. Saladin, a gallant and generous-spirited prince, but no less a determined opponent of the cross, having seated himself on the throne of Egypt, boldly undertook the task of expelling the Christians from the Holy Land. His object was greatly favoured by the folly of the Christian leaders, who, instead of uniting to oppose the infidels, were perpetually at enmity among themselves To this general folly treason was added, and the count of Tripoli, who had the command of the Christian forces on the frontier, perfidiously allowed Saladin to advance, and deserted to him at Tiberiad, where the soldan was completely victorious, the long tottering kingdom of Jerusalem being completely overturned, and the holy city itself captured. The kingdom of Antioch was also subdued; and of all that the Christians had possessed in the Holy Land nothing now remained to them but a few petty towns upon the coast. So soon

and so easily was that territory lost which it had cost the warrior-hosts of Christendom so much blood, treasure, and time to conquer from the infidels of an earlier generation.

A. D. 1188.—The intelligence of this triumph of the crescent produced a general and profound grief in Europe. Pope Urban III. actually sickened and died from sorrow at the calamity, and his successor, Gregory VIII., bestowed nearly all his attention during his short reign upon the necessary preparations for attempting, at the least, the reconquest of the holy city.

Henry of England and Philip of France, as by far the most powerful monarchs in Europe, were naturally appealed to by Rome, and William, Archbishop of Tyre, caused them to have a meeting at Gisors. His description of the sufferings of the Christians in the East, and his eloquent appeal to the love of military glory, which, after superstition, was the most powerful passion of both monarchs and private men in that age, so wrought upon both princes, that they at once assumed the cross and commenced the necessary preparations.

A.D. 1189.—As the clergy, notwithstanding the zeal of the papal court, did not show the usual alacrity in aiding the new enterprise either with money or eloquence, some delay and difficulty were experienced by both kings in obtaining the necessary supplies, and in the meantime new quarrels sprang up between them. Philip, always jealous of Henry's superiority, found that king's son, prince Richard, fully as credulous and as prone to disloyal and undutiful conduct as his deceased brother Henry had been; and he had no difficulty in persuading him that he was more interested in the welfare of France than in that of the kingdom over which he was one day to rule. In a few words, Richard was the credulous and hot-headed dupe, and Philip the resolved and wily deceiver. Philip, desirous of a cause for quarrel with Henry, and yet unwilling to incur the disgrace which could not but attach to one crusader who should without strong provocation make war upon another while Palestine yet groaned beneath the yoke of the proud and bigoted pagan, persuaded Richard to furnish him with a pretext for war by making an inroad upon Toulouse. As Philip had foreseen, Raymond, count of Toulouse, appealed to him for support as superior lord; and with as much gravity as though he had then first heard of Richard's achievement, Philip complained to the king of England of his son's infringement upon the rights and property of a vassal of the crown of France. But Richard, if wicked or thoughtless enough to undertake the evil measures against his own sovereign and father, was not prudent enough to keep his own counsel; and Henry was able to reply to the hypocritical complaint of Philip, that prince Richard had confessed to the archbishop of Dublin that it was at the express desire and personal suggestion of Philip himself that he had made his unprovoked attack upon the county of Toulouse. Far from being either abashed or dismayed by this discovery o. his treacherous designs, Philip, on receiving Henry's reply, immediately invaded Berri and Auvergne, and did so under the pretence of retaliating the injury to the count of Toulouse, which it was so well known that he had himself caused to be done. Henry, now thoroughly provoked as Philip himself could have desired him to be, crossed the French frontier, and, besides doing much other damage, burned the town and fortress of Dreux. After much mutual injury and a vain attempt at treaty, the two kings were at length induced once more, but in vain, to attempt to come to terms; chiefly, however, as far as Philip was concerned, by the refusal of some of his most powerful vassals to serve any longer against Henry, whom, as well as their own sovereign, they desired to see combating for the redemption of Palestine. On Henry's side the feeling was as much more sincere as it was less compulsory; but the terms proposed by Philip were so insidiously calculated to work future evil to England, that Henry had no choice but to refuse them. Well aware as he was of the mischief which had accrued to Henry in consequence of his having consented to the coronation of his former heir, he demanded that the same honour should now be bestowed upon Richard, and with this aggravation, that whereas Richard in the very act which had produced this war had shown how ready he was to do aught that would injure and annoy his father, Philip demanded that all Henry's French possessions should be handed over to Richard, whose nuptials should forthwith be celebrated with Alice, Philip's sister. In full expectation, as it should seem, that Henry's good sense would dictate this refusal, Philip had caused Richard to agree that on receiving such a refusal he would immediately disclaim farther allegiance, and do homage to Philip for all the Anglo-French possessions, as though he had already and lawfully been invested with them.

The war accordingly recommenced as furiously as ever between the two kings; and cardinal Albano, the pope's legate, despairing of ever seeing the two powerful monarchs arrayed side by side against the infidels while these quarrels existed between them, and looking upon the unnatural conduct of Richard as a chief cause of them, pronounced sentence of excommunication against him. The sentence fell innocuously on his head, owing to the lukewarmness of the clergy; and Richard having formally received from Philip the investiture of Guienne, Normandy, and Anjou, the nobles of those provinces sided with him in spite of the declared will of Rome, and overran the territories of all who still maintained the cause of the king of England

At Henry's request, cardinal Adagni, who had succeeded Albano as legate, threatened Philip with an interdict upon his dominions; but Philip scornfully replied, that it was no part of the papal duty to interfere in the temporal quarrels of princes; and Richard, who was present at the interview

went so far as to draw his sword upon the cardinal, and was not without difficulty withheld from proceeding to still more outrageous and criminal lengths.

Mans, Amboise, Chateau de Loire, and several other places were successively taken by Philip and Richard, or treacherously delivered to them by their governors. In this state of the war, when everything seemed to threaten Henry with utter ruin, the archbishop of Rheims, the duke of Burgundy, and the earl of Flanders stepped forward as mediators. Intelligence at the same time reached Henry that Tours, long menaced, was at length taken; and hard as the terms were that were proposed, he now saw nothing left for him but to agree to them. And hard those terms indeed were to a prince who hitherto had been so much accustomed to dictate terms to others. He consented to the immediate marriage of Richard and Alice—though some historians relate that he was himself enamoured of that princess—that the king of France should receive twenty thousand marks to defray his expenses in this war; that the barons of England should be security for Henry's due performance of his part in this treaty, and should undertake to join their forces with those of Richard and the king of France in the event of his breaking his engagement; and that all and sundry his vassals who had sided with his son should be held harmless.

If the last-mentioned clause was in itself calculated to wound the feelings of so proud a prince as Henry, it led to his being wounded in a feeling far deeper than pride; for, on his demanding a list of those whom he was thus engaged to pardon, the very first name that met his eye was that of his favourite son, prince John, on whom he had conferred kindness even to the extent of arousing the anger and jealousy of the passionate Richard.

Though proud and bold, Henry was a singularly affectionate parent; he had already suffered much sorrow from the unnatural conduct of his sons, and this new proof of the utter callousness of heart of the best beloved and most trusted of them was a blow too severe for his declining strength. He sickened on the instant, and bestowed upon his ingrate and heartless children a solemn curse, which no entreaties of the friends who were about him could induce him to recall. As he reflected upon the barbarity of his children his chagrin increased instead of diminishing, and a low nervous fever soon after deprived him of his life, which happened on the sixth of July, in the fifty-eighth year of his age and thirty-fifth of his reign. His corpse was conveyed to Fontevraud by his natural son Geoffrey, who had ever behaved to him with the tenderness and duty so fearfully wanting in the conduct of his legitimate children. While the royal corpse lay in state at Fontevraud, prince Richard visited the sad scene, and exhibited a sorrow sincere and passionate as it was tardy and useless.

Taken altogether, the reign of Henry II. was both a prosperous and a brilliant one; and it seems probable that had not the cruel misconduct of his sons engaged him in war when he fain would have been at peace, he would have done still more than he did towards providing for the internal welfare of his kingdom. What he did towards that end, if it appear of too stern and cruel a nature to us who live in times so much milder and more civilised, seems to be but too completely justified by what the historians tell us of the gross and evil daring of the populace of those early days. In the cities especially, where the congregating of numbers had given increased daring to offenders, but had not as yet led to any sound and safe arrangements of police, the insolent violence of the populace attained to a height of which we can form but a very faint notion. Street brawls and street robberies, attended with violence always and not unfrequently with actual murder, were every-day occurrences. Burglary was not then as now confined to the darkness and security of the night hours, but even the wealthiest traders, though their shops were situated in the most public streets, had constant reason to fear assault and robbery even at noon-day, so bold and so strong were the gangs of thieves. A single specimen of the doings of the street robbers of those times may not be unacceptable. The house of a citizen of known and large wealth was attacked by a band of robbers who actually plied their wedges and axes so effectually as to make a breach in a substantial stone wall. Just as, sword in hand, they were making good their entrance, the citizen led on his servants to resist them, and so stoutly defended his premises that his neighbours had time to arm and assist him. In the course of the fight which, though short seems to have been severe, one of the robbers had his right hand cut of. This man was subsequently taken prisoner, and as the loss he had sustained rendered all denial of his identity perfectly idle, he agreed, in order to save his own life, to give full information of all who were concerned with him. Among the accomplices thus named was a very wealthy citizen who up to that time had been looked upon as a person of the greatest probity. Denying the charge, he was tried by the ordeal and convicted. He then offered the large sum of five hundred marks in commutation of his offence; but the king, rightly judging that the rank and wealth of the offender only made the offence the more shameful and unpardonable, sternly refused the money and ordered the citizen felon to be hanged.

Unlike the other Norman princes, Henry II. was not so attached to his game as to hold the lives of his subjects in utter contempt on its account. He greatly moderated the forest laws, which under his predecessors had been so fruitful a source of misery to the people; and punished infringements upon them, not by death or mutilation, but by fine or imprisonment.

Though generally of a grave and dignified

nabit, this king was not destitute of a certain dry humour. Thus Giraldus Cambrensis relates, that the prior and monks of the monastery of St. Swithin made grievous complaint to Henry of the rigour with which, as they alleged, they had been treated by the bishop of Winchester in the ordering of their diet. 'We have but ten dishes allowed us now!' they exclaimed. 'But ten!' said the king, 'I have but three! 'Tis the fitter number, rely upon it; and I desire that you be confined to it henceforth.'

Henry was survived by two legitimate sons, Richard and John, and three legitimate daughters, Maud, Eleanor, and Joan. He also left two illegitimate sons, Richard, surnamed Longsword, and Geoffrey, who became archbishop of York. These sons were borne to him by Rosamond, daughter of lord Clifford. Of all that romance, whether in its own guise or in that of history, has said of this lady, nothing seems to be true save that she was both fair and frail. Her bower at Woodstock, and the pleasant choice offered to her, by the jealous queen Eleanor, between the dagger and the poisoned chalice, are mere inventions.

CHAPTER XXI.

The Reign of RICHARD I.

A.D. 1189.—THE partiality with which, even down to the present time, the character of Richard I. has been looked upon, is a striking proof how far men can go in dispensing with other good qualities, in favour of him who is abundantly endowed with the mere animal quality of courage. The shameful ingratitude, amounting to actual brutality, with which this prince treated his only too indulgent father; and even the hot-headed selfishness with which he preferred warring abroad to beneficently and usefully ruling at home, and made his realm a mere depôt for the men and munitions requisite to the prosecution of his schemes of military ambition, are overlooked in consideration of his reckless daring and great exploits in the battle-field. Until men are much better taught than they have ever yet been as to the real value of courage and the precise limits within which its exercise is deserving of the homage now so indiscriminately paid to it, grave and thoughtful writers will, we fear, labour but vainly towards causing the reality of Richard's character to become visible through the false, but gorgeous halo with which the error of long centuries has surrounded it. With this brief caution against too implicit a faith in the coexistence of virtue and courage, we proceed to the reign of the most warlike of all even of England's kings, whose equally impetuous and enduring bravery obtained for him from the most warlike men of a warlike age the title of '*Cœur de Lion*,' 'the lion-hearted.'

The first act of Richard's reign gave some promise of a wise and just one. Instead of taking into favour and employment those who had so shamefully aided him in his undutiful and disloyal conduct, he treated them with marked disfavour, and contrariwise retained in their employments those ministers who had been the faithful and zealous advisers of his father. He released his mother, queen Eleanor, from the confinement in which she remained at the death of Henry, and committed the regency of England to her till he should arrive to govern it in person. To his brother John, too, he showed the beginning of that favour which he continued to him throughout his reign, and of which John continually and flagrantly proved his unworthiness. The day of Richard's coronation was marked by an event which showed the intolerance of the age to be fully equal to and every way worthy of its superstition. The Jews, everywhere a proscribed people, were, however, everywhere an industrious and of course a prosperous and wealthy people. Being the largest possessors of ready money, they naturally engrossed the invidious, though often important, trade of money-lending; and when we consider the usage which the Jews too commonly received at the hands of Christians, and add to that the frequent losses they sustained, we need scarcely be surprised that they sometimes charged enormous interest, and treated their insolvent debtors with a rigour that almost frees Shakspeare from the charge of caricaturing in his terribly graphic character of Shylock. The necessities that ever wait upon unthrift made too many of the high-born and the powerful personally acquainted with the usurious propensities of the Israelites; and thus added personal feelings of animosity to the hate borne by the zealous *Christians*—alas! what a Christianity was theirs!—against the Jews. During the reign of Henry II. the animosities that were nourished against the Jews were not openly expressed; but Richard, who combined in his own person much of the evil as well as of the good that distinguished his stirring and bigoted time, had an especial hatred to Jews, and he gave orders that on the day of his coronation they should on no account make their appearance at the scene of that ceremony. Some of them, judging that their gold, at least, would obtain them exception from this rule, ventured to wait upon him with presents of great value. Having approached the banqueting hall of the king, they were soon discovered by the crowd, and of course insulted. From words the rabble proceeded to blows; the Jews became terrified, fled, and were pursued; and, either in error or in malignity, a report was spread that the king had ordered the general destruction of the Jews. Orders so agreeable at once to the bigotry and the licentiousness of such a populace as that of London, were believed without much scruple and executed without any remorse. Not contented with murdering all the Jews who were to be found in the streets, the rabble broke into and first plundered and then burned the houses of the wealthy individuals of that persecuted sect, who, driven to desperation, defended themselves bravely but ineffectually. From London the fierce

cry against the Jews, and the false cry that the king had authorised their destruction, spread to the other great towns, where the unhappy people were equally plundered and slaughtered as in London. At York, in addition to the murders committed by the populace, a truly horrible tragedy took place. Upwards of five hundred of the Jews shut themselves up in the castle with their families. Finding that they could not much longer defend themselves against the infuriated and blood-stained rabble without, the men of this unhappy and persecuted band actually killed their own wives and children and threw their corpses over the walls; and then, setting fire to the place, chose rather to perish in the tortures of the flames than in those which they knew would be adjudged to them by their enraged and bigoted enemies. As though this horrible tragedy had not sufficiently disgraced the nation, the gentry of York, most of whom were deeply indebted to the unhappy Jews, added a characteristic trait of sordid dishonesty to the general horror, by making before the altar of the cathedral a solemn burnt sacrifice of the bonds in which they were confessed debtors. The detestation with which one is inspired by this whole affair almost makes one add without regret or pity, that long after the Jews were all either massacred or escaped, the plundering of the rabble went on with equal zeal in the houses of men who were not Jews, and who indignantly impressed that fact upon the minds of the plunderers. Though the known hatred which the king bore to the Jews was doubtless influential in encouraging the rabble to excess on this occasion, it is certain that he gave no direct orders or encouragement to them. On the contrary, as soon as actual force had restored comparative order in the country, Richard commissioned his chief justiciary, the celebrated Glanville, to make the necessary enquiries and to punish as many as could be discovered of the original instigators of these detestable enormities. But even partial enquiry showed that the rabble were, with all their violence and grossness, by no means the most blameworthy party upon this occasion; and so many powerful and wealthy men were found to be deeply implicated, that after the punishment of a very few persons, to vindicate the law from the reproach of utter inefficiency, the enquiry was wholly laid aside.

Scarcely had Richard finished the ceremony of his coronation ere he commenced his preparations for an expedition to Palestine. The distance of that country made it impossible for him to rely upon England to furnish him from time to time with the requisite supplies; his first care, therefore, was to provide himself with such an amount of money as would place him above any danger from want of means to provision his followers. His father had left him above a hundred thousand marks—a very large sum in that age—and, to add to that important treasure, the king resorted to the sale not only of the manors and revenues of the crown, but even of many offices, the nature of which rendered it especially important that they should be held by pure hands. The office of sheriff, which concerned both the administration of justice and the crown revenue, was thus sold, as was the scarce less important office of forester; and at length, as if to show that all considerations were trivial, in his judgment, when compared to that of forwarding his favourite scheme, Richard openly and shamefully sold the high office of chief justiciary—that office upon which the liberties and properties of the whole nation were to a very considerable extent dependent, to Hugh de Puzas, bishop of Durham, for a thousand marks; this prelate being also, 'for a consideration, invested for his own life with the earldom of Northumberland.' Utterly reckless how he obtained money, and really seeming to have no single thought to bestow upon his country, except as a source of money, he next sold back to the king of Scotland the Scottish fortresses which his wiser father had so carefully guarded, and released William from all sign of vassalage beyond the ordinary homage for lands held by him in England; the price of all this advantage on the one side and disgraceful sacrifice on the other being ten thousand marks.

Besides selling, in this reckless way, much in which he justly and legally held only a mere life interest, he wearied all ranks of his subjects for loans or gifts; the distinction in words being, it will easily be believed, the only distinction between the two ways of parting with their money! The utmost having been done to raise money in these discreditable ways, Richard next applied himself to selling permission to remain at home to those who, after having taken the cross had, from whatever cause, become less enamoured of the task of combating the infidels. To dwell no longer upon this most disgraceful passage in our history, Richard, in his anxiety to raise money to aid him in his merely selfish pursuit of fame, showed himself so reckless a salesman, that his ministers ventured to remonstrate with him; and he, shamelessly exulting in his own want of principle and true pride, replied, that he would gladly sell his good city of London, could he but find a purchaser.

While Richard was thus making such great sacrifices, nominally for the sake of the Christian cause in Palestine, but really for the sake of his own fierce vanity, of that peculiar quality to which men have slavishly agreed to give the more sounding name of love of glory, his life and conversation were by no means of the most Christian pattern, and gave great offence to those crusaders whose piety was sincere and practical, though occasionally carried to the extreme of bigotry in feeling and of grimace in manifestation. Fulke of Neuilly, a zealous and eloquent preacher of the crusade, preaching before Richard, boldly assured him that he had three favourite but most dangerous daughters of whom it behoved him speedily to rid himself, namely, pride, avarice, and voluptuousness. 'You are quite right,' replied Richard, 'and I hereby give the first of them to the Templars, the se-

ond to the Benedictines, and the third to my prelates.'

Previous to departing for the East, Richard committed the administration of the government in England to Hugh, bishop of Durham, and Longchamp, bishop of Ely; but though he at first swore both his brother prince John and his natural brother Geoffrey, archbishop of York, not even to enter the kingdom during his absence, he subsequently withdrew that politic prohibition. Longchamp, the bishop of Ely, though of mean birth, was a man of considerable talent and energy; and the better to enable him to govern with effect, Richard, who had already made him chancellor of the kingdom, also procured him to be invested with the authority of papal legate.

While Richard and Philip had been engaged in preparing for their Eastern expedition, the emperor Frederic had already led from Germany and the neighbouring countries of the north an army of 150,000 men; and though the force of the infidels and the intrigues of the court of the eastern empire — which feared the western Christians nearly as much as it did the infidels themselves, — caused him both great delay and a considerable loss of men, he had already reached the frontiers of Syria, when he was drowned in a small river of Pisidia. His son Conrad assumed the command of the army, which, however, reached Palestine reduced to about eight thousand men, and even of these many were in a state of pitiable weakness from the diseases incident to the climate and season under which so many of their comrades had perished.

Philip and Henry perceiving how much mischief accrued from the utter cutting off of such immense bodies of men from all chance of succour from Europe, resolved to equip fleets, not only for the purpose of carrying over their armies and such stores of provisions as would inevitably be requisite, but also to form, as it were, a line of communication with Europe whether for supply or for retreat.

A.D. 1190.—And indeed when the forces of Richard and Philip met on the plains of Vezelay, on the frontiers of Burgundy, men the least sanguine in trusting to human prowess might have been pardoned for deeming that that mighty host must be invincible by any power that the infidels could muster against it. After all the necessary and cautious weeding by which the minor leaders had taken care, as far as possible, to have none enrolled among their troops save those who were strong of body and masters of their weapons, this force amounted to more than a hundred thousand men, well armed, abundantly provided for, and animated to the highest possible pitch of enthusiasm by the double feeling of religious zeal and military ambition. Richard and Philip pledged both themselves and the other leaders of this mighty host to mutual faith and friendship in the field; and the two monarchs engaged their barons and prelates who remained at home, on oath, to refrain from any infringement of the respective kingdoms, and called down interdict and excommunication upon whosoever should break this solemn engagement. This done, Philip marched towards Genoa, and Richard towards Marseilles, where, respectively, they had rendezvoused their fleets. Though they sailed from different ports, they were both, and nearly at the same time, tempest-driven into the harbour of Messina, in which port they were detained during the whole remainder of the year.

The adage which represents a long confinement on board ship as a peculiar test of temper and touchstone of friendship, applies equally to all cases of very close companionship. Brought thus long into daily contact, these young princes, who were so well fitted to have been friends under almost any other circumstances, were the more certain to disagree, from their mutual possession, in a very high degree, of a haughty determination, ambition, courage, and obstinacy; and as Philip was as cool and reserved as Richard was passionate to the verge of frenzy, and candid to the verge of absolute folly, their disagreements were pretty sure to tend chiefly to the advantage of Philip.

While residing at Messina, and settling some difference which both kings, in some sort, had with Tancred, the reigning usurper of Sicily, Richard, extremely jealous of the intentions of both prince and people, established himself in a fort which commanded the harbour. A quarrel was the consequence, and Richard's troops having chastised the Messinese for an attack which he rather guessed than had any proof that they meditated, Richard had the English flag displayed in triumph on the walls of the city. Philip, who had previously done all that he could to accommodate matters, justly enough considered this display as being insulting to him, and gave orders to some of his people to pull the standard down. Richard, on the other hand, chose to treat this order as a personal insult to him, and immediately sent word to Philip that he had no objection to removing the standard himself, but that no one else should touch it, save at mortal risk. Philip, who was too anxious for the aid of Richard when they should arrive in the Holy Land to be willing to drive him to extremity, accepted the proposal with seeming cordiality; but the quarrel, petty as it was, left the seeds of dislike in the hearts of both princes.

A.D. 1191.—Tancred, the Sicilian usurper, deeming that his own safety would be promoted by whatever sowed discord between these two powerful princes, was guilty of a deception which in their mutual temper of suspicion might have led to even fatal consequences. He showed to Richard a letter which he stated that he had received from the hands of the duke of Burgundy. This letter, which purported to be written by Philip, required Tancred to cause his troops suddenly to fall upon the English forces, and promised that the French should aid him in the destruction of the common enemy. Richard, with his usual fiery and unreflecting temper, believed this

clumsy fiction without examination, and being wholly unable to dissemble his feelings, he at once told Philip what he was charged withal. Philip flatly denied the charge, branded the Sicilian usurper with his falsehood, and challenged him to support the atrocious charge he had made; and as Tancred was, of course, wholly unable to do so, Richard professed to be completely satisfied. As this attempt of Tancred and its near approach to success had warned both Philip and Richard of the danger to which their friendship, so important to both their kingdoms and to the great cause in which they were both engaged, was perpetually liable from the arts of the enemies of either, they agreed to have a solemn treaty, in which every possible point of difference between them should be so arranged that no future difficulty could arise. But this very attempt at formalising friendship was itself the cause of a dispute, which at the outset threatened to be a fatal one, inasmuch as the family honour of Philip was very much concerned in the matter.

It will be remembered that, in his shameful opposition to his father, Richard had constantly expressed the utmost possible anxiety for permission to espouse Alice, daughter of Louis, the late king of France, and sister of that Philip who was now Richard's fellow-crusader. Alice, who long resided in England, was confidently, though perhaps only scandalously, reported to have been engaged in a criminal amour with Richard's own father; and Richard, well knowing the current report on that head, was far indeed from desiring the alliance which, as a sure means of annoying his father, he was thus perpetually demanding. Now that he was king, he not only had no longer any intention of marrying Alice, but had, in fact, made proposals for the hand of Berengaria, daughter of the king of Navarre, and was expecting that princess to follow him under the protection of his mother, queen Eleanor. Philip, probably suspecting or knowing this new passion, formally required that Richard should espouse Alice, now that there was no longer any hostile father to oppose him. But Richard on this occasion gave proof that he was not actuated merely by his constitutional levity, by bringing forward proof so clear that it carried conviction even to the unwilling mind of Philip, that Alice had actually borne a child to Richard's father, the late king of England. To such a reason for breaking off the engagement no valid reply could be made; and Philip departed for the Holy Land, while Richard remained at Messina to await the arrival of his mother and the princess Berengaria. They soon after arrived, and Richard, attended by his bride and his sister, the dowager queen of Sicily, departed for the Holy Land; queen Eleanor returning to England.

Richard's fleet was met by a heavy storm, which drove part of it upon the isle of Cyprus, the prince of which, Isaac, a despot whose limited means and power did not prevent him from assuming all the state and tyrannous bearing of an emperor, threw the wrecked crews into prison, instead of hospitably administering to their wants, and even carried his barbarity so far as to prevent the princesses, on their peril, from being sheltered in his port of Limisso. But the triumph of the ill-conditioned tyrant was only brief. Richard, who soon after arrived, landed his troops, beat the tyrant before Limisso, took that place by storm, threw Isaac himself into prison, and established new governors in all the principal places of the island. A singular favour was in the midst of this severity conferred by Richard upon the defeated and imprisoned tyrant. Isaac complained bitterly of the degradation of being loaded, like a vulgar malefactor, with chains of iron; his sense of degradation being apparently limited to the material of his fetters, and not extending to the fact of his being fettered at all. With an indescribably droll courtesy, Richard not only admitted the justice of the complaint, but actually had a set of very substantial silver fetters made for Isaac's especial use!

The nuptials of Richard and Berengaria were celebrated with great pomp at Cyprus, and they again set sail towards Palestine, taking with them Isaac's daughter, a beautiful woman, who was reported to have made conquest of Richard's heart. Richard and his troops arrived in time to take a distinguished part in the siege of the long-beleaguered Acre.

At first the English and French troops and their kingly leaders acted most amicably together, alternately taking the duty of guarding the trenches and mounting to the assault of the place. But this good feeling between the two princes would probably not have endured very long, even had there been no other cause for their disagreements but the warlike superiority of Richard, whose headlong courage and huge personal strength made him conspicuous in every attack. But to this latent and ever-rankling cause of quarrel others were speedily added.

The first dispute that arose between the two kings to call into open light the real feelings which policy or courtesy had previously enabled them to veil, originated in the claims of Guy de Lusignan, and Conrad, marquis of Montferrat, to the more showy than profitable title of king of Jerusalem. De Lusignan sought and obtained the advocacy of Richard, and Philip *ipso facto* was induced to give the most strenuous support to Conrad. Nor did the evil rest with giving the two monarchs a cause of open and zealous opposition to each other. Their example was naturally followed by the other Christian leaders. The knights of the hospital of St. John, the Pisans, and the Flemings, gave their voices and support to the side embraced by Richard, while the Templars, the Germans, and the Genoese, gave theirs to Philip; and thus, while every circumstance of interest and duty demanded the most cordial and unwavering unanimity among the Christian princes and leaders, their camp was divided into two fierce parties, who were almost as ready to

turn their arms upon each other as upon the infidels.

The distressed condition to which the infidels were already reduced, however, did not allow of their profiting, as they otherwise might have done, by the Christian dissensions; and they surrendered the long-contested city, stipulating for the sparing of their lives, and agreeing, in return, to give up all Christian prisoners, and the true Cross. The joy of the Christian powers of Europe at this long-desired triumph was so rapturous as to make them utterly unmindful of the fact, that, setting almost incalculable treasure wholly out of consideration, this result had in the course of a few years cost Christendom at least three hundred thousand of her bravest lives.

After the surrender of Acre, Philip, disgusted probably at finding himself cast so much into the shade in a scene in which, and in which only, Richard was so well calculated to outshine him, departed for Europe, on the ground that the safety of his dominions would not allow of his remaining to take a part in what promised to be the very slow and difficult recapture of Jerusalem, which it was only reasonable to suppose would be still more obstinately defended and more dearly purchased than Acre had been. But though he urged the plea that the weal of his kingdom and the state of his own health would not allow of his own longer presence, he guarded himself against the imputation of being wholly indifferent to the Christian cause, by leaving ten thousand of his best troops to Richard, under the command of the duke of Burgundy. And in order to allay the very natural suspicions of Richard, lest he should make use of his presence in Europe to do any wrong to the English power, he solemnly made oath that he would, on no pretence, make any attempt on the English dominions during Richard's absence. But, so lightly were oaths held even by the highly born and the enlightened of that day, that scarcely had Philip landed in Italy ere he had the mingled hardihood and meanness to apply to Pope Celestine V. to absolve him from his oath. The pope, more just, refused to grant it; but though Philip was thus prevented from the open hostility which he had most dishonourably planned, he did not hesitate to avail himself to the utmost of every opportunity to work evil to Richard; and opportunity was abundantly afforded him by the conduct of the ungrateful and disloyal John, and the discord that reigned among the English nobility, almost without an exception of any note.

It has already been mentioned that Richard on his departure for the Holy Land had delegated the chief authority in England to Hugh, bishop of Durham and earl of Northumberland, and Longchamp, bishop of Ely. The latter was not only far superior to his colleague in point of capacity and experience in the arts of intrigue, but was also possessed of an audacious and violent spirit little becoming the churchman. The king had not long left England ere the domineering spirit of Longchamp began to manifest itself, not only towards the nobility in general, but also towards his milder colleague in the government. Having, in addition to his equality of civil authority, the legatine power, then so very tremendous as not easily to be resisted even by a powerful and wise king in his own proper person, Longchamp could not endure to treat the meeker bishop of Durham as anything more than his first subject. At first he manifested his feeling of superiority by petty means, which were rather annoying than positively hostile or injurious; but finding himself unresisted, he grew more and more violent, and at length went to the glaringly inconsistent length of throwing his colleague in the government into confinement, and demanding of him the surrender of the earldom of Northumberland which he had paid for in solid cash. This took place before the king had departed from Marseilles on his way to the East; and though as soon as Richard heard of the dissension between the two prelates upon whose wisdom and perfect accord he so mainly depended for the peace and safety of his dominions, he sent peremptory orders for the earl-bishop's release, Longchamp had the consummate assurance to refuse to obey the king's command, assuring the astounded nobles that he knew that the king's secret wishes were directly opposed to his public orders!

This misconduct was followed up by so much insolence towards the nobility in general, and so many complaints were in consequence made to Richard, that he appointed a numerous council of nobles without whose concurrence Longchamp for the future was strictly forbidden to transact any important public business. But his vast authority as legate, added to his daring and peremptory temper, deterred even those named as his councillors from venturing to produce their commission to him, and he continued to display the magnificence and to exercise the power of an absolute sovereign of the realm.

The great abbots of the wealthy monasteries complained that when he made a progress in their neighbourhood, his train in a single day's residence devoured their revenue for years to come; the high-born and martial barons complained of the more than kingly hauteur of this low-born man; the whole nation, in short, was discontented, but the first open and efficient opposition was made by one whose personal characteristic was certainly not too great courage—the prince John.

That the bishop and legate misused his authority to the insulting of the nobility and the impoverishment of the nation, would not a jot have moved John; but he could not endure that *he*, too, should be thrown into shade and contempt by this overbearing prelate. The latter, with a want of policy strangely at variance with his undoubted ability, imprudently allowed himself to be guilty of personally disobliging John, who, upon that affront, conceived an indignation which all the disobedience shown to his brother, and all the injury inflicted upon his brother's best and most faithful subjects, had been insufficient to

arouse. He summoned a council of prelates and nobles to meet him at Reading, in Berkshire, and cited Longchamp to appear there to account for his conduct. Aware when it was too late of the dangerous enemies he had provoked by the wanton abuse of his authority, the prelate, instead of appearing before the council, entrenched himself in the Tower of London. But the manner in which he had wielded his authority had left him so few and such lukewarm friends, that he soon found that he was not safe even in that strong fortress, and, disguising himself in female apparel, he contrived to escape to France, where he was sure to find a cordial reception at the hands of Philip. He was now in form deprived of the high civil offices which by his flight he had virtually surrendered, and the archbishop of Rouen, who had a high reputation for both talent and prudence, was made chancellor and justiciary in his stead. As Longchamp, however, held the legatine power, of which no civil authorities could deprive him, he still had abundant means, which he lost no opportunity of using, to aid the insidious endeavours of Philip to disturb the peace of England and injure the absent Richard.

A. D. 1192.—Philip's neighbourhood to Richard's French dominions held out an opportunity, far too tempting to be resisted, for invading them, which he was on the point of openly doing when he found himself prevented in his treacherous schemes by the almost general refusal of his nobles to aid him in so inglorious an enterprise against the territories of a prince who was gloriously—though anything but prudently—perilling life and limb in the distant wars of the cross. Philip was discouraged, moreover, in this part of his dishonourable plan by the pope, who, especially constituting himself the guardian of the rights of all princes engaged in the crusade, threatened Philip with the terrors of an interdict, should he venture to persist in attacking the territory of his far worthier brother-sovereign and fellow-crusader.

But though obstacles so formidable rendered it impossible for him to persist in his open course of injustice, save at the hazard of utter ruin to himself, he resolved to work secretly to the same end. Thoroughly understanding the dishonourable character of John, he made overtures to that base and weak prince; offered him in marriage that princess Alice whose blotted character had caused her to be refused by the usually imprudent and facile Richard, and gave him assurance of investiture in all the French possessions of Richard, upon condition of his taking the risk of invading them. John, whose whole conduct through life showed him to be utterly destitute of all feelings of faith or gratitude, was in no wise startled by the atrocity that was proposed to him, and was in the act of commencing preparations for putting it into execution, when queen Eleanor, more jealous of the kingly rights of her absent son than she had formerly showed herself of those of her husband, interposed her own authority, and caused the council and nobles of England to interpose theirs, so effectually, that John's fears overcame even his cupidity, and he abandoned a project which none but an utterly debased mind would ever have entertained.

While these things were passing in Europe, the high-spirited but unwise Richard was gathering laurels in Asia, and, unconsciously, accumulating upon his head a huge and terrible load of future suffering; and an occurrence which just now took place in that distant scene was, with an execrable ingenuity, seized upon by Philip to calumniate in Europe the absent rival, each new exploit of whom added to the pangs of his ever-aching envy.

There was in Asia a mountain prince, known to Europeans by the title of the 'old man of the mountain,' who had obtained so absolute a power over the excessively superstitious minds of his subjects that, at a word or a sign from him, any one of them would put himself to death with the unmurmuring and even cheerful compliance of a man in the performance of some high and indefeasible religious duty. To die at the order of their despotic prince was, in the belief of these unlettered and credulous beings, to secure a certain and instant introduction to the ineffable delights of Paradise; and to die thus was consequently not shunned or dreaded as an evil, but courted as the supremest possible good fortune. It will readily be understood that a race of men educated to commit suicide at the word of command, would be found no less docile to their despot's orders in the matter of murder. The care with which they were instructed in the art of disguising their designs, and the utter contempt in which they held the mortal consequences of their being discovered, rendered it certain death to give such offence to this terrible potentate of a petty territory as might induce him to despatch his emissaries upon their sanguinary errand. Conrad, marquis of Montferrat, who seems to have possessed a considerable genius for quarrelling, was unfortunate enough to give deep offence to the old man of the mountain, who immediately issued against him his informal but most decisive sentence of death. Two of the old man's devoted subjects, known by the name of assassins—which name their practices have caused to be applied to murderers—rushed upon Conrad, while surrounded by his guards, and mortally wounded him.

About the author of this crime there was not, and there could not be, the slightest difference of opinion. The practice of the old man of the mountain was only too well known; it was equally notorious that the marquis of Montferrat had given him deep offence by the contemptuous style in which he refused to make any satisfaction for the death of certain of the old man's subjects who had been put to death by the citizens of Tyre; and to put the cause of Conrad's death beyond all seeming possibility of mistake, the two assassins, who were seized and put to death with the most cruel tortures, boasted during their dying agonies that they died in the performance of their duty

to their prince. But the king of France pretended wholly to disregard all the circumstances which thus spoke trumpet-tongued to the truth, and loudly protested his belief in the foul murder of Conrad having been committed by order of Richard, the former opponent of the marquis; and affecting to imagine that his person was in danger of attack by assassins, this accomplished hypocrite ostentatiously surrounded himself with a body-guard. This calumny was far too gross to be believed by anyone; but it was easy to seem to believe it, and to convert it into an excuse for violating both the rights and the liberties of the most valiant of all the crusaders.

The valour and conduct of Richard and the other Christian leaders, vast and brilliant as they were, could not counterbalance the dissensions which sprang up among them. An immense host of infidels under Saladin was vanquished, nearly forty thousand of them remaining dead upon the field of battle; Ascalon was speedily afterwards taken; and Richard had led the victorious Christians within sight of Jerusalem, when the impolitic dissensions to which we have alluded compelled him to make a truce with Saladin, just as the perfect triumph of the cross seemed inevitable. The duke of Burgundy, whom Philip had left in command of the French, openly and obstinately declared his intention of immediately returning to Europe; the German and Italian companies followed the evil example thus set; and Richard, compelled to treat, by this unworthy defection, could but exert himself to obtain from the chivalrous Saladin terms as favourable as possible to the Christians. By the terms of this treaty, which was concluded for the fanciful term of three years, three months, three weeks, three days, and three hours, Acre, Joppa, and other parts of Palestine were to be held by the Christians, and Christian pilgrims were to proceed to Jerusalem without let or molestation. The concluding of this treaty was nearly the last important public act of Saladin, who shortly afterwards expired at Damascus. On his death-bed he ordered legacies to a large amount to be distributed among the poor of Damascus, without distinction of religion, and he ordered his winding-sheet to be exposed in the public streets, a crier the while making proclamation, 'This is all that remains of the mighty Saladin, the conqueror of the East.'

Taking advantage of the truce, Richard now determined to return to England, to oppose his own power and authority to the intrigues of his ungrateful brother John and the unprincipled king of France. Being aware that he would be exposed to great danger should he venture through France, he sailed for the Adriatic, and being shipwrecked near Aquileia, he took the disguise of a pilgrim, in the hope that it would enable him undiscovered to pass through Germany. Driven out of his direct road by some suspicions of the governor at Istria, he was so imprudently lavish of his money during his short stay at Vienna, that h' real rank was discovered, and he was thrown into prison by Leopold, duke of Austria, who had served under and been grievously affronted by him at the siege of Acre. The emperor Henry VI., whom Richard by his friendship with Tancred of Sicily had also made his enemy, not only approved of Richard's arrest, but required the charge of his person, and offered the duke of Austria a considerable sum of money as a reward for it.

A. D. 1195.—The grief of Richard's friends and the triumph of his enemies were alike excited when the news of his capture reached England; the possible consequences being obvious to both parties. Queen Eleanor spiritedly demanded the interference of the pope, whose duty she very justly averred it to be to wield the thunders of the church in protection of the church's bravest and most zealous champion. The pope, probably influenced by some occult and crafty motive of policy, showed himself anything rather than eager to meet the urgent wishes of queen Eleanor; but, as foes are usually far more zealous than friends, so Philip seized upon this as a favourable opportunity to exert his utmost power against the fallen but still formidable Richard, and he exerted himself to this end with an activity worthy of a nobler cause. To those of his own barons who had formerly refused to join him in attacking the territories of the absent Richard, he now urged the alleged atrocity of that prince in causing the assassination of the marquis of Montferrat; to the emperor Henry VI. he made large offers either for yielding up Richard to French custody, or for solemnly engaging for his perpetual imprisonment; and having made a matrimonial alliance with Denmark, he applied for permission and a fleet to enforce the Danish claim to the English crown. Nor did Philip fail to apply himself to prince John, whom he well knew for the most willing and eager of all the enemies of his absent brother. John had an interview with the king of France, at which, on condition of being invested with his brother's French territory, he consented to yield a great portion of Normandy to Philip; and it is with no little appearance of probability affirmed, that he even did homage to Philip for the English crown. Thus much is certain, Philip invaded Normandy and was well served by John, whose forces enabled him to take Neufchatel, Gisors, and several other forts, without striking a blow. The counties of Eu and Aumale were speedily overrun by Philip, and he then marched against Rouen, loudly threatening that he would put the inhabitants to the sword without mercy, in the event of his experi encing any resistance. But here Philip was at length destined to receive a check. The earl of Leicester, who had shared Richard's perils and toils in Palestine, was fortunately at Rouen, and he took the command of the garrison, to whom his example and his renown gave new courage; and they fought so steadily and so well, that Philip, after many severe repulses, consented tc a truce; the English regency engaging tc

pay him twenty marks, and placing four fortresses in his hands by way of security.

While Philip was exerting himself in Normandy, John was trying the effect of a most audacious falsehood in England. Well knowing that few indeed among the barons would for his sake consent to set aside the hero of Palestine, John boldly tried how far their credulity would go, and, pretending that he had received undoubted news of the death of his brother, demanded the crown as his heir. He possessed himself of the important castles of Windsor and Wallingford; but the lords justiciaries were so well convinced that Richard still lived, that they and the barons by whom they were supported opposed the would-be usurper so gallantly and so effectually, that he was fain to sue for a truce, and before the term of it had expired he took refuge at the court of Philip of France.

It is scarcely possible to conceive a case more hopeless than that of the royal prisoner. His own brother plotting against him; the papal court lukewarm in his cause, if not even possessed by a still worse feeling; already in the power of an enemy, and hourly expecting to be handed over to the custody of an enemy still more embittered; the proud Richard was at the same time subjected to every petty hardship and galling indignity which might be supposed likely to exasperate his spirit and incline him to offer the higher ransom for his release. Philip caused his ambassadors to renounce all protection of Richard as his vassal; and when it was hoped that the captive's spirit was greatly broken by continued ill usage, he was produced before the imperial diet at the city of Worms, and there accused by the emperor of having made alliance with Tancred the usurper of Sicily; of having at Cyprus turned the arms of the crusaders against a Christian prince, those arms which were especially and solely devoted to the chastisement and quelling of the infidels; of having grievously wronged and insulted Leopold, duke of Austria, while that prince was fighting for the cross before Acre; of having by his quarrels with the king of France injured the Christian cause in the East; of having planned and caused the murder of Conrad marquis of Montferrat; and, finally, of having concluded a truce with the infidel Saladin, and left Jerusalem in his hands. If Richard's enemies calculated upon his sufferings having tamed his spirit, they were soon undeceived; if those sufferings were severe, so was his spirit high. His speech, as summed up by Hume, is a model of that best kind of eloquence, which springs from a sense of right, and is clothed in the brief and biting sentences of sheer and shrewd common sense. 'After premising that his dignity might exempt him from answering before any jurisdiction except that of heaven, he yet condescended, for the sake of his reputation, to justify his conduct before that great assembly. He observed that he had no hand in Tancred's elevation, and only concluded a treaty with a prince whom he found in possession of the throne; that the king, or rather the tyrant, of Cyprus, had provoked his indignation by the most ungenerous and unjust proceedings, and though he had chastised this aggressor, he had not for a moment retarded the progress of his chief enterprise; that if he had at any time been wanting in civility to the duke of Austria, he had already been sufficiently punished for that sally of passion, and it better became men who were embarked together in so holy a cause to forgive each other's infirmities, than to pursue a slight offence with such unrelenting vengeance; that it had sufficiently appeared by the event whether the king of France or he were the most zealous for the conquest of the Holy Land, and were more likely to sacrifice private passions and animosities to that great object; and if the whole tenor of his life had not shown him incapable of a base assassination, and justified him from that imputation even in the eyes of his very enemies, it was in vain for him at present to make his apology or to plead the many irrefragable arguments which he could produce in his own favour; and, finally, however he might regret the necessity, he was so far from being ashamed of his truce with Saladin, that he rather gloried in that event, and thought it extremely honourable that, though abandoned by all the world, supported only by his own courage and by the small remains of his national troops, he could yet obtain such conditions from the most powerful and most warlike emperor that the East had ever yet produced. After thus deigning to apologise for his conduct, he burst out into indignation at the cruel treatment which he had met with; that he, the champion of the cross, still wearing that honourable badge, should, after expending the blood and treasure of his subjects in the common cause of Christendom, be intercepted by Christian princes on his return to his own country, be thrown into a dungeon, be loaded with irons, be obliged to plead his cause as though he were a subject and a malefactor, and what he still more regretted, be thereby prevented from making preparations for a new crusade which he had projected, after the expiration of the truce, and from redeeming the sepulchre of Christ which had so long been profaned by the dominion of the infidels.'

The force of Richard's reasoning and the obvious justice of his complaints won nearly all present to his side; the German princes themselves cried shame upon the conduct of the emperor, whom the pope even threatened with excommunication. The emperor now, therefore, perceived that it would be impossible for him to complete his ineffably base purpose of giving up to Philip of France and the base and cruel prince John the person of Richard in exchange for sordid gold; and as it seemed unsafe even to continue to confine him, the emperor consented to his relief at a ransom of 150,000 marks; two-thirds to be paid previous to Richard's release, and sixty-seven hostages to be at the same time delivered to secure the faithful payment of the remainder. Henry at the same time made over to Rich-

ard certain old but ill-ascertained claims of the empire upon the kingdom of Arles, including Provence, Dauphiny, Narbonne, and some other territory.

A hundred thousand marks, equivalent to above two hundred thousand pounds of our money, was a sum to raise which required no small exertion on the part of Richard's friends. The king's ransom was one of the cases for which the feudal law made express provision. But as it was found that the sum of twenty shillings which was levied upon each knight's fee did not make up the money with the rapidity which friendly and patriotic zeal required, great individual exertions were made, the clergy and nobility giving large sums beyond what could have fairly been demanded of them, and the churches and religious houses actually melting down their plate to the amount of 30,000 marks. As soon as the money by these extraordinary exertions was got together, queen Eleanor, accompanied by the archbishop of Rouen, went to Mentz and there paid it to the emperor, to whom she at the same time delivered the hostages for the payment of the remainder. There was something perfectly providential in the haste made by the friends of Richard; for had there been the least delay, he would have been sacrificed to the treacherous policy of the emperor, who, anxious to obtain the support of the king of France against the threatening discontent of the German princes, was induced to determine upon perpetuating the captivity of Richard, even after the release of that prince on the payment of the money and the delivery of the specified number of hostages. The emperor had so fully determined upon this flagitious breach of faith, that he actually sent messengers to arrest Richard, who, however, had sailed and was out of sight of land ere they reached Antwerp. Richard was received most rapturously by his faithful subjects, and, as if anxious to wipe away the stain of incarceration, he revived the custom which his father had allowed to fall into neglect, of renewing the ceremony of coronation. 'Take care of yourself,' wrote Philip to John, 'the devil has broken loose.' The barons in council assembled, however, were far more terrible to the ungrateful John than his fiery yet placable brother; for they confiscated the whole of John's English property, and took possession of all the fortresses that were in the hands of his partisans.

Having made some stay in England to rest himself after his many fatigues, and having found his popularity proof even against the somewhat perilous test to which he put it by an arbitrary resumption of all the grants of land which, previous to going to the East, he had made with an improvidence as remarkable as his present want of honesty, Richard now turned his attention to punishing the wanton and persevering enmity of Philip of France. A war ensued, but it was weakly conducted on both sides, and a truce was at length made between them for a year. At the commencement of this war John was on the side of Philip; but, as if incapable of being faithful even in wickedness, he took an opportunity to desert, and having secured the powerful intercession of queen Eleanor, he ventured to throw himself at the feet of Richard and entreat his pardon. 'May I as easily forget his injuries as he will my forgiveness!' was the shrewd remark of Richard on forgiving his unnatural brother.

The truce between England and France being at an end, the emperor of Germany solicited Richard's offensive alliance against France, and though circumstances occurred to prevent the treaty with the emperor from being ratified, the mere proposal sufficed to renew the war between Richard and Philip; but on this occasion, as before, the operations were conducted most weakly and on a very insignificant scale. [A.D.1196.] After some petty losses on each side a peace was made; but the kings were too inimical to each other to remain long at rest, and in about two months hostilities were recommenced.

On this occasion Richard was joined by the counts of Flanders, Boulogne, Champagne and Toulouse, and by some other of his fellow-vassals of the crown of France; but the alliance was thus productive of far less benefit than Richard had anticipated.

The prelates of that day were more frequently than became them found on the battle-field. On one occasion during this war the bishop of Beauvais, a relative of the French king, was taken prisoner in battle, and Richard loaded him with irons and threw him into prison, as though he had been the vilest of malefactors. The pope, at the instance of the king of France, demanded the release of the valiant bishop, of whom he spoke as being 'his son.' Richard, with a dry and bitter humour of which he seems to have possessed no inconsiderable share, sent to the pope the bloodstained armour which the prelate had worn in the battle, and quoted the words of Jacob's sons, 'this have we found; know now whether it be thy son's coat or no.' How long the alternation of weak war and ill-kept peace would have continued, it is impossible to judge, for the brutal cruelty which both kings exercised upon their prisoners indicated a feeling of malignity too deep to be destroyed by the efforts of negociators; but while such efforts were being made by the cardinal St. Mary, the pope's legate. Richard, who had escaped in so many furious conflicts both in the East and in Europe, perished from the effect of a petty wound received in a petty quarrel.

A.D. 1199.—Vidomar, viscount of Limoges, who was a vassal of Richard's, found some treasure and sent a considerable share as a present to him; Richard demanded that all should be given up to him as superior lord, and, on receiving a refusal, led some troops to the siege of the castle of Chalus, in which the viscount was staying. On the approach of Richard at the head of a numerous force of Brabançons, the garrison offered to surrender on terms, but Richard cruelly replied that he would first take the place and then hang up every man of the garrison. After making this reply, which,

unhappily, was only too characteristic of his temper, Richard, attended by one of his captains, approached the walls to reconnoitre, and had an arrow lodged in his shoulder by an archer, named Bertrand de Gourdon. Almost at the same moment Richard gave the order for the assault, and on the place being taken he literally put his threat into execution upon the garrison, with the sole exception of de Gourdon, who was only temporarily spared that he might have the cruel distinction of a slower and more painful death. Richard was so much mangled by the awkwardness with which the barbed arrow was drawn from his wound, that mortification rapidly set in, and the monarch felt that his last hour approached. Causing de Gourdon to be brought into his presence, he demanded how he had ever injured him. 'With your own hand,' firmly replied the prisoner, 'you slew my father and my two brothers. You also threatened to hang me in common with my fellow-soldiers. I am now in your power, but I shall be consoled under the worst tortures that you can cause to be inflicted upon me while I can reflect that I have been able to rid the earth of such a nuisance.' Richard, softened by pain and the near aspect of death, ordered that the brave archer should be set at liberty and presented with a considerable sum of money; but Marcadee, the leader of the Brabançons in whose company Richard was wounded, brutally had de Gourdon flayed alive and then hanged. Richard's wound defied the rude science of his surgeons, and after considerable suffering he died on the 6th of April, 1199, in the forty-second year of his age and the tenth of his reign—a reign very brilliant as regards his warlike feats, but in all the high and really admirable qualities of a monarch very sadly deficient. His conduct was in some particular cases not merely oppressive, as regarded his ways of raising money, but absolutely dishonest. As, for instance, he twice in his reign gave orders that all charters should be resealed, the parties in each case having, of course, to pay the fees; and in many cases taxes were inflicted upon particular parties without any other authority than the king's mere will. But it was chiefly in the re-enactment of all the worst parts of the forest laws, those parts which inflicted the most cruel and disgusting mutilations upon the offenders. But while this particular branch of law was shamefully severe, the police of London and other great towns was in an equally lax state. Robbery and violence in the streets were very common; and at one time, in 1196, a lawyer named Fitzosbert, surnamed Longbeard, had acquired a vast and dangerous power over the worst rabble of London, numbering nearly fifty thousand, who under his orders for some time set the ill-consolidated authorities at defiance. When called upon by the chief justiciary to give an account of his conduct, he attended with so numerous a rabble, that the justiciary deemed it unsafe to do more with him at that time than merely call upon him to give hostages for his future good behaviour. But the justiciary took measures for keeping a watchful eye upon Fitzosbert, and at length attempted to take him into custody, on which he, with his concubine and some attendants, took refuge in Bow church, where he defended himself very resolutely, but was at length taken and hanged. So infatuated were the populace, however, that the very gibbet upon which this man was executed was stolen, and it was pretended that pieces of it could work miracles in curing the diseased. Though so fiery in temper, and so excessively addicted to bloodshed, Richard was by no means destitute of a certain vein of tenderness and romance. He prided himself pretty nearly as much upon his skill as a troubador as upon his feats as a warrior, and there are even some of his compositions extant. On the whole, however, we fear that the popularity of Richard does little credit either to his contemporaries or his posterity as far as good judgement is concerned. Brilliant qualities he undoubtedly had; but his cruelty and his dogged self-will threw a blemish over them all.

CHAPTER XXII.

The Reign of John.

A.D. 1199.—WHEN Richard went to Palestine he by a formal will set aside the claim of John to be his successor, in favour of Arthur, of Brittany, the son of their brother Geoffrey. But during Richard's absence John caused the prelates and nobles to swear fealty to him in despite of that deed; and Richard, on his return to England, so far from showing any desire to disturb that arrangement, actually in his last will constituted John his successor, in direct contradiction to his own former and formal deed. But though John was thus authoritatively named as his brother's successor, many of the barons of Normandy thought the right of young Arthur wholly indefeasible by even the will of his uncle; and Philip, who was glad of any opportunity to injure the peace of the English territories in France, cheerfully agreed to aid them in the support of the young prince, whom he sent to Paris to be educated with his own son. John acted with unusual alertness and good judgement on this occasion. Sending his mother Eleanor to secure the provinces of Guienne and Poictou, where she was greatly beloved, he himself proceeded to Rouen, and having made all the arrangements necessary to keep peace in Normandy, he proceeded thence to England. Here he found little or no difficulty in causing his claim to be preferred to that of a mere boy; and having received the homage of all the most powerful barons, he hastened to France to prepare the necessary opposition to whatever exertions Philip might make on behalf of young Arthur.

A. D. 1200.—The actions between John and Philip were of but little importance; and the latter having inspired young Arthur's mother with the notion that he sought to benefit himself rather than her son, seized upon an opportunity to withdraw Arthur from the French court, and

placed him under the protection of John. Finding their mutual want of power to obtain any great and permanent advantage by war, the two kings now made a treaty, in which the limits of their several territories were laid down with great exactitude; nine barons of each nation swore respectively to maintain the treaty in good faith, even should it be necessary to make war upon their own sovereign, and still farther to insure its due and faithful observance John gave his niece, Blanche of Castile, with certain fiefs as her dower, to prince Louis, eldest son of the French king. Being thus relieved from all apparent danger on the side of France, John, though he had a wife living, determined to gratify his passion for Isabella, heiress of the count of Angouleme, though she was already married to the count de la Marche, her youth alone having hitherto prevented the consummation of the union. John, reckless of the double difficulty, persuaded Isabella's father to give him his daughter, whom he espoused after having very unceremoniously divorced his lawful wife.

A.D. 1201.—The count de la Marche, in the highest degree provoked at the flagrant and insolent wrong that thus was done him, found it no difficult task to excite commotions in Poictou and Normandy; the barons there, as elsewhere in John's dominions, being already very much offended and disgusted by the mixture of weakness and insolence in which, probably, John has never been equalled. Alarmed as well as enraged by the disobedience of his French barons, John determined to punish them; but on summoning the chivalry of England to cross the sea with him for that purpose, he was met by a demand that, before they crossed over to restore his authority in his transmarine dominions, they should have their privileges restored and placed upon a secure footing. Their demand was not attended to on the present occasion, but this union of the barons led, as we shall hereafter see, to the most important and extensive consequences. On the present occasion John contrived to break up the coalition of the barons, some of whom agreed to accompany him on his expedition, while the rest were mulcted two marks on each knight's fee as a substitute for their personal attendance.

The addition of the force he carried from England to that which remained faithful to him in Normandy gave John an ascendancy which, rightly used, might have spared him many a subsequent hour of care. But it was contrary to John's nature to make a right use of power; and the moment he found himself safe from the infliction of injustice he was seized with an ungovernable desire to inflict it upon others. He advanced claims which he knew to be unjust; and as disputes of the feudal kind were chiefly to be settled by the duel, he constantly kept about him skilful and desperate bravos whose business it was to act as his champions in cases of appeal of duel. The count de la Marche and other high-spirited barons complained of the indignity offered to them in thus opposing to them, as fitting antagonists, men whose low birth and infamous character made them unworthy of the notice of warriors of good birth and gentle breeding, appealed to Philip as their superior lord, and called upon him to protect them against the wantonness of John's tyranny. Philip, who saw all the advantages which might possibly accrue to himself, affected the part of a just lord; and John, who could not disavow Philip's authority without at the same time striking at his own, promised that by granting his barons an equitable judgement in his own court he would deprive them both of the right and the necessity of appealing to the superior court of Philip. Again and again his promises were renewed, but only to be broken. Philip, finding that his sense of honour alone was no security, demanded that the castles of Boutavant and Tilleries should be placed in his hands as security for justice being done to the barons. John was too weak to resist this demand; but he was also too faithless to keep his promise, which was broken just as it would have been had he given no security whatever.

A.D. 1203.—Young Arthur of Brittany, who was now springing into manhood and who had a very decided taste for warfare, had by this time seen enough of the cruel and tyrannous character of his uncle to feel that he was not in safety while living with him; he therefore made his escape to Philip, who received him with the utmost distinction, knighted him, gave him his daughter Mary in marriage, and invested him not only with his hereditary Brittany, but also with Anjou and Maine. The French army was for a time successful in every attempt; Tilleries and Boutavant, Mortimar and Lyons, were taken almost without difficulty; and Gournay, completely flooded by a stratagem of Philip, was abandoned to him by the astonished garrison. At each new loss, John, timid in adversity as he was despotic and unsparing in prosperity, made new endeavours to obtain peace; but the sole condition upon which Philip would now consent to even listen to his proposals, was his full resignation of all his territory on the continent to prince Arthur. An accident at length occurred which changed the prospects of that young prince, with fearful rapidity, from the utmost success to the most complete ruin. Well knowing how much his grandmother, queen Eleanor, had ever been opposed to his welfare, and hearing that she was in the fortress of Mirabeau, in Poictiers, and but slenderly attended, it occurred to him that if he could obtain possession of her person he would obtain the means of exercising considerable influence upon his uncle's mind, and he accordingly sat down to besiege the place, the fortifications of which promised no very long resistance. John, though at some distance when he was informed of his mother's danger, hastened to her assistance with a speed very unusual to him, surprised young Arthur's camp, dispersed his forces, and took Arthur, together with the count de la Marche and other distinguished leaders of the revolted barons,

prisoners. Most of the prisoners were for greater security shipped off to England; but Arthur was confined in the castle of Falaise, where he was speedily admitted to the dangerous honour of an interview with his tyrannical uncle. John reproached Arthur less with the injustice of his cause in general, than with the folly of his expecting to derive any permanent advantage from the French alliance, which would keep him at variance with his own family, merely to make him a tool; a view of the case which was none the less correct because taken by a prince of whose general character a just man finds it impossible to approve. Arthur, brave and sanguine, asserted that his claim was superior to that of his uncle, and that not only as regarded the French territories, but as regarded England also; and he called upon John to listen to the voice of justice and restore him to his rights.

Historians differ as to the way in which John freed himself from a competitor whose early boldness promised at no distant day to give him much trouble. We have always doubted the exact accuracy of all these accounts, for the timidity and distrust which formed so principal a part of John's unamiable character would surely never have deserted him so far on so terribly serious an occasion, as would be implied by his proceeding being known with circumstantial accuracy.

All that seems to us to be certain upon the very painful subject is, that after a stormy interview with his uncle *young Arthur was seen no more for some time.* A report got into very general circulation that he had been unfairly dealt with. Such, it seems, was not the case as yet. The king, it is affirmed, had applied to William de la Bray to put the young prince to death, but he nobly replied that he was a gentleman, not an assassin or a hangman. A less scrupulous person was at length found and sent to the castle of Falaise; but he was sent away by Hubert de Burgh, the governor of the fortress, with the assurance that he would himself do what was necessary;—which humane deception he followed up by spreading a report of the prince's death, and even going through the form of his funeral. But when the death of the young prince was thus authoritatively asserted, the general ill character of John caused him to be universally pointed at as the murderer; and Hubert de Burgh, fearing that all Brittany would break out into revolt, confessed the innocent deception he had practised. John no sooner learned that his unfortunate nephew still lived, than he ordered his removal from the custody of the faithful and humane De Burgh, and had him taken to the castle of Rouen. Here John visited Arthur in the dead of night, and, though the young prince is said to have knelt to him and prayed for his life, stabbed him with his own hand.

That John was capable of even this extreme atrocity we have unfortunately too much reason to gather from the universal detestation in which he was held by his contemporaries. But though there is little reason to doubt that Arthur perished by the order, at least, if not by the very hand, of his uncle, we would again direct the attention of the reader to the too great particularity of this account, in the first place, and to a discrepancy between the natural character of Arthur and that part of the story which represents him as kneeling in terror to his uncle. The story savours somewhat more than it should of a scene from Shakspeare, whose dramatic genius it would be idle to question, but whose historic authority we should be loth to pin our faith upon.

But though it is scarcely probable that so wily a person as John would allow the details of his tyrannous cruelty to be thus brought before the world, and though his personal timidity rendered him as unlikely to have undertaken with his own hand the murder of Arthur, as it was that this high-hearted young prince would show any terror, even in the death hour, the universal belief of John's contemporaries was that he, whether with his own hand or not, caused Arthur's death; and loud and terrible was the outcry of the people of Brittany, to whom Arthur was as dear as his wily and cruel uncle was hateful. Eleanor, Arthur's sister, was in the power of John, who kept her closely confined in England; but the Bretons, resolved to do anything rather than willingly acknowledge the sway of John, chose for their sovereign young Alice the daughter of Constance by her second husband, Guy de Thouars, to whom they committed the affairs of the duchy as guardian of his daughter, and they at the same time appealed to Philip as superior lord to do justice upon John for his violence to Arthur, who was feudatory to France. Philip summoned John to appear before him, and, in default of his doing so, he was declared a felon and sentenced to forfeit all seignory and fief in France to his superior lord, Philip.

No one who has accurately read what has already been related of the shrewd, grasping, and somewhat cunning character of Philip, can doubt that, from the first, he took up the cause of young Arthur less with a view to the benefit of that young prince, than in the hope that the chapter of accidents would enable him, sooner or later, to deprive the English crown of some portion, if not all, of its French appanages. And the appeal of his Bretons to his justice, the unwise advantage afforded to him by John's default of appearance, and the unanimous sentence of the French peers, now seemed to give him something like a substantial and judicial right as against John.

The exertions and sagacious policy of Henry would have evoked French opposition to any such attempt; that skilful politician would have found but little difficulty in leading the French barons to abstain from endeavouring to add to the authority of their superior lord, lest in so doing they should insure their own ruin. Neither would it have been safe to try such a plan while the lion-hearted Richard lived to shout his fierce battle-cry in that popu-

lar voice which would have been heard in hall and tower, and which would nowhere have been unheeded where chivalry still abode. But John, destitute alike of courage, popularity, and of true policy, was little likely to unravel or unfix a dexterous policy or long to withstand actual force, hated as he was even by his own barons. The opportunity was the more tempting to Philip, because those of his great vassals who would have been the most likely to oppose his aggrandisement were either absent, or so much enraged against John that their desire to annoy him and abridge the power he had so shamefully abused, overcame in their minds all tendency to a cooler and more selfish style of reasoning.

Philip took several of the fortresses situated beyond the Loire, some of which he garrisoned for himself, while others he wholly destroyed; and his early successes were followed up by the surrender to him, by the count d'Alençon, of all the places which he had been intrusted to hold for John. Elated by this success, and desirous to rest his troops, Philip disembodied them for the season. John, enraged by all that had passed in this brief campaign, took advantage of this too-confident movement of Philip, and sat down before Alençon with a strong army. But if Philip was capable of committing a military error, he was equally capable of seizing upon the readiest means of repairing it. To delay while he was re-collecting his scattered troops would be to expose the count to the whole force, and, in the case of defeat, to the whole vengeance, too, of John. But it fortunately happened that the most eminent nobles, not only of France but also of Italy and Germany, were at this very time assembled at a splendid tournament at Moret. Hither Philip directed his course, gave a vivid description of the evil character of John, of his own disinterested desire to punish the craven felony of that prince, and of the danger in which the count d'Alençon was placed by his devotion to truth and chivalry, which had led him to dare the vengeance of one who was well known to be unsparing after the stricken field, as craven while the tide of battle still rolled; and he called upon the assembled chivalry, as they valued their noble and ancient names, to follow him to the worthy task of aiding a gallant and honourable noble against a dastardly and adjudged felon. Such an appeal, made to such hearts, could receive but one answer. Like one man, the assembled knights followed Philip to the plains of Alençon, resolved, at whatever cost, to raise the siege. But John saved them all trouble on that score. His conscience told him that there were men in that brave host who, if he should chance to be made prisoner, would be likely to take fearful vengeance for the untimely death of young Arthur; and he would not even await their approach, but raised the siege in such haste that he actually left all his tents and baggage of every description behind to be captured by the enemy.

For some time John kept his court at Rouen, showing no other feeling than a most ludicrous confidence in his own resources whenever he should determine to make use of them. When information was brought to him of some new success on the part of the French, he would reply, 'Ah! let them go on; by and by I will just retake in a single day what they have spent years in taking.'

Such conduct naturally disgusted the brave barons of England and the English provinces, and weakened their desire to combat for a prince who seemed so obstinately bent upon their disgrace and his own ruin. But though he had neglected those means of defence of which his brother would have been even too eager to avail himself, there was one resource of which John had not neglected to avail himself; he had humbly and pressingly appealed to Rome. Such appeals were always gladly received at that ambitious court, and Philip received a peremptory command to make peace with John, and abstain from trenching any further upon his territory. But Philip had inspired his barons with a hatred equal to that which he himself felt for John; and, regardless of any possible injury which their own authority might suffer from the undue aggrandisement of their king, they loudly assured him that he should have their cordial support against all foes whosoever, and as loudly denied the right of the pope to the temporal authority which he thus took upon himself to exercise. Encouraged by this disposition of his barons, Philip, instead of complying with the orders of the pope, proceeded to lay siege to the chateau Gaillard, which was the most important fortress that was now left to defend the Norman frontier.

A.D. 1204.—This place was admirably strong both by nature and by art. Built partly upon an islet of the Seine and partly upon an opposite crag, neither labour nor expense had been spared upon it; and at this very time it was held by a numerous garrison commanded by Roger de Lacy, constable of Chester, a leader of determined courage as well as of great skill.

Philip, thinking it easier to take such a place, so garrisoned, by famine than by main force, threw a bridge across the Seine, where he posted a part of his force, and he himself at the head of the remainder undertook its blockade by land. The earl of Pembroke, by far the ablest person whom John then had about him, assembled a force of four thousand foot and three thousand horse, with which he purposed to attack Philip's camp, while a fleet of seventy flat-bottomed craft, numerously manned, was simultaneously to sail up the Seine and attack the bridge, and thus throw relief into the fortress. The earl was exact in performing his part of the attack, and even at the outset obtained some considerable advantage over Philip; but the weather chancing to retard the fleet on its passage, its assistance arrived too late for the support of the earl, who was already defeated. Had the attack been made simultaneously and by night, according to the earl's plan, it had most probably been successful; as it was, Philip was enabled to deal with his

assailants in detail, and beat them both off with very considerable loss. John, who was easily depressed by defeat, was so much discouraged by the ill success of the earl, that he could not be induced to make any farther attempt to relieve this important fortress, though ample opportunity and inducements were offered to him to do so by the gallant conduct of De Lacy, who for a whole year continued to defend himself, in spite of great suffering from want of provision. He was at length overpowered in a night attack, and he and his whole garrison made prisoners. To the credit of Philip, he showed his sense of the courage and fidelity with which De Lacy had continued to serve his master even after he had been abandoned by him, by giving him for his place of confinement the whole extent of the city of Paris.

It is difficult to understand the utter indolence and incapacity which could induce John to neglect the relief of chateau Gaillard, upon which the safety of his whole Norman territory depended. This dependence he could not be ignorant of; and it was rapidly and perfectly illustrated by the successes which Philip obtained after its capture. Falaise, Caen, Coutance, Evreux, Bayeux, and other fortresses, successively fell into his hands; Lupicaire, a Brabançon leader, to whom John had intrusted the defence of the first-named place, deserted with all his men to the standard of Philip, and while the lower division of Normandy was thus overrun by the French under Philip, Upper Normandy was entered by the Bretons under Guy de Thouars, who took Avranches, Mont St. Michel, and the other strong holds of that part. Pressed thus by an active prince, who was served by men of conduct and courage, and utterly abandoned by John, whose hasty and secret departure for England might almost be called a flight, the Normans had no resource but to submit to Philip, much as they disliked the idea of subjection to the French government.

A.D. 1205.—As there was still a portion of the Normans who, though abandoned by the king of England, determined to defer, if not wholly to avoid, their submission to Philip, Rouen, Argues, and Verneuil confederated for this purpose. Philip immediately advanced his troops against the first-named city, the inhabitants of which signalised their hatred of France by forthwith putting to death every man of that nation who was living among them. The cruel are rarely brave; and the defence of Rouen by no means answered to the promise of desperation given by this treacherous butchery. Scarcely had the besiegers commenced operations when the besieged lost heart, and merely demanded a truce of thirty days to enable them to obtain succour from their prince. Philip, who well understood the character of John, and therefore felt sure that he who had abandoned chateau Gaillard was little likely to show more courage in the less hopeful case of Rouen, complied with this demand. As Philip had foreseen, no supplies or aid arrived, and the city was yielded. All the rest of the province equally submitted to Philip, who thus had the credit — much abated, indeed, by the character of his opponent — of reuniting to France this important portion of its proper territory three centuries after Charles the Simple had alienated it by cession to the first duke, the valiant Rollo. From Normandy, Philip easily extended his victorious arms to Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and a portion of Poictou; John, the while, instead of endeavouring to arrest the progress of his enemy, was railing against his barons for, what he called, their desertion of him, and adding to the national mischiefs done by his indolence, the mischiefs which he still had the power to do; mulcting his barons in the seventh portion of all their movable property as a punishment for this pretended offence.

Not content with even this impudent and excessive extortion, John next demanded a scutage of two and a half marks upon each knight's fee to enable him to conduct an expedition into Normandy; but the money once received, the expedition was no longer thought of! Subsequently he collected a fleet, as if fully determined to make an attempt to recover his transmarine possessions; but on some objections being made, he abandoned this design, too, on the plea that he was deserted and betrayed by his barons; and at length mustered courage enough to put to sea, but speedily returned to port without aught being done or attempted. Considering the fiery temper and warlike habits of the barons, it is perfectly astonishing that they so long endured the insults of a king, whose very style of insulting was so characteristic of his weakness.

A.D. 1206.—An ally was at length presented to John in a person from whom he had but little right to expect aid or encouragement, Guy de Thouars, to whom, in right of his daughter Alice, the Bretons had committed their government. This noble, perceiving the immense strides made by Philip, became alarmed for the safety of Brittany, and therefore made a proposition to John for their junction against Philip, and John accordingly left England with a considerable force and landed in safety at Rochelle, whence he marched to Angers, which he captured and burned. Philip now rapidly approached, and John, becoming alarmed, gained time by making proposals for peace, and then covertly fled back to England, — safe, indeed, in person, but loaded with disgrace and contempt, which to anyone less debased in sentiment, would have been far more terrible than death itself. Thus all the vast sums which John had extorted from his barons, under pretence of recovering his lost footing in France, were expended, not in repairing the loss, but in adding disgrace and disgust to it.

We have already remarked that it was astonishing that fiery and martial men could so long endure the doings of a man so mean in act and so weak in character as John; and astonishing it certainly was, even making all possible allowance for the very extensive power which the very nature of

the feudal tenure gave in reality, and the still greater power which it gave in idea, to the Norman sovereigns. It is to be considered, however, that this great power, wielded as it had been by the art of some of John's predecessors and the martial energy of others, was not to be either easily or early shaken, even by the personal misconduct of a John, in whom the king, the great feudal lord paramount, would still be feared and obeyed by the most powerful of his vassals, after the man John had overwhelmed himself with the contempt and the disgust of the meanest horseboy in his train. But even the vast prestige of the feudal monarchy was at length worn out by the personal misconduct of the weak monarch; and the church, ever ready to seize upon opportunity of extending and consolidating its immense temporal power, was the first to encroach upon the authority which John had so often proved himself unworthy to hold, and unable to wield with either credit to himself or advantage to his people.

A.D. 1207.—The then pope, Innocent III., having arrived at the papal power at the unusually early age of thirty-seven, had never been unmindful of the opportunities that presented themselves to him. Taking advantage of the plausible pretext afforded to him by the state of the Holy Land, he had so far stretched his authority over the clergy of Christendom, as to send among them collectors with authority to levy a fortieth part of all ecclesiastical revenues for the relief of Palestine; and to make this levy the more obviously and emphatically an act of authority and power of the popedom over the ecclesiastics, the same collectors were authorised to receive a like proportion of laymen's revenues, *not* as a tax, but as voluntary contribution. A pope thus resolved and astute in riveting his chains upon a body so numerous and so powerful as the clergy, was not likely to be slow in exercising his power against so contemptible a prince as John; nor was an opportunity long wanting.

Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, dying in 1205, the monks of Christchurch, Canterbury, had the right of election, subject to the consent of the king; but a minority of them, consisting, too, almost without exception, of the juniors, assembled on the very night of Hubert's death, and elected as his successor their sub-prior, Reginald, who, having been hastily and covertly installed in the archiepiscopal throne, immediately set out for Rome to procure the pope's confirmation. The vanity of Reginald, or the want of prudence of his friends, caused the affair to reach the king's ears almost as soon as the new archbishop had commenced his journey. John was so far favourably situated, that his anger at this presumptuous and irregular proceeding of the junior monks of Canterbury was fully shared by the senior monks, and also by the suffragans of Canterbury, both of whom had a right to influence the election of their primate. In the hands of the monks John left the new election, only recommending that they should elect the bishop of Norwich, John de Gray. He was accordingly elected, but as the suffragans had not even in this new election been considered, they now sent an agent to Rome to protest against it, while the king and the monks of Christchurch sent twelve of that order to support it. Here the great advantage was clearly thrown into the hands of the pope, for while each of the three disputing parties opposed the pretensions of the other two, all three agreed in acknowledging the pope's authority to decide the question; and Innocent III. was not the man to allow that advantage to escape his notice. That the election of Reginald had been irregular and furtive, none but himself and his immediate friends could well deny; and the authority of the papal court easily overruled the pretensions of the suffragan bishops, which, to say the truth, were strongly opposed to the papal maxims and usages. These two points being decided, it would at first sight have seemed clear that the decision must be in favour of the bishop of Norwich: but the pope decided that the first election being disputed as irregular, the decision of the pope upon that election should have preceded any attempt at a new one; that as it had not done so, such second election was uncanonical and null, and that, as a corollary, henceforth the appointment to the primacy must remain in the hands of the pope. Following up this decision by action, he commanded the monks who had been deputed to defend the election of the bishop of Norwich immediately to elect the cardinal Langton, a man of great talent, English by birth, but infinitely more attached to the interests of Rome than to those of his native land. All the monks objected to this course, that they should, even looking only to the pope's own recent decision, be committing a new irregularity, having neither the king's writ nor the authority of their convent to warrant them; but, with the single exception of Elias de Brantefield, they succumbed to the pope's authority, and the election was made accordingly.

Innocent now followed up his arbitrary proceedings by what our historians call a mollifying letter and present to John; but what would certainly be called an addition of mockery to injury in the case of any clearer-minded and higher-hearted prince. For, by way of consoling John for the precedent thus set of transferring to the papal court one of the most valued and, in many respects, important prerogatives of the English crown, Innocent sent him four gold rings set with precious stones, and an explanatory letter of no less precious conceits. 'He begged him,' says Hume, in his condensed account of this admirably grave papal jest, 'to consider seriously, the form of the rings, their number, their matter, and their colour. Their form, being round, shadowed out eternity, which had neither beginning nor ending; and he ought thence to learn his duty of aspiring from earthly objects to heavenly, from things temporal to things eternal. The number, four, being a square, denoted steadiness of mind, not to be subverted either by adversity or by

prosperity, fixed for ever on the firm basis of the four cardinal virtues. Gold, which is the matter, being the most precious of metals, signified wisdom, which is the most valuable of all accomplishments, and justly preferred by Solomon to riches, power, and all exterior attainments. The blue colour of the sapphire represented faith; the green of the emerald, hope; the redness of the ruby, charity; and the splendour of the topaz, good works.'

Never, surely, were mystical conceits vended at a higher price! Even John, weak and tame as was his spirit, did not consider four rings and a bundle of conceits quite an adequate consideration for the more precious and substantial jewel of which the pope had so unceremoniously deprived him, and his wrath was tremendous. As the monks of Canterbury showed themselves willing to abide by the election which their fellows at Rome had made in obedience to the pope, the first effects of his anger fell upon them. He despatched Henry de Cornhule and Fulke de Cantelupe, two resolute knights of his retinue, to expel the prior and monks of Christchurch not only from their convent, but also from the kingdom, a duty which the knights performed quite literally at the point of the sword; a piece of violence at once partial and childish, which Innocent noticed only by a new letter, in which he earnestly advised the king no longer to oppose himself to God and the church, nor longer to uphold that unrighteous cause which had cost the martyr St. Thomas of Canterbury his life, but at the same time exalted him to an equality with the highest saints in heaven;—a very plain allusion to the possibility of Beckets being easily found to maintain the cause of Rome against a prince so much meaner than he to whom the 'martyr' Becket had done so much evil!

As this significant hint had not as much effect as the pope had anticipated in reducing John to submission, Innocent now commissioned the bishops of London, Worcester, and Ely to assure him that, should he persevere in his disobedience to the Holy See, an interdict should be laid upon his kingdom; and both these and their brother prelates actually knelt to him, and with tears besought him to avert a result so fearful, by consenting to receive archbishop Langton and restoring the monks of Christchurch to their convent and revenue. But John, though well aware how little he could depend upon the love of his states, whom he did not even dare to assemble to support him in an open struggle, was encouraged by the very humility of the posture assumed by the prelates not merely to refuse compliance with their advice, but to couch his refusal in terms fully as disgraceful to him as they could be offensive to those to whom they were addressed. Not contented with personally insulting the prelates, he declared his defiance of the pope himself; swearing by 'God's teeth' that should the pope lay an interdict upon his kingdom, he would send the whole of the English clergy to Rome for support and take their estates and revenues to his own use; and that if thenceforth any Romans ventured into his dominions they should lose their eyes and noses, that all who looked upon them might know them from other and better men. Innocent was not to be deceived by this vague and vulgar abuse: he well knew the real weakness of John's position, and finding that half measures and management would not suffice to reduce him to obedience, he at length issued the terrible sentence of interdict. As this sentence frequently occurs in our history, and as it is essential that readers should clearly and in detail understand the nature of the decree by which Rome could for ages send terror into the hearts of the mightiest nations in Christendom—a terror from which neither rank, sex, nor scarcely any stage of life was exempted—we pause here, in the regular march of our history, to quote the brief but clear description of it which we find succinctly given in Hume, from the accounts scattered in many pages of more prolix writers.

'The sentence of interdict was at that time the great instrument of vengeance and policy employed by the court of Rome; was denounced against sovereigns for the slightest offences; and made the guilt of one person involve the ruin of millions, even in their spiritual and eternal welfare. The execution of it was calculated to strike the senses in the highest degree, and to operate with irresistible force on the superstitious minds of the people. The nation was suddenly deprived of all exterior exercise of its religion; the altars were despoiled of their ornaments; the crosses, the reliques, the images, the statues of the saints, were laid on the ground; and, as if the air itself were profaned and might pollute them by its contact, the priests carefully covered them up, even from their own approach and veneration. The use of the bells entirely ceased in all the churches; the bells themselves were removed from the steeples, and laid on the ground with the other sacred utensils; mass was celebrated with closed doors, and none but the priests were admitted to that holy institution; the laity partook of no religious rite, except baptism to newly born infants and the communion to the dying; the dead were not interred in consecrated ground; they were thrown into ditches, or buried in common fields, and their obsequies were not attended with prayers, or any hallowed ceremony. Marriage was celebrated in the churchyards; and, that every action of life might bear the marks of this dreadful situation, the people were prohibited the use of meat as in Lent; and, as in times of the highest penance, were debarred from all pleasures and entertainments, and were forbidden even to salute each other, or so much as to shave their beards and give any decent attention to their person and apparel. Every circumstance carried symptoms of the deepest distress, and of the most immediate apprehension of divine indignation and vengeance.'

Unwarned by even the commencement of this state of things in his kingdom, and obstinately closing his eyes against the

contempt in which he was held by those lay barons upon whom he must depend for whatever support he might need against the spiritual power, John now turned his vengeance especially against those of the clergy who ventured to pay attention to the interdict, and generally against the adherents of Archbishop Langton. The prelates of these classes he sent into exile, and the monks he confined to their convent with the barest possible allowance for their temporal necessities; and in both cases he made himself the recipient of their revenues. Concubinage being a common vice of the clergy, he seized upon that point to annoy them by throwing their concubines into prison, whence he would only release them upon payment of high fines: conduct which was the more egregiously tyrannical, because he well knew that, in most cases, those who were called the concubines of the clergy lived with all the decency and fidelity of wives, and only were not wives in consequence of the cruel, unnatural, and odious exercise of the power of Rome to compel the celibacy of the clergy.

Meantime the quarrel between John and the pope continued its inveteracy on both sides, and lasted for some years; the people, who had no part in the quarrel, being thus exposed to all the evils and vexations which we have described, excepting in the comparatively few cases where the threats or persuasions of John were powerful enough to induce the clergy to disregard the interdict. With these exceptions, upon which even the laity, much as they were injured by the interdict, looked with dislike and contempt, all the clergy remaining in England were the enemies of John. But he, affecting the utmost contempt for public opinion, clerical as lay, loaded all classes of his people with heavy imposts to defray the expenses of Scotch, Welsh, and Irish expeditions, in which success itself produced him no glory, as it proceeded rather from the weakness of those to whom he was opposed than from his own valour or conduct. As if desirous to irritate his subjects to the utmost, he made the very diversions of his leisure hours either insulting or injurious to them. His licentiousness insulted their families wherever he made his appearance; and he added to the odious character of the forest laws by prohibiting his subjects from pursuing feathered game, and by the purely spiteful act of causing the forest fences to be removed, so that the cultivated fields in the neighbourhood were trampled and fed upon by the vast herds of deer which the injured husbandmen dared not destroy.

A.D. 1208.—A constant continuance in a course like this could not fail to excite against the king the hatred even of those among his subjects who had taken little or no interest in his original quarrel with Rome; and a consciousness of this hatred, so far from causing him to retrace his steps, only aroused him to grosser and more determined tyranny, and he demanded from all of his nobility whom he honoured with his suspicious that they should place their nearest relatives in his hands as hostages. Among those of whom this insulting demand was made was William de Braose, whose wife, a woman of determined spirit and plain speech, told the king's messenger, that for her part she would never consent to intrust her son in the hands of the man who had notoriously murdered his own nephew. The baron, though both wealthy and powerful, was sensible that there was no safety for him after such a reply had been returned to the king; and he sought shelter, with his wife and child, in a remote situation in Ireland. But John, like most tyrants, was only too faithfully served by his spies; the unfortunate baron was discovered; and although he contrived to escape to France, both his wife and their child were seized and actually starved to death in prison.

Never was that line of the heathen poet which says that 'the gods first madden those whom they wish to destroy' more vividly illustrated than by the constant addition which, by tyrannies of this kind, John was constantly making to the general hatred of his people, at the very time when he was aware that such hatred could at any moment have been allowed by Rome to break out into open rebellion.

For though the papal interdict, with all its severity upon the unoffending people, did not release them from their allegiance to the king who had called down that severity upon their heads, the next step was excommunication, which, as John well knew, put an end to allegiance, and would arm many a hand against him that now was bound by 'that divinity which doth hedge a king.' And yet this inexplicable man, usually so cowardly, still held out against the pope, though excommunication was certain to fall with such peculiar severity upon him, should he provoke the pope to pronounce it; and he exerted himself, alike in his rule and in his pastime, to increase that very hate from which much of its peculiar severity would spring.

The patience of the pope was at length exhausted; or, perhaps, to speak more correctly, his policy no longer required delay, and the terrible sentence of excommunication was issued. But even now there was no formal absolution of the people from their oath of allegiance. *That* most terrible step of all the pope still held in reserve, as a last resource, being well aware how powerful an effect the ordinary results of excommunication were calculated to have upon a king of far stronger nerve than John could boast. For how could he claim to be served with zeal and fidelity who was thus disclaimed and cut off by the church?

Scarcely had the pope's orders been obeyed by the bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester—those very prelates upon whom John had formerly heaped insult, as coarse as undeserved, and as unbecoming as impolitic—when a specimen was exhibited of its paralysing effect by Geoffrey, archdeacon of Norwich. Like most of the great churchmen of that day, he held a judicial situation, and he was engaged in its duties when he received the news; upon which he immediately rose and quitted the court, ob-

serving that it was too perilous to continue to serve an excommunicated king. This prompt abandonment of the archdeacon, however, cost him his life; for John threw him into prison, had a large leaden cope fitted tightly to his head, and inflicted other severities upon him until he literally sank under them. Warned, perhaps, by this severe example, other clerical dignitaries, though quite as ready to abandon their detested and dangerous king, took care to place themselves beyond his reach in the very act of abandonment. Among these was Hugh of Wells, the chancellor. Being appointed bishop of Winchester, he requested leave from the king to go to Normandy to obtain consecration from the archbishop of Rouen; but leave being granted, he went not thither, but to Pontigny, the residence of the archbishop Langton, to whom he paid the formal submission due from a suffragan to his primate. The frequency of these desertions among both the prelates and the lay nobility at length gave the king very serious alarm, the more especially as he received but too probable hints of a widely-spread conspiracy against him, in which he knew not who among those who still remained apparently faithful to him might be engaged. Now that moderate concession could no longer avail him; now that his nakedness and his weakness were so evident to his foes that they would richly deserve his contempt if they did not provide his violence with an effectual bridle for the future, even should they choose to show some moderation in dealing with him as to the past; now, in a word, when he no longer had it in his power to negotiate to advantage, John commenced a negotiation with the hitherto exiled and despised Langton. A meeting accordingly took place between them at Dover, and John offered to submit himself to the pope, to receive Langton as primate, to reinstate the whole of the exiled clergy, and to pay a certain sum in compensation of the rents which he had confiscated. But these terms, which John might have commanded at the outset of the dispute, and at which, in fact, he had then manifested such childish and unbecoming rage, were far too favourable to be allowed him now that Rome had at once his terror and his helplessness to urge her to severity. Langton demanded that, instead of a certain limited sum in the way of compensation for the wrong done to the clergy, John should pay all that he had unjustly received, and, still further, that he should make full and complete satisfaction for all injuries suffered by the clergy in consequence of their exile and the confiscation of their revenues. It was less, now, from unwillingness to make peace with Rome, on even the hardest terms, than from sheer terror at the thought of having to collect again all the vast sums he had wantonly dissipated, and of having still further to find money for damages which those who had suffered them were, of all men, the least likely to undervalue, that John pronounced it impossible for him to comply with Langton's demand.

A.D. 1212.—The pope, who most probably did not fully appreciate the extent of the pecuniary difficulty which caused John to shrink from Langton's proposal, now solemnly absolved John's subjects from their allegiance to him, and denounced excommunication upon all who should venture to have any commerce with him, at the council board or in the festive hall, in private or in public, as a monarch or even as an individual. As even this terrible severity, by which the most powerful man could be in an hour deprived of all support and of all demonstration of affection, did not instantly force John to submission, Innocent followed it up by a solemn sentence of *deposition*.

The pontiffs in that superstitious age were wiser in their generation than the lay princes with whom they had to deal, and they well knew how to make those princes each the instrument of the other's subjection. Accordingly, on this occasion, the pope, who well understood the ambitious character of the king of France, and the animosity that mutually existed between John and Philip, promised the latter not only remission of sins, but also the sovereignty, as a vassal of the popedom, of John's kingdom of England, as the reward of his invading it and subduing John.

Philip readily consented to comply with the pope's wishes, and having levied a vast force and summoned all his military vassals to attend and aid him, he assembled a fleet of seventeen hundred sail on the coasts of Normandy and Picardy, and prepared for the immediate and effectual invasion of England.

But the papal court, as usual, was playing a double and an interested game, and was by no means sincere in desiring to replace on the throne of England a despised and incapable monarch, like John, by a popular, warlike, and politic one, like Philip, unless indeed the terror of the latter should, as was by no means probable, fail to reduce the former to obedience.

In this decidedly the most serious of all his perils from without, John displayed something like a flash of the high and daring spirit of his Norman race. Issuing orders not only for the assembling of all his military vassals at Dover, but also for the arming and preparation of every man able to bear arms throughout the kingdom, he seemed determined either to preserve his crown or to die in defence of it. But this temporary gleam of martial feeling came too late, and was too strongly opposed by his craven conduct on former occasions to obtain him any general sympathy among his people. His excommunication and his general unpopularity threw a damp on the spirits of even the bravest of his subjects, and the most zealous among the very few friends whom his vices had left him trembled for the issue. Nevertheless, patriotic feeling in some and habits of feudal obedience in others caused his orders to be obeyed by an immense number, from whom he selected for immediate service the large force of sixty thousand.

Philip, in the meantime, though anxious

immediately to strike the blow which promised to give him so vast a prize, was, as a vassal of the pope, and directly and specially engaged in supporting the papal authority, obliged to be observant of the directions of Pandolf, the papal legate to whom the whole conduct of the expedition was committed. Pandolf, well acquainted with the real views of Innocent, required no more of Philip's aid after that prince had prepared and displayed his force. That done, Pandolf summoned John to a conference at Dover. Pointing, on the one hand, to the immense power and interested zeal of Philip, and, on the other, to those peculiar drawbacks upon the efficient action of the English force, of which John was already but too sensible, the legate, with wily and emphatic eloquence, urged John, by a speedy and complete submission to the pope, to embrace the only means of safety that now remained open to him; excommunicated by the pope, on the eve of being attacked by his mighty and vindictive rival of France, and secretly hated by his own vassals, who were not at all unlikely openly to desert him even upon the day of battle. The statements of the legate were true, and John, who knew them to be so, passed in an instant from the extreme of bravado and obstinacy to an equally extreme and far more disgusting humility and obedience. John now promised the most entire submission to the pope; the acknowledgement of Langton as archbishop of Canterbury; the restoration of all, whether clerks or laymen, whom he had banished on account of this long and unfortunate dispute; restitution of all goods and revenues that had been confiscated, and full payment of all damages done by the confiscation; and an immediate payment of eight thousand pounds on account, together with an immediate acceptance to his grace and favour of all who had suffered in them for adhering to the pope. To all these terms the king swore agreement, and four of his great barons also swore to cause his faithful compliance. From the instant that Pandolf got the king to agree to these degrading conditions, the whole right and merit of the quarrel was substantially and unalterably assigned to Rome by the king's own solemn confession; and this point Pandolf was, for obvious reasons, anxious to secure prior to running the risk of stinging and startling even John's dastard spirit into desperation. But having thus made the king virtually confess that his share in the quarrel was such as to disentitle him to the support of his friends and subjects, Pandolf wholly threw off the mask, and showed John how much more of the bitter draught of degradation he still had to swallow.

John had sworn humble and complete obedience to the pope; he was now required, as the first convincing proof of that obedience, to resign his crown to the church; an act of obedience which he was assured was his most effectual mode of protecting his kingdom against Philip, who would not dare to attack it when placed under the immediate guardianship and custody of Rome. John had now gone too far to recede from that degradation which made him for ever the mere temporal as well as spiritual vassal of haughty and overreaching Rome. He therefore subscribed a charter, in which, professing to be under no restraint, he solemnly renounced England and Ireland to pope Innocent and his Apostolic successors, and agreed thenceforth to hold them at the annual rent of a thousand marks, as feudatory of the papal throne; binding his successors as well as himself to the due performance of this condition, on pain of absolute forfeiture in the event of impenitent disobedience. Even the signing of this degrading agreement was not allowed to terminate John's deep humiliation. He was compelled, in open court, to do homage in the usual feudal form to Pandolf as the representative of the pope, and at the same time to pay in advance a portion of the tribute, upon which the legate trampled in open scorn. And so much had John's misconduct degraded his brave subjects as well as himself, that, with the single exception of the archbishop of Dublin, no one present had the spirit to resent Pandolf's rude and impolitic behaviour.

After John had submitted to all this ignominy, he was still compelled to feel himself dependent upon the very doubtful generosity of Rome; for Pandolf refused to remove the interdict and excommunication till the damages of the clergy should be both estimated and paid. Yet even in this terrible and galling state of his fortunes, John relaxed not from his tyranny to his subjects. An enthusiast or impostor, named Peter of Pomfret, a hermit, had in one of his rhapsodies prophesied that the king would this year lose his crown, a prophecy which had been likely enough to be accomplished in any one of many preceding years This man, and his son as his accomplice or abettor, were tried as impostors; and though the hermit stoutly maintained that the king's surrender to Rome, and the vassalage in which he had now consented to hold his formerly independent crown, verified the prophecy, they were both dragged at horses' heels to the gallows and there hanged.

John, the baseness of whose temper made him callous to many reflections which would have stung a prouder and more honourable man almost to madness, was, amid all his degradation, less to be pitied just now than the duped and baffled Philip. His rage on learning that his expensive display of force had only served the purpose of driving John into the protection of the pope, could scarcely be kept within either safe or decent bounds. He bitterly complained of the insincere offers and promises by which he had been gulled into an outlay of sixty thousand pounds; and, his indignation being shared by his barons, he went so far as to declare that not even the pope's protection should save England from him. It seems indeed probable, that he would at all risks have invaded England but for the influence and intrigues of the earl of Flanders, who, being in a secret

confederacy with John, loudly protested against the impiety of attacking a state that was now become a part of St. Peter's patrimony. Shrewdly judging that the earl would follow up his words by corresponding deeds, Philip resolved to chastise him; but while he was engaged in so doing, his fleet was attacked by John's natural brother, the earl of Salisbury, so that Philip deemed it the wisest plan to lay aside his meditated attack upon England, at least for the present,

John, as easily elated as depressed, was so puffed up by his novel safety, accompanied though it was by so much ignominy, that he boasted his intention to invade France. But he was met on the part of his barons with cold and contemptuous refusal to take part in his enterprise; and when, in the hope of shaming them into joining him, he sailed with only his personal followers as far as the island of Jersey, he had the mortification of being compelled to return, not one of the barons having so far relented as to follow him. On his return he threatened to chastise them for their want of obedience; but here he was met by the archbishop Langton, who reminded him that he was but the vassal of Rome, and threatened him with the most signal punishment if he attempted to levy war upon any of his subjects.

Rome removed the inflictions upon John and his kingdom to the full as gradually as she had laid them on; but in the end the pope himself interfered to protect him against the extortion of the clergy, and commanded them to take forty thousand marks instead of a hundred thousand, which John had offered, and instead of the infamously excessive sum beyond that at which they had rated their losses.

In the end, the king's submissive behaviour and his disbursement of large sums of money procured the interdict to be removed from his kingdom; and the prelates and superior clergy having received their damages, the inferior clergy were left to console themselves as they best might without any repayment at all; Nicholas, bishop of Frescati, who was now legate in England instead of Pandolf, showing himself more favourable to John than his predecessors had been.

A.D. 1214.—Not deterred by the evident dislike of his barons, and their determination never to assist him when they could make any valid excuse, John now proceeded to Poicton, and his authority being still held in respect there, he was enabled to carry the war into Philip's territory. But before John had well commenced his depredations he was routed by Philip's son, young prince Louis, and fled in terror to England, to engage once more in his congenial task of oppressing his subjects. For this amiable pursuit he deemed that his submissions to Rome had furnished him with full immunity; but mortifications of the most severe description were still in store for him. The barons, shocked out of even their feudal notions of submission, became clamorous for the practical and formal establishment of the liberties and privileges which had been promised to them by both Henry I. and Henry II. In their demands they were much backed and aided by archbishop Langton; less, it would seem pretty clear, from any genuine patriotism on his part, than from old detestation of John, exacerbated and festered by the obstinacy with which John had resisted Langton's admission to the primacy. At a private meeting of the most zealous of the barons, Langton not only encouraged them by his own eloquent advice, but also produced a copy of the charter of Henry I., which he had rummaged out of some monastic crypt, and urged them to make that the guide and basis of their demands, and to persevere until those demands were both fully and securely conceded to them. Perceiving the effect of this conduct, he repeated it at another and more numerous meeting of the barons at St. Edmund's Bury in Suffolk; and the charter, supported by his own vivid eloquence, so wrought upon the barons, that, before they separated, they solemnly swore to be true to each other, and never to cease to make war upon their faithless and tyrannical king until he should grant their just demands. This done they separated, after fixing upon a day for their reunion to commence their open and, if need were, armed, advocacy of their cause.

A.D. 1215.—On the given day they punctually met, and demanded their rights, as promised by his own oath and as laid down in the charter of Henry I. Alarmed at their union, John promised that they should be answered on the following Easter; and the primate with the bishop of Ely and the earl of Pembroke becoming surety for the performance of the king's words, the barons contentedly retired to their castles.

But John had sought delay, not for the purpose of considering the nature and propriety of the demands, but for that of finding, if possible, some means by which at once to baulk the barons and to be avenged of them. Having experienced to his cost the power of Rome, he thought his best way to baffle his nobles was to conciliate the church, to which he voluntarily made many concessions and compliments; one of the former being his voluntary relinquishment of that right of investiture which the previous Norman kings had so stoutly battled for, and one of the latter, an equally voluntary proffer and promise to lead an army against the infidels in the Holy Land; and, to signify his entire sincerity upon this last point, he at once assumed the Cross. Both from John's urgency for his protection and from the counter and no less urgent instances of the barons, the pope was excited to much alarm about England, for the peace and prosperity of which he had, since John basely became his vassal, conceived a sort of paternal interest. Knowing full well how much more difficult it would be to deal with the power of England under the bold barons than under a despised and weak prince like John, it was obviously to the interest of Innocent to uphold the latter as far as possible against the former; and he there-

fore issued a bull, in which he characterised the proceedings of the barons as illegal and treasonable; forbad them, under pain of excommunication, from persisting in their demands; and enjoined John, under the same penalty, not to comply with them.

The primate, being in favour of the barons, refused to give formal publicity to this bull; and though he was suspended for his conduct in this respect, the failure of the bull was not the less insured; and thus a new proof was afforded how much the pope's power depended upon the extent and the cordiality of the cooperation of the rest of the church. But though the pope and the king thus exerted themselves to defeat the barons, the latter succeeded in wresting from the king that well-known declaration of rights and definition of prerogative known as *Magna Charta*, or the Great Charter—a document which we need not insert here, on account of its general notoriety. But no charter or agreement could bind the king; he introduced foreign mercenaries, besieged and took Rochester castle, and barbarously put all but the very highest of the garrison to death, and then carried fire and sword into the towns and villages throughout England. The barons, chiefly from some faults or omissions on their own part, were reduced to such straits, that they ventured on the unpatriotic and dangerous expedient of offering the crown of England to prince Louis, son of Philip of France.

A.D. 1216.—The prince accordingly landed in England with a large force, in spite of the menaces and orders of the pope; John was deserted by the foreigners upon whom he chiefly depended, and who, though willing enough to slaughter his English subjects, were naturally unwilling to fight against their own native prince. Most of the English nobility who had heretofore sided with John, now deserted him; town after town, and castle after castle, fell into the hands of his enemies; and everything seemed to threaten him, when a report, true or false, got currency, that Louis merely used the English nobles as his tools, and would execute them as traitors whenever his success should be complete. This report had visibly turned the scale once more in favour of John. Several nobles returned to their allegiance, and he was rapidly collecting powerful forces to combat for his kingdom, when a heavy loss of treasure and baggage, which occurred as he was passing towards Lincoln, so much aggravated an illness under which he already laboured, that he expired at Newark, on October 17, 1216, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and in the eighteenth of his agitated, mischievous, and inglorious reign.

It was in this reign that the citizens of London first were privileged annually and from their own body to choose their mayor and common council, and to elect and discharge their sheriffs at pleasure. Of the king's character no summary is needed; both as man and as sovereign he is but too forcibly depicted in the events of which we have given a brief, but complete and impartial account.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Reign of HENRY III.

A.D. 1216.—AT the death of John his eldest son, Henry, was only nine years old; but happily he had in the earl of Pembroke a friend and guardian who was both able and willing to prevent his infancy from being any disadvantage to him; and Louis of France, who expected to derive great benefit from the death of John, found, on the contrary, that very circumstance most injurious to him.

Immediately after the death of John, the earl of Pembroke took every necessary precaution on behalf of the young prince. He had him crowned as soon as the funeral was over, and caused him publicly to swear fealty to the pope; measures most important towards insuring the enthusiasm of the people, on the one hand, and the support of Rome, on the other. Still further to increase the popularity of the young king, the earl of Pembroke, now regularly authorised with the title of protector of the realm, conferred upon him by a great council, issued in his name a new charter, chiefly founded on that which John had granted and broken through; and subsequently he added several still more popular articles to it, disafforesting much of the vast quantity of land which had arbitrarily been enclosed by Richard and John, and substituting fine and imprisonment for the more brutal punishments which had heretofore been awarded to forest offences.

While active in taking these general measures to secure the affections of the people, the earl did not omit to exert his individual influence to detach the barons who had sided with Louis. He pointed out, with admirable tact, the vast difference between fighting against a sovereign of mature years who had wronged and insulted them, and warring against an infant prince of the race of their ancient monarchs, to set up in his place the son of the French king; he dwelt upon the good measures which had already been taken by the government of the infant king, and besought them to take the favourable opportunity that now offered, of abandoning the case of Louis, which was unjust in itself, anathematised by the pope, and had hitherto been as singularly unfortunate as it was obviously unblest. The character of Pembroke was so high, that his remonstrances had a great effect on those to whom they were addressed. Many barons forthwith abandoned Louis, and carried over their strength to their native prince; and many more, though not yet quite prepared to go all that length, entered into a correspondence with Pembroke which showed their leaning that way. Louis added to this leaning by the impolitic openness with which he evinced his distrust of the English. Robert Fitz-Walter, that powerful baron under whom the whole of the barons of England had thought it no disgrace to range themselves when they commenced their struggle with the tyrant John, applied to Louis for the government of the castle of Hertford, and was refused,

although he had a personal claim upon the fortress. With such an example before their eyes, how could the barons help feeling that he was, indeed, making mere tools of them?

Louis being obliged, by the great losses he had sustained, to go to France for reinforcements, afforded the doubtful an opportunity to return to their allegiance and join Pembroke, who at length laid siege to Lincoln city, which was garrisoned by the French under count Perche, who in their turn hemmed in and besieged the English garrison of Lincoln castle. A sally from the castle was made at the same moment that Pembroke and his troops mounted to the assault of the town; and so complete was the success of the English on this occasion, that the fate of the kingdom may be said to have depended on the issue.

When Pembroke obtained this great advantage Louis was besieging Dower castle, which was as ably as obstinately defended by Hubert de Burgh; and on hearing the tidings from Lincoln he hastened to London, where the farther ill news awaited him of the defeat and dispersion of a French fleet which was bringing him over reinforcements.

These two events caused new desertions of the English barons to Pembroke; and, instead of entertaining farther hope of winning the English crown, Louis now thought only of securing a safe and speedy departure from a kingdom in which he had met with so many misfortunes; he accordingly agreed to evacuate the kingdom forthwith, upon the sole condition that neither in property nor in liberties should those barons who had adhered to his cause be made to suffer for that adherence.

The protector readily agreed to so easy a condition; and the civil war being thus happily terminated, Pembroke, as regarded the lay barons who supported Louis, fully performed his part of the agreement, not only restoring them to their possessions, but also taking every opportunity to show that their former conduct was not allowed to have the slightest weight in preventing favour or preferment from reaching them. For the clerical rebels a far severer fate was in store. As far as regarded the merely civil portion of their offence Pembroke molested none of them; but Gualo, the pope's legate, dealt somewhat more sternly with them for the contempt and disobedience with which, in spite of the interdict and excommunication, they had dared to continue to support Louis. In so numerous a body of men it was obviously impossible but that there should be degrees of guilt; and accordingly, where some were deposed, others were only suspended; some were banished, but all, whatever their degree of guilt, had to pay a fine to the legate, to whom this wholesale chastisement of the erring clerks produced an immense sum.

The earl of Pembroke, to whom the peace was so greatly owing, died soon after its conclusion, and the protectorate passed into the hands of Hubert de Burgh, the justiciary, and Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester. Though the former, who took the chief part in the government, was a great and able man, he had not that personal reputation among the barons which had been enjoyed by the earl of Pembroke, and which had chiefly enabled that nobleman to curb the evil dispositions which now broke forth into full activity, insulting the royal authority, and everywhere pillaging and coercing the people. Among the most disorderly of these was the earl of Albemarle. He had served under Louis, but had quickly returned to his duty and distinguished himself in fighting against the French. His disorderly conduct in the north of England now became so notorious and mischievous, that Hubert de Burgh, though greatly averse to harsh measures against those powerful nobles whose future favour might be of such important consequence to his young king, seized on the castle of Rockingham, which the earl had filled with his licentious soldiery. The earl, supported by Fulke de Breauté and other warlike and turbulent barons, fortified the castle of Bitham, put himself upon his open defence, and seized upon the castle of Fotheringay; and it seemed not unlikely that the daring and injustice of this one man would again kindle the so lately extinguished flames of civil war. Fortunately, Pandolf, who was now restored to the legatine power in England, was present to take a part on behalf of the constituted authorities. He issued a sentence of excommunication not only against Albemarle, but also in general terms against all who should adhere to that nobleman's cause; and an army, with means of paying it, was provided. The promptitude and vigour of these measures so alarmed Albemarle's adherents, that he was on the instant deserted by the most powerful of them, and saw nothing left but to sue for the king's pardon, which was not only granted to him as regarded his person, but he was at the same time restored to his whole estate.

It was probably the confidence of being, in the last resort, able to insure himself a like impolitic degree of lenity, that encouraged Fulke de Breauté to treat the government with a most unheard-of insolence and contempt. Having been raised from a low origin by king John, whom he followed in the discreditable capacity of a military bully, this man carried the conduct and manners of his original station into the higher fortune to which he had attained, and was among the most turbulent and unmanageable of all the barons.

To desire a freehold, and forcibly to expel the rightful owner and take possession, were with him but one and the same thing; and for literal robberies of this summary and wholesale description no fewer than thirty-five verdicts were recorded against him at one time. Far from being abashed or alarmed by such a plurality of crime, he marched a body of his staunchest disorderlies to the court of justice which was then sitting, seized upon his bench the judge who had ventured to decide against so potent an offender, and actually imprisoned that judicial dignitary in Bedford castle. Having gone to this extent, he

could have but little compunction about going still farther, and he openly and in form levied war upon the king. But he had now gone to the full length of his tether; he was opposed so vigorously, that his followers were soon put to the rout, and he, being taken prisoner, was punished by confiscation and banishment.

A.D. 1222.—In this year a riot broke out in the metropolis. Commencing in some petty dispute that occurred during a wrestling match between a portion of the rabble of London and Westminster, it at length rose to a desperate and dangerous tumult, in the course of which several persons were much hurt and some houses were plundered and demolished. As these houses belonged to so important a person as the abbot of Westminster, that circumstance alone would probably have caused the riot to be looked upon in a serious light at court. But it farther appeared, that in the course of the conflict the combatants on either or both sides had been heard to use the French war-cry 'Mountjoy St. Denis!' and the recent attempt by Louis upon the English crown caused the use of this war-cry to give to an ordinary riot something of the aspect of a political and treasonable attempt; and Hubert, the justiciary, personally took cognisance of the matter. The ringleader, Constantine Fitz-Arnulf, behaved with much self-possession and audacity when before the justiciary, and was forthwith led out from his presence and hanged; while several of those whose guilt was confessedly less heinous had their feet amputated; an awful severity under any possible circumstances—how much more so when contrasted with the lenity shown to so desperate an offender as Fulke de Breauté!

Shortly after this affair, which was much complained of as being contrary to the Great Charter, Hubert procured a bull from the pope, pronouncing the king of full age to govern. He then resigned into the young king's hands the Tower of London and Dover castle, which had been intrusted to him; and having by this example acquired the greater right to demand at the hands of other nobles a similar strengthening of the much-impaired power of the crown, he formally did so. But the barons of that day were like the rake of a later dramatist; they 'could admire virtue, but could not imitate it.' All murmured, most refused to comply, and many, among whom were the earls of Chester and Albemarle, John, constable of Chester, John de Lacy, and William de Courtel, absolutely met in arms at Waltham and prepared to march in hostile array upon London. But before they had time to commence this actual levying of civil war, they had tidings that the king was prepared to outnumber and defeat them. They, therefore, abandoned their design, and appeared at court, whither they were summoned to answer for their conduct. But though, as a matter of prudence, they had laid aside the design of levying absolute war upon their sovereign, they made no profession of repentance. On the contrary, while they eagerly disavowed any personal hostility to the king himself, they equally admitted that they were hostile to Hubert, and that they were still as determined as ever to insist upon his removal from his power and authority. They were too numerous and potent to be subjected to the punishment which their insolent sedition merited; and probably it was their perception of that as the real cause of their being suffered to retire unscathed from court after so open a declaration of their hostility to Hubert, that encouraged them very shortly afterwards to hold another armed meeting at Leicester. Here again they determined that the king, then resident at Northampton, was too strong and too well prepared to allow of their seizing upon his person, which, despite their former disclaimer, it was all along their desire to do. But, as if watching for some relaxation of the vigilance of the justiciary, or some diminution of the royal forces, they kept together under the pretence of celebrating Christmas. As it was evident that mischief would speedily occur to both king and people, unless these bold bad men were stopped before they had encouraged each other too far, the archbishop and the prelates sternly remonstrated with them, and threatened them with immediate excommunication as the penalty of their longer delaying their submission to the king and their disbanding of their hostile array. Most of the castles were, upon this threat, given up to the king, and we may judge how necessary a step Hubert had taken on behalf of his young sovereign when we read that there were in England at that time no fewer than 1115 of these castles. When Hubert's just and wise design was fulfilled, the king restored to that faithful subject and servant the fortresses he had surrendered, and this restoration was bitterly complained of by the factious barons, who chose not to perceive the immense difference between fortresses held for the king and fortresses held against him.

Parliament having granted the king a fifteenth, he was obliged to employ it in carrying on war against France, in spite of the disaffected state of so many of his most powerful subjects. For Henry having demanded the restitution of his ancestral Normandy, Louis VIII. was so far from making that restitution, that he made a sudden attack upon Poictou, besieged and took Rochelle, and showed an evident determination to deprive the English of their very small remaining continental territory. The king sent over, as his lieutenants, his brother the earl of Cornwall, and his uncle the earl of Salisbury, who succeeded in preventing any farther progress on the part of Louis, and in keeping the vassals of Gascony and Poictou in obedience; and, after two years' stay in France, during which the military operations amounted to nothing higher than what modern generals would term a skirmish, the earl of Cornwall returned to England.

A.D. 1227.—Though Richard, earl of Cornwall, seems to have cared little enough for the ordinary ends of ambition, he had a greediness of gain which answered all the

purposes of ambition in arraying him against his brother and king; and a petty dispute which arose out of the earl's greed and his unjust course of gratifying it, not only produced feud between the brothers, but had well-nigh involved the whole nation in a civil war, and certainly would have done so but for the weak and yielding character of Henry, whose irresolution even thus early became manifest to both his friends and his enemies.

Taking advantage of a dispute which had occurred between Richard and one of the barons, relative to the possession of a certain manor, a powerful confederacy of discontented nobles was formed against the king, who at length yielded the point through fear, and made concessions as impolitic as they were inglorious to him as a sovereign. So weak and pliant, in fact, was the character of Henry, that it may be doubted whether he would ever have reigned at all had the care of his minority fallen into the hands of a less able and upright man than Hubert de Burgh. And it was no small proof of his weakness that after all the important and steadfast services which he had received from De Burgh, that minister was dismissed his office, deprived of his property, driven to take sanctuary, drawn thence and committed to close custody in the castle of Devizes, for no other reason than that he *had* been faithful to the king. Other *real* charge than this there was none; though several pretences were urged against him, such as the frivolous ones of his having gained the king's favour and affection by arts of enchantment, and of purloining from the royal treasure a gem which had the virtue of rendering its wearer invulnerable! Hubert was at length driven into exile; but recalled and taken into favour with just as little apparent reason as there had been for his persecution. He seems in his adversity to have at least learned the valuable lesson of the danger of counselling wisely a weak king; for, though he was now personally as much a favourite as ever, he never afterwards showed any desire to resume his perilous authority, which was bestowed at his overthrow upon Peter, Bishop of Winchester, a native of Poictou, arbitrary and violent, but without any of Hubert de Burgh's talent or courage, and so little fitted for the almost sovereign authority that was intrusted to him, that it was mainly owing to his misconduct and tyranny, as a justiciary and a regent of the kingdom during an absence of king John in France, that the barons had been stung into that memorable combination which resulted in the Great Charter, the foundation of constitutional liberty in England.

A.D. 1231.—Like all weak persons, Henry, while he felt his own incapacity for governing, was unwilling to abide by the advice of those who were worthy of his confidence; and feeling that his true nature was shrewdly understood by his own subjects, he invited over a great number of Poictevins, in whom he rightly supposed that he would find more pliancy and less restraint. Upon these foreign sycophants he conferred various offices of trust and power which he feared to bestow upon his English subjects. Confident of the protection of the king, inflated by the stream of good fortune which so suddenly flowed in upon them, and either ignorant of the hate and jealousy of which they were the objects, these foreign favourites, by their insolence, added to the rancour of the powerful enemies by whom the mere favour and profuse liberality of the king were of themselves sufficient to surround them. The barons, on the other hand, finding all indirect tokens of their displeasure unattended to, at length refused to attend their parliamentary duties, under pretence of fearing the power of the foreigners; and when the king remonstrated and plainly commanded their attendance, they replied that they would attend no more until the king should have dismissed the Poictevins, and that if he did not speedily dismiss those men, both they and he should be driven from the kingdom. At length, however, the barons, altering their plan, did proceed to parliament, but in so warlike a guise, that it was evident they intended to overawe the king, and make their own will serve for law both to him and to the kingdom. And this they doubtless would speedily have done with the strong hand, had they been opposed by no abler antagonist than the king. But the justiciary, Peter des Roches, so ably employed their interval of irresolution, that he detached from them not only the earls of Chester and Lincoln, but also the earl of Cornwall, the king's brother, and thus so much weakened the confederacy, that it was broken up and its leaders exposed to the vengeance of the king. Richard, the earl marshal, fled into Wales, and thence to Ireland, where he was assassinated; others of the barons were fortunate enough to escape, but their estates were confiscated, and, with the king's usual folly and profusion, distributed among the already wealth-gorged foreigners; and the justiciary publicly said that the barons of England must learn to know themselves as inferior to those of France!

To what extent of insolent tyranny he who uttered such a speech might have proceeded it is not easy to guess; but his pride met with a sudden check, and that from a quarter whence he might reasonably have least anticipated it. The church became alarmed for its own interests; several of the prelates, well knowing the general discontent that was spreading among the people in consequence of the insolent and tyrannical conduct of the justiciary, attended the archbishop of Canterbury to court, where he strongly represented to Henry the impolicy as well as injustice of the course he had pursued himself and allowed the justiciary to pursue in his name; and, attributing all the evil to the justiciary, demanded his dismissal on pain of an instant sentence of excommunication against the king himself. Timid by nature, though well enough inclined towards despotism while it could be practised safely, Henry was struck with alarm at the threat of excommunication, which he rightly judged would be satisfactory to the op

pressed people as well as to the barons, and he consented to the dismissal of Peter des Roches. The primate succeeded him in the task of ordering state affairs; and being a man of promptitude as well as of good sense, he speedily restored content by banishing the detested foreigners and reinstating the English magnates in the offices from which they had, as insultingly as unjustly, been banished.

A.D. 1236.—The inclinations of a weak prince, however, are usually too strong for the advice of the most prudent minister, and the complaints of the king's preference of foreigners soon became louder than ever.

Having married Eleanor, daughter of the count of Provence, Henry surrounded himself with her countrymen and with those of her maternal uncle, the bishop of Valence, who was of the house of Savoy. The Provençals and Savoyards now tasted of the king's indiscriminate bounty as largely as the Poictevins had done. The bishop of Valence became as potent a personage as Peter des Roches had been; another member of the family of Peter was presented with the manor of Richmond and the great wardship of the earl of Warenne, and Boniface, also of Savoy, was made archbishop of Canterbury. Nor were men alone thus fortunate; to the ladies of Savoy the king gave in marriage the young and wealthy nobles who were his wards. Profusion like this soon exhausted even the monarch's ample means, and an attempt was made to put the king in possession of funds for farther liberalities, by obtaining an absolution for him from Rome from the oath which he had taken to support his former grants to his English subjects. In truth, it soon became necessary either that the king should obtain new funds, or that he should abandon his system of profusion; for a new claim, which had some show of reason, was now made upon him. It will be remembered that Henry's mother, Isabella, had been by the violence of king John taken from her lawful husband, the count de la Marche; and to him, as soon after John's death as decency would allow, she had given her hand in second marriage. By this second marriage she had four sons, Guy, William, Geoffrey, and Aylmer, whom she sent over to visit Henry. Their being foreigners would perhaps have been quite sufficient to procure for them a cordial reception; but having the additional recommendation of being his half-brothers, they were rapturously received by him, and he heaped wealth and dignities upon them, with a most entire unconcern as to his own means and as to the feelings and claims of his subjects. In church as in state, foreigners were constantly preferred to natives, and while Henry was lavishing wealth and civil honours upon the Poictevins, Savoyards, and Gascons, the overwhelming influence of Rome filled the richest church benefices of England with nameless Italian monks, and it was at one time proved to demonstration that the Italian intruders into the church were in the yearly receipt of a revenue considerably larger than that of the king himself!

Under such circumstances it was natural that the parliament should show some unwillingness to grant supplies to a king who so ill knew how to use his funds, or that men of all ranks should murmur against a king so utterly destitute of patriotic feeling; and the more especially, as he was thus lavish to foreigners while utterly careless to flatter the English with that martial enterprise which then, as long after, was viewed by them as ample covering for many defects, personal and political. Whenever he demanded supplies he was obliged to listen to the complaints of the violence done to his faithful subjects, of the mean marriages forced upon those of the highest ranks, of the actual violence by which his table was supplied, his person decorated, and his religious solemnities adorned.

A.D. 1253.—To all complaints of this nature Henry listened with impatience, and replied with vague and general promises of amendment; at length, in 1253, having exhausted the patience of his long-enduring subjects, he hit upon a new mode of obtaining funds from them, by soliciting a supply to aid him in the pious design of a crusade against the infidels. But he had now so often been tried and found wanting, that the parliament could not put faith in this specious profession. The clergy, too, who rightly deemed their interest perilled by the infatuated conduct of the king, were as much opposed to him as the laity; and they sent the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of Winchester, Salisbury, and Carlisle, to remonstrate with him upon his general extravagance, as well as upon the irregular manner in which he disposed of church dignities. Upon this occasion Henry displayed more than his usual spirit. Availing himself of the fact that he had greatly favoured these very personages, he replied, 'It is true, I *have* been in error on this point of improper promotions; I obtruded you, my lord of Canterbury, upon your see; I was obliged to employ both threats and persuasions, my lord of Winchester, to have you elected; and irregular, indeed, was my conduct, my lords of Salisbury and Carlisle, when from your lowly stations I raised you to your present dignities.' There was much truth in this, but there was no apology; and the prelates shrewdly replied, that the question was not of errors past, but of the avoidance of future errors.

Notwithstanding the sarcasm with which the king met the complaints of the prelates, he promised so fairly for the reformation of both ecclesiastical and civil abuses, that the parliament at length consented to grant him a tenth of the ecclesiastical benefices, and a scutage of three marks upon each knight's fee, on condition of his solemnly ratifying the Great Charter, while, with the ceremony of 'bell, book, and candle,' they cursed whoever should henceforth violate it. The king joined in the ceremony, audibly and emphatically agreed in the awful curse invoked upon any violation of his oath—and immediately afterwards returned to his old practices as though no thing extraordinary had occurred!

A.D. 1238.—Conduct so infatuated on the part of the king almost seemed to invite rebellion, and at length tempted one ambitious and daring noble so far, that he determined to endeavour to win the throne from a king who proved himself so unworthy of filling it with dignity or honour. Simon of Montfort, a son of the great warrior of that name, having, though born abroad, inherited large property in England, was created earl of Leicester, and in the year 1238 married the dowager countess of Pembroke, sister to the king. The earl had been sometimes greatly favoured, and sometimes as signally disgraced by the king, but being a man of great talent he had contrived always to recover his footing at court, and, whether in or out of favour with the king, to be a general favourite with the people, who at his first marrying the king's sister had hated and railed against him for his foreign birth.

Perceiving how inveterately the king was addicted to his tyrannies and follies, this artful and able nobleman determined to put himself at the head of the popular—or, more properly speaking, the baronial and church—party, thinking that Henry might so far provoke his enemies as to lose his throne, in which case Leicester trusted to his own talents and influence to enable him to succeed to it. Accordingly he took up the cry, now become as general as it was just, against the king's oppression of the people, and his preference of foreigners,—Leicester conveniently overlooking his own foreign birth!—and sought every occasion of putting himself forward as the advocate of the native barons and the prelates. When by persevering efforts in this way he had, as he considered, sufficiently strengthened his own hands and inflamed the general resentments against the king, he took occasion of a quarrel with Henry's half-brother and favourite, William de Valence, to bring matters to a crisis. Calling a meeting of the most incensed and powerful of the barons, he represented to them all those violations of the charter of which we have already spoken, and demanded whether they had so far degenerated from the high feelings of the barons who had wrested the charter from John, that they were prepared, without even a struggle, to see it a mere dead letter in the hand of Henry, whose most solemn promises of reformation they had as often experienced to be unworthy of belief.

There was so much of truth in Leicester's harangue, that the position which he occupied as a favoured foreigner was overlooked, his recommendations were made the rule of the barons' conduct, and they agreed forthwith to take the government of public affairs into their own hands. They were just then summoned to meet the king for the old purpose, namely, to grant him supplies, and to his astonishment he found them all in complete armour. Alarmed at so unusual a sight and at the solemn silence with which he was received, he demanded whether he was to look upon them as his enemies and himself as their prisoner; to which Robert Bigod, as spokesman, replied, that they looked upon him not as their prisoner, but as their sovereign; that they had met him there in the most dutiful desire to aid him with supplies that he might, as he wished, fix his son upon the throne of Sicily; but that they at the same time desired certain reforms which the experience of the past plainly showed that he could not make in his own person, and that they therefore were under the necessity of requiring him to confer authority upon those who would strenuously use it for the national benefit. The evident determination of the barons, and the great and instant need which he had of supplies, left the king no choice; he therefore assured them that he would shortly summon another parliament for the election of persons to wield the authority spoken of, and also to settle and define that authority within precise limits.

A parliament was accordingly called, at which the barons made their appearance with so formidable an armed attendance, that it was quite clear that, whatever they might propose, the king had no power to resist them.

Twelve barons were selected by the king and twelve by the parliament, and to the body thus formed an unlimited reforming power was given, the king himself swearing to agree to and maintain whatever they should deem fit to order. Their instant orders were most reasonable; that three times in each year the parliament should meet; that on the next meeting of parliament each shire or county should send four knights to that parliament, that so the especial wants and grievances of every part of the kingdom might be known; that the sheriffs, officers of great power and influence, should thenceforth be annually elected by the counties, and should no longer have the power to fine barons for not attending their courts or the justiciaries' circuits; that no castles should be committed to the custody, and no heirs to the wardships, of foreigners; that no new forests or warrens should be made; and that the revenues of counties or hundreds should no longer be farmed out.

Thus far the barons proceeded most equitably. But bare equity and the good of the people did not include all that the barons wanted. As the shameful profusion of the king had heaped wealth upon foreigners, so the destruction of these foreigners would yield an abundant harvest to the native barons. Accordingly when the king, having acquiesced in the regulations above mentioned, looked for the promised and much-needed supplies, he was met by loud outcries against foreigners in general, and against his half-brothers in particular. So loud was the clamour against these latter, that even the king's presence seemed insufficient to secure their lives, and they took to flight. Being hotly pursued by some of the more violent of the barons, they took refuge in the palace of Winchester, to which see Aylmer had been promoted. Even here they were surrounded and threatened, and the king, as the sole mode of saving them from destruction, agreed to banish them. Having thus nearly

attacked the king in the persons of those who had some reasonable and natural claim upon his favour, the barons next proceeded to dismiss the justiciary, treasurer, and other chief ministers; and having filled these important posts with persons upon whom they could implicitly rely, they next proceeded to the virtual usurpation of the throne, by administering an oath to all the lieges to obey and execute all the regulations of the twenty-four barons, under pain of being declared public enemies; and such was the power which, under the pretence of the purest patriotism, these barons had usurped, that even the powerful earl Warenne, and prince Edward, the heir to the throne, were not exempt from the obligation to take this oath.

A.D. 1261.—So arrogantly did the barons use their extensive and usurped authority, that the earl of Gloucester, from being a chief in their confederacy, separated from it to side with the king; and prince Edward, encouraged by the general murmurs of the people that the barons were becoming more tyrannous than even a king could be, threatened the barons that he would peril his life in opposing them if they did not speedily bring their reforms to a close.

The spirit of the prince Edward rallied so much favour to the side of the crown, that Henry thought he might safely venture to endeavour to put a curb upon the exorbitant power of the twenty-four barons; but as he knew how prejudicial to his interests it would be to leave it in the power of his enemies to accuse him of perjury, he in the first place applied to Rome for absolution from the oath he had made to support the barons in their authority—an absolution which he readily received, both because of the misconduct of the barons, and because the pope was seriously offended with the English clergy for having shown a greater tendency towards independence than squared with either the papal interests or the papal maxims. Prince Edward refused to avail himself even of this absolution until the outrageous misconduct of the barons compelled him to do so; and the scrupulous fidelity with which he thus kept to an engagement which he had been forced into, procured him a general admiration which subsequently was very importantly beneficial to him.

A.D. 1262.—As soon as Henry received the absolution he had solicited from Rome, he issued a proclamation, in which he bitterly and, for the most part, truly painted the personal and selfish views with which the twenty-four barons had both sought and used their authority, and declared that in duty to himself and his people he should from that time forth use his royal authority without its diminution or participation by anyone; he changed all the chief officers of state and of his own household, as also most of the sheriffs of counties and governors of castles. Having thus far secured himself, he summoned a parliament, which met on the 23rd of April in this year, and which, with but five dissenting votes, confirmed his resumption of his authority.

But the snake of disaffection was only 'scotched, not killed;' many of the barons still corresponded with Leicester, and that haughty noble, though resident in France, was busily employed in fomenting evil for England, which he now the more confidently hoped to reign over, because his powerful rival Gloucester was dead, and Gilbert, that nobleman's son and successor, had given his adhesion to Leicester.

While Leicester and his adherents were busily preparing to attack the power of the king, the Welsh suddenly made an irruption over the border, probably prompted by Leicester. The prince Edward, however, repulsed Llewellyn and his ill-disciplined troops, and then returned to aid his father, against whom Leicester was now openly and in great force arrayed.

Leicester directed his attacks chiefly against the king's demesnes, and excited the zeal of his followers to perfect fury by encouraging them to spoil and plunder to their utmost. The bishops of Hereford and Norwich were seized and imprisoned, and in spite of the determined and able conduct of prince Edward, the king's cause began to wear an unpromising aspect. The rabble of the great towns were the zealous adherents of Leicester; and in London, especially, the very dregs of the population were up in arms, headed and encouraged by the mayor, a violent and ill-principled man named Fitz-Richard, by whom large gangs were encouraged to pillage the wealthy and assail the peaceable. The season of Easter was especially marked by these outrages in the metropolis. A cry was at first raised against the Jews; from attacking them the mob proceeded to attack the Lombards, then the chief bankers and money-lenders; and, as usual in such cases, the violence speedily proceeded to be directed indiscriminately against all who had or were suspected of having anything to be plundered of. To such a height did the fury of the mob proceed, that the queen, who was then lodging in the Tower, became so seriously alarmed, that she left it by water with the intention of seeking safety at Windsor. But as her barge approached London Bridge, the rabble assailed her, not only with the coarsest abuse, but also with filth and stones, so that she was obliged to return to the Tower.

Prince Edward was unfortunately made prisoner during a parley at Oxford, and that event so much weakened the king's party, that Henry, finding Leicester's party triumphant and insolent all over the kingdom, was fain to treat for peace. Aware that they had the upper hand, the rebels would allow of no terms short of the full power formerly given to the twenty-four barons being again intrusted to a like number, of whom a list was given to the king; and as prince Edward had showed great talent and daring, Leicester stipulated that the treaty now made should remain in force during the life of the prince as well as that of the king. Henry had no choice but to submit; the barons restored their own creatures to office in the fortresses, the counties, the state, and the king's household,

and then summoned a parliament to meet them at Westminster, and determine upon future measures for the government of the country.

Prince Edward being restored to liberty by this treaty, lost no time in exerting himself to prepare for a new struggle against the insolent pretensions of Leicester; but though many powerful barons gave him their adhesions, including the lords of the Scotch and Welsh marches, Leicester's party was still too strong to give the young prince hopes of success; and the people clamouring loudly for peace, the prince and king proposed that the dispute between them and the barons should be referred to the arbitration of the king of France. That upright prince, on examination of the affair, decided that the king should be fully restored to his power and prerogatives on the one hand; and that, on the other hand, the people were entitled to all the benefits of the Great Charter. Unfortunately, though this decision was just, it only left the contending parties precisely where they were at the commencement of the quarrel, and stated in form that which was perfectly notorious before, namely, that the king had overstretched the power to which he was entitled, and that the barons had assumed a power to which they were not entitled. Leicester, to whose personal views peace was utterly destructive, represented to his party, that the award of the French king was wholly and unjustly on the side of Henry; he caused seventeen other barons to join him in a compact with the discontented Londoners, by which they mutually bound themselves never to make peace with the king but with the full and open concurrence of both these contracting parties; and while some of Leicester's friends rekindled the civil war in the provinces, he and Fitz-Richard did the like in London; so that the whole country once more bristled with arms and resounded with cries of war.

Finding civil war inevitable, the king and his brave son promptly made their preparations. In addition to their military vassals, whom they summoned from all quarters, they were joined by forces under Baliol, lord of Galloway, Brus, lord of Annandale, John Comyn, and other northern leaders of power. With this array they commenced their proceedings by laying siege to Northampton, in which was a strong garrison commanded by some of the principal barons. This place being speedily taken by assault, the royal army marched against Leicester and Nottingham, which opened their gates. Prince Edward now led a detachment against the property of the earl of Derby, whose lands were laid waste as a punishment of his disloyalty. Leicester, in the meanwhile, taking care to keep up a communication with London, upon the support of which he greatly depended, laid siege to Rochester castle, which was the only strong hold in Kent that still held out for the king, and which was ably defended by earl Warenne, its governor. The royal army, flushed with its success elsewhere, now marched in all haste to relieve this important fortress; and Leicester hearing of their approach, and fearing to be outnumbered in a disadvantageous position, hastily raised the siege and fell back upon London. From London Leicester sent proposals to Henry, but of so arrogant and exorbitant a character, that he must have been aware they would not be listened to; and, on a stern answer being returned by the king, Leicester publicly renounced his allegiance and marched the whole force he could collect towards Lewes, in Sussex, where the royal army lay; the bishop of Chichester giving the rebels a formal and general absolution, and assuring them that all who should fall in fighting against the king would undoubtedly go to heaven.

Leicester was a skilful general, and on this occasion he so ably conducted his march, that he almost surprised the royalists in their quarters; but the short time that elapsed between the alarm and the arrival of the rebels sufficed to enable the active prince Edward to march the army to the field in good order; one division being led by himself, the earl Warenne, and William de Valence, a second by the king of the Romans and his son Henry, and the third forming a reserve under the personal command of the king himself. The prince led his division against the enemy's vanguard, which was composed of the Londoners, who fled at the very first charge. Forgetting that his assistance might be required elsewhere, prince Edward allowed himself to be governed entirely by his headlong rage against these inveterately disloyal men, and pursued them, with great slaughter, for nearly five miles from the field of battle. This impetuosity of the prince lost his father the day; for Leicester, promptly availing himself of the prince's absence, charged so hotly upon the remaining two divisions of the royalists, that they were defeated with terrible loss, and both the king and his brother, the king of the Romans, were taken prisoners; as were Brus, Comyn, and all the most considerable leaders on the king's side. Earl Warenne, Hugh Bigod, and William de Valence escaped beyond sea; but prince Edward, unappalled by the consequences of his own imprudence, kept his force together, added to it as many as could be rallied of the defeated divisions, and presented so bold a front, that Leicester thought it more prudent to amuse him with a pretended desire to treat, than to urge him to a desperate attack. The earl accordingly proposed terms; and though they were severe, and such as under other circumstances the prince would have laughed to scorn, a little examination of the royal resources showed so hopeless a state of things, that Edward, despite his pride, was obliged to agree. These terms were, that prince Edward and Henry d'Allmaine, son of the king of the Romans, should surrender themselves prisoners in exchange for their fathers: that six arbiters should be named by the king of France, that these six should choose two others, also French, and that one Englishman should be named by these last; the council thus named to have power

definitively to decide upon all matters in dispute between Henry and his barons. In compliance with these terms, Edward and his cousin yielded themselves, and were sent prisoners to Dover castle; but Leicester, though he nominally gave the king his liberty, took care to keep him completely in his power, and made use of the royal name to forward his own designs. Thus the most loyal governors readily yielded up their important fortresses in the king's name; and when commanded by the king to disarm and disband, no loyal soldier could longer venture to keep the field. Leicester made, in fact, precisely what alterations and regulations he pleased, taking care to make them all in the king's name; and so evidently considered himself virtually in possession of the throne at which he had so daringly aimed, that he even ventured to treat with insolent injustice the very barons to whose participation of his disloyal labour he owed so much of its success. Having confiscated the large possessions of some eighteen of the royalist barons, and received the ransoms of a host of prisoners, he applied the whole spoil to his own use, and when his confederates demanded to share with them, he coolly told them that they already had a sufficiency in being safe from the attainders and forfeitures to which they would have been exposed but for his victory.

As for the reference to parties to be named by the king of France and his nominees, though the earl, in order to hoodwink prince Edward, laid so much stress upon it during their negotiation, he took not the slightest notice of it, but summoned a parliament, so selected that he well knew that his wishes would be law to them. And, accordingly, this servile senate enacted that all acts of sovereignty should require the sanction of a council of nine, which council could be wholly or in part changed at the will of the earls of Leicester and Gloucester and the bishop of Chichester, *or a majority of these three*. Now, the bishop of Chichester, being the mere convenient tool of Leicester, the earl was in reality in full power over the council—in other words, he was a despotic monarch in everything but name. The queen, secretly assisted by Louis of France, collected a force together, with an intention of invading England on behalf of her husband, in whose name the coast of England was lined with forces to oppose her; but the queen's expedition was first delayed and then broken up altogether by contrary winds. The papal court issued a bull against Leicester, but he threatened to put the legate to death if he appeared with it; and even when that legate himself became pope under the title of Urban IV., Leicester still ventured to brave him, so confidently did he rely upon the dislike to Rome that was entertained, not only by the people in general, but also by the great body of the English clergy.

A.D. 1265.—Still desiring to govern with a show of legality, Leicester summoned a new parliament, which more nearly resembled the existing form of that assembly than any which had preceded it. Before this parliament the earl of Derby—in the king's name—was accused and committed; and the earl of Gloucester was intended for the same or a worse fate by his powerful and unscrupulous colleague, but avoided all present collision with him by retiring from parliament and the council. This obvious quarrel between the earls gave great encouragement to the king's friends, and the general voice now began loudly to demand the release of the brave prince Edward, who had remained a close prisoner ever since the battle of Lewes. Leicester consented on conditions to release the prince, but he took care to keep both him and the king within his reach; and they were obliged to accompany him on his march against the earl of Gloucester, who had retired to his estates on the borders of Wales. While Leicester lay at Hereford, threatening the earl of Gloucester, the latter nobleman contrived to communicate with prince Edward, and so to arrange matters that the young prince escaped from the 'attendance,' as it was called, but really the confinement, in which he had been kept, and was speedily at the head of a gallant army, which daily received accession, when the glad news of his real liberty became generally known. Simon de Montfort, Leicester's son, hastened from London with an army to the assistance of his father. Prince Edward, having broken down the bridges of the Severn, turned away from the earl's position, and fell suddenly upon Simon de Montfort, who was carelessly encamped at Kenilworth, put his force utterly to the rout, and took the earl of Oxford and several other barons prisoners. Leicester, ignorant of this, had in the meantime managed to get his army across the Severn in boats, and halted at Evesham in Worcestershire, in daily expectation of the arrival of that force which had already been put to the rout. Prince Edward, vigilant himself and well served by his scouts, dexterously availed himself of the earl's misapprehension of the state of affairs, and having sent part of his army on its march towards the earl, bearing De Montfort's banners and otherwise provided for representing his routed force, he with the main body of his army took another route, so as to fall upon the earl in a different quarter; and so completely was the deception successful, that when Leicester at length discovered the real state of the case, he exclaimed, 'Now have I taught them to war to some purpose! May the Lord have mercy on our souls, for our bodies belong to prince Edward.' But there was not much time for reflection; Edward led his troops to the attack vigorously and in excellent order; Leicester's troops, on the other hand, were dispirited by their bad position and suffering much from sickness; and victory speedily declared for the prince. In the heat of the battle Leicester was struck down and immediately dispatched though he demanded quarter, and his whole force was routed, upwards of a hundred of the principal leaders and knights being taken prisoners. The king himself was on the point of losing his life. The earl had cruelly placed him in the

very front of the battle, and a knight who had already wounded him was about to repeat his blow, when Henry saved himself by exclaiming 'I am Henry of Winchester, your king.'

The victory of Evesham re-established the king's authority; and to the great credit of the royal party, no blood disgraced that victory. Not a single capital punishment took place; the family of Leicester alone was attainted to full effect; for though many other rebellious families were formally attainted, their sentences were reversed on payment of sums, trifling indeed when the heinousness of the offence they had committed is considered.

The kingdom being thus restored to peace and released from all danger from the turbulent Leicester, prince Edward departed for the Holy Land, where he so greatly distinguished himself that the infidels at length employed an assassin to destroy him; but though severely and even dangerously wounded, the prince fortunately escaped with life, and his assailant was put to death on the spot.

A.D. 1272.—Lest Gloucester should imitate his late rival in rebellion, Edward took that powerful noble with him to the East; but his own absence was very injurious to the public peace in England. No one presumptuous and even powerful baron, indeed, dared to dispute the crown with his royal master, but there was a general tendency to disorder among both barons and people; and the rabble of the great towns, and especially of London, became daily more openly violent and licentious. Henry was little able to contend against such a state of things. Naturally irresolute, he was now worn out with years, and with infirmities even beyond those incident to age. Perhaps, too, the disorder of his kingdom aggravated his sufferings; he perpetually expressed his wish for the return of his son, and lamented his own helplessness, and at length breathed his last on the 16th of November, 1272, aged sixty-four; having reigned fifty years, with little ease and with little credit, being obviously, from his youth upward, fitted rather for a private than for a public station.

CHAPTER XXIV.

The Reign of EDWARD I.

A.D. 1273.—PRINCE EDWARD was already as far as Sicily on his way home when he received tidings of the death of his father. He at the same time heard of the death of his own infant son John; and when it was observed to him that the former loss seemed to affect him the most painfully, he replied that the loss of his son might be supplied, but that of his father was final and irreparable.

Hearing that all was peaceable in England, he did not hasten home, but passed nearly twelve months in France. Being at Chalons, in Burgundy, he and some of his knights engaged in a tournament with the Burgundian chivalry, and so fierce was the spirit of rivalry that the sport became changed into earnest; blood was split on both sides, and so much damage was done before the fray could be terminated, that the engagement of this day, though commenced merely in sport and good faith, was seriously termed the little battle of Chalons.

A.D. 1274.—After visiting Paris, where he did homage to Philip the Hardy, then king of France, for the territory which he held in that kingdom, he went to Guienne to put an end to some disorders that existed there, and at length arrived in London, where he was joyfully received by his people. He was crowned at Westminster, and immediately turned his attention to the regulating of his kingdom, with an especial view to avoiding those disputes which had caused so much evil during the life of his father, and to putting an end to the bold practices of malefactors, by whom the country was at once much injured and disgraced.

Making the Great Charter the standard of his own duty towards the barons, he insisted upon their observing the same standard of conduct towards their vassals and inferiors, a course to which they were by no means inclined.

A.D. 1275.—Having summoned a parliament to meet him in February, 1275, he caused several valuable laws to be passed, weeded the magistracy of those who lay under the imputation of either negligence or corruption, and took measures for putting a check alike upon the robberies committed by the great, under the colour of justice and authority, and upon those which, in the loose state into which the kingdom had fallen during the close of the late reign, were so openly and daringly committed on the highways, that men of substance could only safely travel under escort or in great companies. For the suppression of this latter class of crimes the king showed a fierce and determined spirit, which might almost be judged to have been over-severe if we did not take into consideration the desperate extent to which the evil had arrived. The ordinary judges were intimidated, the ordinary police was weak and ill-organised, and the king therefore established a commission which was appointed to traverse the country, taking cognisance of every description of evil doing, from the pettiest to the most heinous, and inflicting condign and prompt punishment upon the offenders. The old Saxon mode of commuting other punishments for a pecuniary fine was applied by this commission to minor offences, and a large sum was thus raised, of which the king's treasury stood much in need. But the zeal of the commission—and perhaps some consideration of the state of the royal treasury—caused the fines to be terribly severe in proportion to the offences. There was, also, too great a readiness to commit upon slight testimony; the prisons were filled, and not with the guilty alone; the ruffian bands, who had so long and so mischievously infested the kingdom, were broken up, indeed, but peaceable subjects and honest men were much harassed and wronged at the same time. The king himself was so satisfied of the danger of in-

trusting such extensive powers to subjects, that when this commission had finished its labours it was annulled, and never afterwards called into activity.

Though Edward showed a real and creditable desire to preserve his subjects of all ranks from being preyed upon by each other, truth compels us to confess that he laid no similar restraint upon himself. Having made what profit he could by putting down the thieves and other offenders in general, Edward now turned for a fresh supply to that thrifty but persecuted people, the Jews. The counterfeiting of coin had recently been carried on to a most injurious extent, and the Jews being chiefly engaged in trafficking in money, this mischievous adulteration was very positively, though rather hastily, laid to their charge. A general persecution of the unhappy people commenced, of the fierceness and extent of which some judgement may be formed from the fact, that two hundred and eighty of them were hanged in London alone. While death was inflicted upon many in all parts of the kingdom, the houses and lands of still more were seized upon and sold. The king, indeed, with a delicacy which did not always characterise him in money matters, seized in the first instance only upon one half of the proceeds of these confiscations, the other being set apart as a fund for those Jews who might choose to embrace Christianity; but so few of the Jews availed themselves of the temptation thus held out to them, that the fund was in reality as much in the king's possession as though no such provision had been made. It had been well for Edward's character if this severity had been exercised against the Jews only for the crime with which they were charged; but urged probably still more by his want of money than by the bigoted hatred to this race which he had felt from his earliest youth, Edward shortly afterwards commenced a persecution against the whole of the Jews in England; not as coiners or as men being concerned in any other crimes, but simply as being Jews. The constant taxes paid by these people, and the frequent arbitrary levies of large sums upon them, made them in reality one of the most valuable classes of Edward's subjects; for whether their superior wealth was obtained by greater industry and frugality than others possessed, or by greater ingenuity and heartlessness in extortion, certain it is that it was very largely shared with their sovereign. But the slow process of tallages and forced loans did not suit Edward's purposes or wants; and he suddenly issued an order for the simultaneous banishment of the whole of the obnoxious race, and for their deprivation of the whole of their property, with the exception of so much as was requisite to carry them abroad. Upwards of fifteen thousand Jews were at once seized and plundered, under this most inexcusably tyrannous decree; and as the plundered victims left the country, many of them were robbed at the sea-ports of the miserable pittance which the king's cupidity had spared them, and some were murdered and thrown into the sea.

While taking this cruel and dishonest means of replenishing his treasury, Edward had at least the negative merit of frugally expending what he had unfairly acquired.

Aided by parliament with a grant of the fifteenth of all moveables, by the pope with a tenth of the church revenues for three years, and by the merchants with an export tax of half a mark on each sack of wool and a whole mark on every three hundred skins, he still was cramped in means; and as he was conscious that during the late long and weak reign many encroachments had been unfairly made upon the royal demesnes, he issued a commission to enquire into all such encroachments, and also to devise and seek the best and most speedy ways of improving the various branches of the revenue. The commission, not always able to draw the line between doubtful acquisitions and hereditary possessions of undoubted rightfulness, pushed their enquiries so far that they gave great offence to some of the nobility. Among others they applied to the earl Warenne, who had so bravely supported the crown against the ambition of Leicester during the late reign, for the title-deeds of his possessions; but the indignant earl drew his sword and said, that as his ancestors had acquired it by the sword so he would keep it and that he held it by the same right that Edward held his crown. This incident and the general discontent of the nobles determined the king to limit the commission for the future to cases of undoubted trespass and encroachment.

A.D. 1276.—Not even pecuniary necessities and the exertion necessary to supply them could prevent Edward's active and warlike spirit from seeking employment in the field. Against Llewellyn, prince of Wales, Edward had great cause of anger. He had been a zealous partisan of Leicester; and though he had been pardoned, in common with the other barons, yet there had always been something of jealousy towards him in the mind of Edward, which jealousy was now fanned into a flame by Llewellyn refusing to trust himself in England to do homage to Edward, unless the king's eldest son and some English nobles were put into the hands of the Welsh as hostages, and unless Llewellyn's bride, a daughter of the earl of Leicester, who had been captured on her way to Wales and was now detained at Edward's court, were released.

A.D. 1277.—Edward was not sorry to hear demands, his refusal to comply with which would give him the excuse he wished for to march into Wales. He accordingly gave Llewellyn no other answer than a renewal of his order to him to come and do homage, and an offer of a personal safe conduct.

Edward was both aided and urged in his invasion of Wales by David and Roderick brothers of Llewellyn, who, having been despoiled of their inheritance by that prince, had now sought shelter and taken service with his most formidable enemy

When the English approached Wales, Llewellyn and his people retired to the mountain fastnesses of Snowdown, judging that there he could maintain against Edward that desultory warfare, which had harassed and tired out the Saxon and the Norman invaders of an earlier day. But instead of exposing his forces to being harassed and beaten in detail, Edward guarded every pass which led to the inaccessible retreats of the enemy, and then coolly waited until sheer hunger should dispose them either to treat or to fight. Nor was it long in occurring; brave as Llewellyn was, he saw himself so completely hemmed in that he was unable to strike a single blow, and he was compelled to submit to the terms dictated to him by Edward. And severe these terms were: Llewellyn was to pay 50,000*l.* by way of expenses of the war; to do homage to the king; to allow all the barons of Wales, save four of those nearest to Snowdown, to swear fealty to Edward; to yield to the English crown the whole of the country between the river Conway and the county of Cheshire; to settle a thousand marks per year on his brother Roderick and half that sum upon David; and to give ten hostages for his future good and peaceable behaviour. All the articles having been duly performed with the exception of the payment of the large sum of 50,000*l.*, Edward forgave that; and considering his great love of money, or rather his great need of it, we may suppose that he gave up so large a sum only because the payment of it was rendered utterly impossible by the excessive poverty of the country.

But the imperfect subjection of a country like Wales could not coexist with peace. The Welsh, impetuous, proud, and courageous, remembered the noble and obstinate defences their land had formerly made; the English, on the other hand, referred in tones of insolence and taunting to the bloodless and undisputed conquest they had now made. The lords of the marches, too, connived at or encouraged many insults and depredations; a general spirit prevailed among the Welsh that preferred destruction itself to the insults they had to endure, and this spirit caused David to forget his personal wrongs, and to join hand and heart with his brother in opposing the English. The Welsh flew to arms, and Edward entered their country with an army that seemed to leave them but little hope. Luke de Tenny, commanding a detachment of Edward's troops, was attacked as he passed the Menai, and his defeat inspired the Welsh with the most extravagant hopes; but Llewellyn was shortly afterwards surprised by Mortimer, defeated, and killed in the action, together with upwards of two thousand of his men. David, who now succeeded to the Welsh sovereignty, exerted himself, but in vain, to collect another army sufficiently numerous to allow of his facing Edward in the open field. Terror had been struck into the inmost heart of the people by the defeat and death of Llewellyn. David, with a few followers, was obliged to seek shelter among the most difficult fastnesses of his native hills, and he was at length betrayed to Edward and sent in chains to Shrewsbury, where he was tried by the English peers, and condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, as a traitor —a sentence so disgraceful to Edward, that not even his deeds of a brighter and nobler character can wash off the stain of it.

The death of Llewellyn and David put an end to all hope of a successful opposition on the part of the Welsh, who fully submitted; English laws and English officers were permanently established, and Edward conferred the principality upon his eldest surviving son, the prince Edward, who was born at Caernarvon.

A.D. 1286.—Though, as was inevitable, some national rancours still existed between the two people, the Welsh were now so completely subdued, that Edward found himself at liberty to go abroad to interfere in the differences which had arisen between Alphonso, king of Arragon, and Philip the Fair of France, who disputed the kingdom of Sicily. While Edward was engaged in settling this dispute, which occupied him for nearly three years, his absence from England had given rise to numerous disorders and mischiefs. The administration of justice was openly defied by lawless bands; and robberies had become nearly as common as they were before the severe examples made at the beginning of his reign.

The disputes which existed in Scotland about the crown of that kingdom gave Edward an opportunity, of which he was not slow to avail himself, to interfere in the affairs of that nation; and at every interference he made larger and more obvious claims, not to the mere fealty of its king, but to its actual sovereignty.

A.D. 1292.—The two principal competitors were Baliol and Bruce. It was agreed that Edward should arbitrate between them, and the castles of Scotland were put into his hands. This demand, alone, would go far to show Edward's real intentions; yet, while he was fully bent upon subduing Scotland to his own rule, he put the dispute upon the true footing, as though he meant to act justly, in the following question to the commissioners appointed to report to him on the case, and to the principal legists of Europe. Has a person descended from an elder sister, but farther removed by one degree, the preference as to succession to a kingdom, to one descended from the younger sister, but one degree nearer to the common stock? This question was answered him in the affirmative; and Baliol, being in the first category, was pronounced by Edward to be the rightful sovereign; a decision which so much enraged Bruce that he joined himself to lord Hastings, who was another claimant, but only for a portion of the kingdom, which he maintained to be divisible.

A.D. 1293.—John Baliol having taken the oath of fealty to Edward as his feudal superior, was put into possession both of his throne and the fortresses of the kingdom. But having thus far acted with apparent good faith, Edward now began to exercise his feudal authority in so vexatious a manner, that it was quite evident he

desired either to cause Baliol to throw up his sovereignty in disgust, or to burst out into 'some sudden flood of mutiny,' such as would by the feudal usages cause the forfeiture of his fief. He gave every encouragement to appeals to his authority from that of the Scottish king, harassed Baliol by repeated summonses to London upon matters comparatively trivial, and instead of allowing him to answer by his procurator, compelled him to appear personally at the bar of the English parliament. Such treatment could not fail to urge even the quiet temper of Baliol into anger, and he at length returned into Scotland with the full determination to abide the chances of a war rather than continue to endure such insults. In this determination he was encouraged by a dispute in which Edward was now involved in another quarter.

It will readily be understood that in an age in which robbery and violence were common on land, piracy and violence were no less common upon the sea; and both French and English sailors were but too ready to engage in contests, without care as to the possible consequences to their respective countries. It chanced that a Norman and an English vessel met off Bayonne, and both sending a boat ashore for water the parties quarrelled at the spring. From words they proceeded to blows, and one of the Normans having drawn a knife, an Englishman closed with him; both fell and the Norman died on the spot; the English alleging that he accidentally fell upon his own knife, the Normans loudly affirming that he was stabbed. The Normans complained to king Philip, who bade them avenge themselves without troubling him. The words, if lightly spoken, were taken in all seriousness; the Normans seized upon an English ship, hanged some of the crew side by side with an equal number of dogs, and dismissed the rest of the ship's company, tauntingly assuring them that they had now satisfactorily avenged the Norman sailor who was killed at Bayonne.

When this intelligence reached the mariners of the Cinque ports they retaliated upon French vessels, and thus an actual war was soon raging between the two nations without a formal declaration of hostility having been made or sanctioned by either sovereign. As the quarrel proceeded it grew more and more savage; seamen of other nations took part in it, the Irish and Dutch joining the English, the Genoese and Flemish joining the French. At length an incident in this singular war rendered it impossible for Edward and Philip any longer to remain mere spectators of it. A Norman fleet, numbering two hundred vessels, sailed southward for a cargo of wine, and to convey a considerable military force; and this powerful fleet seized on every English ship it met with, plundered the goods, and hanged the seamen. This news more than ever enraged the English sailors, who got together a well-manned fleet of sixty sail, and went in quest of the Normans, whom they met with and defeated, taking or sinking most of the vessels; and these being closely stowed with military, and the English giving no quarter, it was asserted that the Norman loss was not less than fifteen thousand men: an enormous loss at any time, but especially in an age when battles which altered the destinies of empires were frequently decided at a far less expense of life.

Philip now demanded redress from Edward, who coldly replied that the English courts were open to any Frenchman who had complaints to make; and then he offered to refer the whole quarrel to the pope, or to any cardinals whom himself and Philip might agree upon. But the parties most concerned in the quarrel were by this time too much enraged to hold their hands on account of negotiations; and Philip, finding that the violence was in no wise discountenanced by Edward, summoned him, as duke of Guienne and vassal of France, to appear in his liege lord's court at Paris and answer for the offences his subjects had committed.

A. D. 1294.—The king instructed John St. John to put Guienne into a state of defence, and at the same time endeavoured to ward off attack from it by sending his brother the earl of Lancester to Paris to mediate with Philip. The earl of Lancaster having married the queen of Navarre, mother of Jane, the queen of France, the latter offered him her aid in accommodating the dispute; and the queen dowager of France joined her, in all apparent good faith. But the two princesses were acting most insidiously. They assured the earl that if Edward would give Philip seizin or possession of Guienne, to heal the wound his honour had received from his sub-vassals of that province, Philip would at once be satisfied and immediately restore it. To this Edward agreed, and gave up the province as soon as his citation to Paris was withdrawn; but the moment he had done so, he was again cited, and on his non-appearance, condemned to forfeit Guienne. The trick thus played by Philip was so precisely similar to that which Edward had himself planned for Scotland, that it is truly wonderful how so astute a prince could ever have fallen blindfold into such an uncovered pit.

A. D. 1295.—Edward sent an army to Guienne, under the command of his nephew, John de Bretagne, earl of Richmond, together with John St. John, and other officers of known courage and ability; and as his projects on Scotland did not enable him to spare so many regular soldiers as were needed, he on this occasion opened all the gaols of England and added the most desperate of their tenants to the force he sent over to France.

While a variety of petty actions were carried on in France, Philip endeavoured to cause a diversion in his favour by entering into an alliance with John Baliol, king of Scotland: and he, smarting under the insults of Edward and longing for revenge, eagerly entered into this alliance, and strengthened it by stipulating a marriage between his own son and the daughter of Charles de Valois.

A.D. 1296.—Conscious how deep was the offence he had given to Baliol, Edward had too carefully watched him to be unaware of his alliance with France; and having now obtained considerable supplies from his parliament, which was more popularly composed than heretofore, he prepared to chastise Scotland on the slightest occasion. In the hope, therefore, of creating one, he sent a haughty message desiring Baliol, as his vassal, to send him forces to aid him in his war with France. He next demanded that the castles of Berwick, Roxburgh, and Jedburgh should be placed in his hands during the French war, as security for the Scottish fidelity; and then summoned Baliol to appear before the English parliament at Newcastle. Baliol, faithful to his own purpose and to the treaty that he had made with Philip, complied with none of these demands; and Edward having thus received the ostensible offence which he desired, advanced upon Scotland with an army of thirty thousand foot and four thousand horse.

The military skill of Baliol being held in no very high esteem in Scotland, a council of twelve of the most eminent nobles was appointed to advise and assist him—in other words to act, for the time, at least, as 'viceroys over him.'

Under the management of this council vigorous preparations were made to oppose Edward. An army of forty thousand foot and about five hundred horse marched, after a vain and not very wisely planned attempt upon Carlisle, to defend the south-eastern provinces threatened with Edward's first attacks. Already, however, divisions began to appear in the Scottish councils; and the Bruces, the earl of March and Angus, and other eminent Scots, saw so much danger to their country from such a divided host attempting to defend it against so powerful a monarch, that they took the opportunity to make an early submission to him. Edward had crossed the Tweed at Coldstream without experiencing any opposition of either word or deed; but here he received a magniloquent letter from Baliol, who having obtained from pope Celestine an absolution of both himself and his nation from the oath they had taken, now solemnly renounced the homage he had done, and solemnly defied Edward.

Little regarding mere words, Edward had from the first moment of commencing his enterprise been intent upon deeds. Berwick had been taken by assault, seven thousand of the garrison put to the sword, and Sir William Douglas, the governor, made prisoner; and now twelve thousand men, under the command of the veteran earl Warenne, were despatched against Dunbar, which was garrisoned by the very best of Scotland's nobility and gentry. Alarmed lest Dunbar should be taken, and their whole country thus be laid open to the English, the Scots marched an immense army to the relief of that place; but the earl Warenne, though his numbers were so inferior, attacked them so vigorously that they fled with a loss of twenty thousand men; and Edward with his main army coming upon the following day, the garrison perceived that further assistance was hopeless, and surrendered at discretion. The castles of Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling now surrendered to Edward in rapid succession; and all the southern parts of Scotland being subdued, Edward sent detachments of Irish and Welsh, skilled in mountain warfare, to follow the fugitives to their recesses amidst the mountains and islets of the north.

But the rapid successes which already attended the arms of Edward had completely astounded the Scots, and put them into a state of depression proportioned to the confidence they had formerly felt of seeing the invader beaten back. Their heavy losses and the dissensions among their leaders rendered it impossible for them to get together anything like an imposing force; and Baliol himself put the crowning stroke to his country's calamity by hastening, ere the resources of his people could be fully ascertained, to make his submission once more to that invader to whom he had but lately sent so loud and so gratuitous a defiance. He not merely apologised in the most humble terms for his breach of fealty to his liege lord, but made a solemn and final surrender of his crown; and Edward, having received the homage of the king, marched northward only to be received with like humility by the people, not a man of whom approached him but to pay him homage or tender him service. Having thus, to all outward appearance, at least, reduced Scotland to the most perfect obedience, Edward marched his army south and returned to England, carrying with him the celebrated inauguration stone of the Scots, to which there was a superstition attached, that wherever this stone should be, there should be the government of Scotland. Considering the great power which such legends had at that time, Edward was not to blame, perhaps, for this capture; but the same cannot be said of his wanton order for the destruction of the national records.

Baliol, though his weak character must have very effectually placed him beyond the fear or suspicion of Edward, was confined in the Tower of London for two years, at the end of which time he was allowed to retire to France, where he remained during the rest of his life in that private station for which his limited talents and his timid temper fitted him. The government of Scotland was intrusted to earl Warenne, who, both from policy and predilection, took care that Englishmen were preferred to all offices of profit and of influence.

In Guienne Edward's arms had been less successful; his brother the earl of Lancaster had at first obtained some advantages; but, he dying, the earl of Lincoln, who succeeded to the command, was not able to make any progress. Edward's success in Wales and Scotland had, however, made him more than ever impatient of failure, and he now projected such a confederacy against the king of France as he imagined

could not fail to wrest Guienne from him. In pursuance of this plan, he gave his daughter the princess Elizabeth to John, earl of Holland; and at the same time stipulated to pay to Guy, earl of Flanders, the sum of 75,000*l.* as his subsidy for joining him in the invasion of the territory of their common enemy, Philip of France. Edward's plan, a very feasible one, was to assemble all his allies and march against Philip's own capital, when Philip would most probably be glad to remove the threatened danger from himself by giving up Guienne. As a large sum of money was requisite to carry out the king's designs, he applied to parliament, who granted him—the barons and knights a twelfth of all moveables, and the boroughs an eighth. But if the king laid an unfair proportion of his charges upon the boroughs, he proposed still more unfairly to tax the clergy, from whom he demanded a fifth of their moveables. Pope Boniface VIII. on mounting the papal throne had issued a bull forbidding the princes of all Christian nations to tax the clergy without the express consent of Rome, and equally forbidding the clergy to pay any tax unless so sanctioned; and the English clergy gladly sheltered themselves under that bull, now that the king proposed to burthen them so shamefully out of all proportion to his charges upon other orders of his subjects. Though Edward was much enraged at the tacit opposition of the clergy, he did not instantly proceed to any violence, but caused all the barns of the clergy to be locked up and prohibited all payment of rent to them. Having given thus much intimation of his determination to persist in his demand, he appointed a new synod to confer with him upon its reasonableness; but Robert de Winchelsea, archbishop of Canterbury, who had suggested to Boniface that bull of which the clergy were now availing themselves, plainly told the king that the clergy owed obedience to both a temporal and a spiritual sovereign, and that the obedience due to the former would bear no comparison as to importance with that which was due to the latter; and that consequently it was impossible that they could pay a tax demanded by the king when they were expressly forbidden to pay it by the pope.

A.D. 1297.—Really in need of money, and at the same time equally desirous of avoiding an open quarrel with the pope on the one hand, and of making any concessions to obtain a relaxation of his bull on the other, Edward grimly replied that they who would not support the civil power could not fairly expect to be protected by it. He accordingly gave orders to all his judges to consider the clergy as wholly out of his protection. He, of course, was obeyed to the letter. If anyone had a suit against a clerk the plaintiff was sure of success, whatever the merits of his case, for neither the defendant nor his witness could be heard; on the other hand, no matter how grossly a clerk might have been wronged in matters not cognizable by the ecclesiastical courts, all redress was refused him at the very threshold of those courts whose doors were thrown open to the meanest layman in the land.

Of such a state of things the people, already sufficiently prone to plunder, were not slow to avail themselves; and to be a clerk and to be plundered and insulted were pretty nearly one and the same thing. The rents both in money and kind were cut off from the convents; and if the monks, in peril of being starved at home, rode forth in search of subsistence, robbers, emboldened by the king's rule, if not actually prompted by his secret orders, robbed them pitilessly of money, apparel, and horses, and sent them back to their convents still poorer and in more pitiable plight than they had left them. The archbishop of Canterbury issued a general excommunication against all who took part in these shameful proceedings; but it was little attended to, and had no effect in checking the spoliation of the clergy, upon which the king looked with the utmost indifference, or, rather, with the double satisfaction arising from feeling that the losses of the clergy would at length induce them to submit, even in despite of their veneration for the papal commands, and that the people were thus gradually accustoming themselves to look with less awe upon the papal power. Whether, in wishing the latter consummation Edward wished wisely for his successors we need not now stay to discuss; in anticipating the former consummation he most assuredly was quite correct; for the clergy soon began to grow weary of a passive struggle in which they were being tortured imperceptibly and incessantly, without either the dignity of martyrdom or the hope of its reward. The northern province of York had from the first paid the fifth demanded by the king, not in any preference of his orders to those of the pope, nor, certainly, with any peculiar and personal predilection for being taxed beyond their ability, but because their proximity to Scotland gave them a fearful personal interest in the ability of the king to have sufficient force at his command. The bishops of Salisbury and Ely, and some others, next came in and offered not indeed *literally* to disobey the pope by paying the fifth directly to Edward, but to deposit equivalent sums in certain appointed places whence they could be taken by the king's collectors. Those who could not command ready money for this sort of commutation of the king's demand privily entered into recognizances for the payment at a future time, and thus either directly or indirectly, mediately or immediately, the whole of the clergy paid the king's exorbitant demand, though reason warranted them in a resistance which had the formal sanction, nay the express command, of their spiritual sovereign. In this we see a memorable instance of the same power applied to different men; the power that would have crushed the weak John, however just his cause, was now, with a grim and triumphant contempt, set at nought by the intrepid and politic Edward, though it opposed him in a demand which was both shameful in

its extent and illegal even in the manner of its imposition.

But with all this assistance the supplies which Edward obtained still fell far short of his necessities, and the manner in which he contrived to make up the difference was characterised by the injustice which was the one great blot upon what would otherwise have been a truly glorious reign. Though the merchants had ever shown great willingness to assist him, he now arbitrarily fixed a limit to the exportation of wool, and as arbitrarily levied a duty of forty shillings on each sack, being something more than a third of its full value! Nor did his injustice stop here; this, indeed, was the least of it; for he immediately afterwards seized all the wool that remained in the kingdom, and all the leather, and sold them for his own benefit. The sheriffs of each county were empowered to seize for him two thousand quarters of wheat and two thousand of oats. Cattle and other requisites were seized in the same wholesale and unceremonious fashion; and though these seizures were made under promise to pay, the sufferers naturally placed little reliance upon such promise made under such circumstances. In recruiting his army Edward acted quite as arbitrarily as in provisioning it; compelling every proprietor of land to pay the yearly value of twenty pounds, either to serve in person or find a proxy, even though his land were not held by military tenure. Notwithstanding the great popularity of Edward, and the terror of his power, he could not under such circumstances of provocation prevent the people from murmuring; nor were the murmurs confined to the poorer sort or to those who were personally sufferers from the king's arbitrary conduct, but the highest nobles also felt the outrage that was committed upon the general principle of liberty. Of this feeling Edward was made aware as soon as he had completed his preparations. He divided his forces into two armies, intending to assail France on the side of Flanders with one of them, and to send the other to assail it on the side of Gascony. But when everything was ready and the troops actually assembled on the sea-coast, Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk and marshal of England, and Bohun, earl of Hereford and constable of England, to whom he intended to intrust the Gascon portion of his expedition, refused to take charge of it, on the plea that by their offices they were only bound to attend upon his person during his wars. Little used to be thwarted, the king was greatly enraged at this refusal, and in the high words that passed upon the occasion he exclaimed to the earl of Hereford, 'By God, sir earl, you shall either go or hang;' to which Hereford coolly replied, 'By God, sir king, I will neither go nor hang;' and he immediately left the expedition, taking with him above thirty other powerful barons and their numerous followers.

Finding himself thus considerably weakened in actual numbers, and still more so by the moral effect this dispute had upon men's minds, Edward now gave up the Gascon portion of his expedition; but the opposition was yet not at an end; for the two earls now refused to perform their duty on the ground that their ancestors had never served in Flanders. Not knowing how far the same spirit might have spread, Edward feared to proceed to extremities, aggravated and annoying as this disobedience was, but contented himself with appointing Geoffrey de Geyneville and Thomas de Berkeley to act for the recusant officers on the present occasion; for as the officers of marshal and constable were hereditary, he could only have deprived the offenders of them by the extreme measure of attainder. He farther followed up this conciliatory policy by taking the primate into favour again, in hope of thus securing the interest of the church; and he assembled a great meeting of the nobles in Westminster Hall, to whom he addressed a speech in apology for what they might deem exceptionable in his conduct. He pointed out how strongly the honour of the crown and the nation demanded the warlike measures he proposed to take, and how impossible it was to take those measures without money; he at the same time protested, that should he ever return he would take care that every man should be reimbursed, and that wherever there was a wrong in his kingdom that wrong should be redressed. At the same time that he made these promises and assured his hearers that they might rely upon his fulfilment of them, he strongly urged them to lay aside all animosities among themselves, and only strive with each other who should do most towards preserving the peace and upholding the credit of the nation, to be faithful to him during his absence, and, in the event of his falling in battle, to be faithful to his son.

Though there was something extremely touching in the politic pleading of the king, coming as it did from a man usually so fierce and resolute, his arbitrary conduct had injured too widely, and stung too deeply, to admit of words, however pathetic, winning him back the friendship of his people; and just as he was embarking at Winchelsea, a remonstrance which Hereford and Norfolk had framed was presented to him in their names and in those of other considerable barons. In this remonstrance, strongly though courteously worded, complaint was generally made of his recent system of government, and especially of his perpetual and flagrant violation of the Great Charter and of the Charter of the Forests, and his arbitrary taxation and seizures, and they demanded redress of these great and manifest grievances. The circumstances under which this memorial was delivered to the king furnished him with an excuse of which he was by no means sorry to avail himself, seeing that he could neither deny the grievances nor find the means of redressing them: and he briefly replied, that he could not decide upon matters of such high importance while at a distance from his council and in all the bustle of embarkation.

But the two earls and their partisans

were resolved that the king's embarkation should rather serve than injure their cause: and when the prince of Wales and the government summoned them to meet in parliament they did so with a perfect army of attendants, horse and foot, and would not even enter the city until the guardianship of the gates was given up to them. The council hesitated to trust so much to men who had assumed so hostile an attitude; but the archbishop of Canterbury, who sided with the earls, overruled all objections and argued away all doubts; the gates were given into the custody of the malcontents, and thus both the prince and the parliament were virtually put into their power.

That power, however, they used with an honourable moderation, demanding only that the two charters should be solemnly confirmed by the king and duly observed for the time to come; that a clause should be added to the Great Charter securing the people from being taxed without the consent of parliament; and that they who had refused to attend the king to Flanders should be held harmless on that account and received into the king's favour. Both the prince of Wales and his council agreed to these really just and moderate terms; but when they were submitted to Edward, in Flanders, he at first objected to agree to them, and even after three days' deliberation he was only with difficulty persuaded to do so.

The various impediments which the king had met with in England caused him to reach Flanders too late in the season for any operations of importance; and enabled Philip to enter the Low Countries before his arrival, and make himself master, in succession, of Lisle, St. Omer's, Courtrai, and Ypres. The appearance of Edward with an English army of fifty thousand men put an end to this march of prosperity; and Philip not only was compelled to retreat on France, but had every reason to fear that he should be early invaded there. Edward, however, besides being anxious for England, exposed as it was to the hostilities of the Scots, was disappointed of a considerable force for the aid of which he had paid a high price to Adolph, king of the Romans; and both monarchs being thus disposed to at least temporary peace, they agreed to a truce of two years and to submit their quarrel to the judgement of the pope.

A.D. 1298.—Though both Edward and Philip expressly maintained that they referred their quarrel to the pope, not as admitting the papal right to interfere in the temporal affairs of the nations, but as respecting his personal wisdom and justice, he was too anxious to be seen by the world in the character of mediator between two such powerful princes, to make any exception to the terms upon which his mediation was accepted. He examined their differences, and proposed that a permanent peace should be made by them on the following terms; viz., that Edward, who was now a widower, should espouse Margaret, sister of Philip, and that the prince of Wales should espouse Isabella, daughter of Philip, and that Guienne should be restored to England. Philip wished to include the Scots in his peace with Edward, but the latter was too inveterate against Scotland to listen to that proposal, and after some discussion the peace was made, Philip abandoning the Scots, and Edward in turn abandoning the Flemings. So careless of their allies are even the greatest monarchs when their own interests call for the sacrifice of those allies!

It is but seldom that projects of conquest will bear scrutiny; still more seldom that they merit praise. But certainly, looking merely at the geographical relations of England and Scotland, it is impossible to deny that the latter seems intended by nature to form one kingdom with the former. It is probable that Scotland would never have made a struggle after the too prudent submission of John Baliol, had the English rule been wisely managed. But earl Warenne was obliged by failing health to retire from the bleak climate of Scotland; and Ormesby and Cressingham, who were then left in possession of full authority, used, or rather abused it in such wise as to arouse to hate and indignation all high-spirited Scots, of whatever rank, and of whatever moderation in their former temper towards England. Their shameful and perpetual oppressions, in fact, excited so general a feeling of hostility, that only a leader had been for some time wanting to produce an armed revolt, and such a leader at length appeared in the person of the afterwards famous WILLIAM WALLACE.

William Wallace, a gentleman of moderate fortune, but of an ancient and honourable family in the west of Scotland, though his efforts on behalf of his country deserve at least a part of the enthusiastic praise which his countrymen bestow upon him, would probably have died unknown, and without one patriotic struggle, but for that which often leads to patriotic efforts—a private quarrel. Having, like too many of his fellow-countrymen, been grossly insulted by an English officer, Wallace killed him on the spot. Under so tyrannous a rule as that of the English in Scotland, such a deed left the doer of it but little mercy to hope; and Wallace betook himself to the woods, resolved, as his life was already forfeit to the law, to sell it as dearly as possible, and to do away with whatever obloquy might attach to his first act of violence by mixing up for the future his own cause with that of his country. Of singular bodily as well as mental powers, and having a perfect acquaintance with every morass and mountain path, the suddenness with which Wallace, with the small band of outlaws he at first collected round him, fell upon the English oppressors, and the invariable facility and safety with which he made good his retreat, soon made him looked up to by men who longed for the deliverance of their country, and cared not if they owed it even to a hand guilty of deliberate murder. The followers of Wallace thus speedily became more and more numerous, and from the mere out-

law's band grew at length to the patriot's army.

Every new success with which Wallace struck terror into the hearts of the English increased the admiration of his countrymen; but though the number of his adherents was perpetually on the increase, for a long time he was not joined by any men of rank and consequence sufficient to stamp his exertions with a national character. But this great difficulty was at length removed from his path. After a variety of minor successes he prepared his followers to attack Scone, which was held by the hated English justiciary Ormesby; and that tyrannical person being informed by his spies of the deadly intentions of Wallace towards him, was so alarmed, that he precipitately departed into England; and his example was closely followed by all the immediate accomplices and tools of his cruelty and tyranny.

The panic flight of Ormesby added greatly to the effect which the courage and conduct of Wallace had already produced upon the minds of his fellow-countrymen; and even the great, who hitherto had deemed it prudent to keep aloof from him, now showed him both sympathy and confidence. Sir William Douglas openly joined him, and Robert Bruce secretly encouraged him; the smaller gentry and the people at large gave him the full confidence and support of which the efforts he had already made proved him capable of profiting; and so general was the Scottish movement, that in a short time the English government was virtually at an end in Scotland. The more sanguine among the Scots already began to hope that their country's independence was completely reestablished, but the wiser and more experienced judged that England would not thus easily part with a conquest so desirable and, perhaps, even essential to her own national safety; and their judgement was soon justified by the appearance of earl Warenne at Irvine, in Annandale, with an army of upwards of forty thousand men; a force which, if prudently used under the existing circumstances, must on the instant have undone all that Wallace had as yet done for the enfranchisement of his country. For the mere appearance of so vast and well-appointed an army, under the command of a leader of the known valour and ability of Warenne, struck such terror into many of the Scottish nobles who had joined Wallace, that they hastened to submit to Warenne, and to save their persons and property by renewing the oath of fealty to Edward: while many who were secretly in correspondence with Wallace, and among his most zealous friends, were compelled, though sorely against their will, to join the English. Wallace, then, being thus weakened, a prudent use of the vast English force was all that was required to have insured success; and had Warenne acted solely upon his own judgement, success most certainly would have been his. But Cressingham, the treasurer, whose oppressions had only been second to those of Ormesby, was so transported by personal rage, and had so much influence over Warenne, as to mislead even that veteran commander into an error as glaring as in its consequence it was mischievous.

Urged by Cressingham, Warenne, who had advanced to Cambuskenneth, on the banks of the Forth, resolved to assail Wallace, who had most skilfully and strongly posted himself on the opposite bank. Sir Richard Lundy, a native Scotchman, but sincerely and zealously attached to the English cause, in vain pointed out to Warenne the disadvantages under which he was about to make the attack. The order was given, and the English began their march over the bridge which crossed the river at that point. Wallace allowed the leading divisions to reach his side of the river, but before they could fully form in order of battle he gave the word, his troops rushed upon the English in overwhelming force, and in an incredibly short time the battle became a mere rout, the English flying in every direction, and thousands of them being put to the sword or drowned in their vain endeavours to escape from their enraged enemies. Cressingham, who behaved with much gallantry during the short but murderous conflict, was among the number of the English slain; and so inveterate and merciless was the hatred with which his tyranny had inspired the Scots, that they actually flayed his corpse and had his skin tanned and converted into girths and belts. The great loss sustained by the English upon the field, and the complete panic into which the survivors were thrown, left Warenne no alternative but to retreat into England. The castles of Berwick and Roxburgh were speedily taken, and Scotland saw herself free once more, and loudly hailed Wallace as her deliverer. The title of regent was bestowed upon him by acclamation; and both from being elated by his almost marvellous success, and from the absolute famine which prevailed in Scotland, he was now induced to carry the war into England. He accordingly marched his troops across the border, and, spreading them over the northern counties, plundered and destroyed without mercy, till at length having penetrated as far as the bishoprick of Durham, he obtained enormous booty, with which he returned in triumph to Scotland.

The news of this great triumph of the Scots reached Edward while in Flanders, where, fortunately, he had just completed a truce with France. He was thus at liberty to hasten to England and endeavour to retrieve the loss of his most valued conquest. Sensible that his past conduct had greatly offended as well as alarmed his people, of whose utmost aid and zeal he now stood in so much need, his first care was to exert every art to regain his lost popularity. To the citizens of London he paid his court by restoring to them the privilege of electing their own magistrates, of which his father had deprived them; and he gave ostentatious directions for exact enquiry to be made as to the value of corn, cattle, and other commodities, which a short time before he had ordered to be seized; thus leading the more sanguine

among the sufferers to believe, and to persuade others, that he intended to pay for the goods thus violently obtained. To the nobles he equally endeavoured to recommend himself by solemn professions of his determination to observe the charters; and having thus ingratiated himself with all orders of men, he made extensive levies and preparations for the re-conquest of Scotland, against which he was soon enabled to march with an army of nearly a hundred thousand men.

The magnitude and excellent equipment of Edward's force was not his only advantages; dissensions were rife and fierce among the Scots at the very moment when it was obvious that nothing but the most unanimous and disinterested zeal could give them even a chance of success. Wallace had done wonders in raising his country from the extreme degradation and despair in which he had found her; but then Wallace was only the son of a private gentleman, and his elevation to the important post of regent gave deep offence to the proud nobility, each of whom deemed himself more worthy than the other. Perceiving both the cause and the danger of the divided spirit, Wallace showed himself truly noble in soul, by disinterestedly resigning the authority he had so well won, and retaining only the command of his immediate followers, who would have obeyed no other commander; and the chief authority was divided between Cummin of Badenoch and the steward of Badenoch, who agreed in concentrating all the Scottish forces at Falkirk, there to await the attack of the English. Each of the Scottish commanders-in-chief headed a great division of their army, while a third division was under the immediate command of Wallace himself. The pikemen formed the front of each division, and the intervals between the three were occupied by strong bodies of archers; and as the English had a vast superiority in cavalry, the whole front of the Scottish position was protected as well as possible by stakes strongly secured to each other by ropes.

Edward, on arriving in front of his enemy, formed his army, also, into three divisions. His archers, probably the most skilful in the world, commenced the attack, and so galled the Scottish bowmen, that they were speedily seized with a panic and fled from the field. The fearful shower of the English bolts and arrows was now turned upon the Scottish pikemen, and the charge of the English pikemen and cavalry followed up the advantage thus obtained. The Scots fought bravely and well, but the superiority of the English, in discipline and equipments as well as in numbers, was so great, that the utmost efforts of the Scots were in vain, and they were at length completely routed, with a loss of 10,000 men, but which the popular lamentation rated as high as fifty thousand.

Even in this appalling scene of confusion and slaughter, Wallace contrived to keep his division unbroken, and to lead it in good order behind the river Carron, lining the bank of that river in such wise as to render the attack of the English highly perilous, if not actually impracticable.

An interview here took place between Wallace and young Bruce, who, despite his own high birth and not weak claim upon the Scottish royalty, was then serving in Edward's army. The account given by the Scottish historians of this interview is so precise as to be somewhat suspicious, especially as authors quite as credible affirm that Bruce was not then with the English army, or even in that part of the country. If, however, the interview took place, the subsequent conduct of Bruce shows, that, so far from succeeding in his endeavour to induce Wallace to struggle no longer for his country's independence, he was himself converted by the great hero to a nobler way of thinking.

A.D. 1299.—While Wallace still remained unconquered and in some force, Edward felt that his triumph was not complete; but after having subjected the south of Scotland, Edward was obliged, by sheer want of provisions, to march his troops back into England, and to leave the north of Scotland still unconquered.

A.D. 1300.—The Scots having in vain applied for aid to Philip of France, now betook themselves to the mediation of Rome; and Boniface wrote on their behalf a long and justly argued letter to Edward, in which he strongly put forward all the solid arguments that existed against his equally unjust and arrogant claim to Scotland. But as the ambition of Boniface was fully equal to his ability, he weakened the justice of his opposition to the arrogant claim of Edward, by putting forward an equally arrogant and unfounded one on the part of Rome, to which he asserted Scotland to have by right appertained from the most remote antiquity.

The real claim of Edward was plainly founded upon the right of the strongest; his only justification was to be found in the geographical connection of Scotland and England. But, in replying to the letter of the pope, Edward advanced arguments which were quite as remarkable for grave and absurd assurance as even the claim of the pope himself. Commencing with Brutus the Trojan, Edward cited and assumed historical sayings and doings down to the time of Henry II. in support of his claim; but carefully leaving out everything that told for Scotland, though he commenced his elaborate document by a solemn appeal to the Almighty to witness his sincerity and good faith! It is still more extraordinary that Edward's pretensions were backed by no fewer than a hundred and four barons, who to his defence of his claims, added, that though they had condescended to justify them to Boniface, they by no means acknowledged his right to judge, and that if their sovereign were willing to give up the prerogatives which they were determined at all hazards and all sacrifices to uphold, they for their parts would in no wise allow him to do so.

A.D. 1303.—While Edward was thus endeavouring to give to a politic and tempt-

ing usurpation the character of a just and ancient claim, the Scots, relieved from his immediate and fatal activity, were exerting themselves for another effort in behalf of their national independence. John Cummin was made regent, and he did not content himself with keeping a force together in the north, but made frequent incursions upon the subdued southern provinces. John de Segrave, whom Edward had left as his representative in Scotland, at length led out his army to oppose the Scots, and a long and sanguinary action took place at Roslin, near Edinburgh, in which the English were completely defeated, and the whole of the southern provinces freed from them by the regent.

Edward, to his infinite indignation, now perceived that he had not to complete merely, but actually to recommence, the conquest of this brave people, and he made preparations for so doing with his accustomed vigour and activity. Assembling naval as well as military forces, he entered Scotland with a large army, which his navy, sailing along the coast, put out of all danger as regarded want of provision. The superiority which this arrangement gave to Edward rendered the resistance of the Scots as hopeless as it was gallant. Place after place was taken, the chieftains in succession fell into utter despair, and Cummin himself and his most zealous friends at length submitted. But though Edward had marched triumphantly from one end of the country to the other, and had received the submission of the ablest and the bravest, his conquest was still incomplete, for Wallace was still at liberty and was still undaunted.

A.D. 1304-5.—Edward on many occasions during his busy reign displayed great talents, but his really clear judgement was usually vanquished when it became opposed by his fierce love of arbitrary rule. He had now done enough to display his power, and his truest policy would have been to endeavour to reconcile the existing generation of Scots to their loss of real independence by flattering them with as much as possible of the appearance of it, by governing them by their own laws, and by indulging them in their national customs, until, habituated to rule and influenced by the propensity of imitation, which is everywhere so strong, they should gradually assimilate themselves in those respects to their conquerors. But this slow though sure process did not accord with his passionate disposition; and he not only made sweeping alterations in the Scotch laws, but still more deeply wounded the national pride by the malignant zeal with which he destroyed all their most precious records, and most valued documents.

By this injudicious cruelty he powerfully excited the hatred of the Scots, and that hatred was now pushed to its utmost excess by what even an English historian can only term the murder of the brave but unfortunate Wallace. Resolved never to despair of his country, and never to cease in his exertions for her but when he should cease to live, Wallace sought shelter in the mountain fastnesses, confiding the secret of his retreat to only a few upon whom he thought that he could implicitly rely, and watched eagerly and hopefully for some opportunity of again rousing Scotland to resistance. But the anxiety of Edward to get into his power this most formidable enemy to him, because most devoted friend to his native land, led him to hold out the promise of such reward and favour to whomsoever would put Wallace into his power, that a traitor was unhappily found even among the mere handful of Scots to whom the power of being thus treacherous was confined. The man to whose name this infamy attaches was Sir John Monteith, an intimate and confidential friend of Wallace. This dastardly and treacherous person revealed the place of the patriotic chieftain's shelter, and he was seized, loaded with irons, and sent to London. Distinguished as Edward himself was for courage, the almost romantic bravery and devotion of Wallace might have been expected to have excited his admiration. It is scarcely possible to read this portion of our history without, for Edward's own sake, feeling shocked and disappointed at the unknightly want of generosity he displayed. Had he kept Wallace even a close prisoner, though the wrongdoer would still have been exercising the unjust right of the strongest, Edward had been excusable, as it was quite obvious that so long as Wallace was at liberty, the conquest of Scotland was not secure for a single day. But the courage and perseverance which ought to have secured Edward's sympathy, only excited his implacable hatred; and the unfortunate Scottish patriot, after the mere mockery of a trial for treason and rebellion against that power to which he had never made submission, was publicly beheaded on Tower-hill.

If Edward hoped by this shameful severity to put an end to the Scottish hopes and determination, he was signally mistaken; the dying resentment of the people was aroused; even those who had been foremost in envying the supremacy of Wallace now joined in deploring his fate, and the general mind was put into the most favourable state for insuring welcome and support to the next champion of independence, who soon presented himself in the person of Robert Bruce.

A.D. 1306.—Robert Bruce, grandson of the opponent of Baliol, was now, by the decease of both his grandfather and father, the inheritor of, at least, a plausible claim to the Scottish crown, and had therefore a personal as well as a patriotic motive for opposing the tyranny of Edward. Though he was himself personally well treated; though, indeed, he was viewed less as a prisoner at large than as a favoured native noble, Bruce could not but feel disgust and indignation at the numerous cruelties of Edward, crowned as they were by the murder of Wallace; and after having long pondered the subject, he determined to succeed to that hero in his task, even at the risk of succeeding also to his violent end. This determination Bruce confided to

his intimate friend John Cummin, who approved of his design and encouraged him in it. Whether Cummin from the first listened only to betray, or whether he at first entered sincerely into the views of Bruce, and only betrayed them from horror at the magnitude of the danger, does not clearly appear. But certain it is that, from whatever motives, he did reveal the sentiments and intentions of Bruce to the king.

Edward, though little prone to sparing, knew how to dissemble; and being desirous of getting into his power the three brothers of Bruce, who were still at liberty in Scotland, and fearing to alarm them ere he could do so, should he take any decisive measures against Robert, he for the present contented himself with putting his every act and word under the most severe surveillance of persons practised in that most contemptible species of employment. This policy, intended to make the ruin of Robert Bruce more certain and complete, proved his safety; for an English nobleman who was privy to Edward's design put Bruce on his guard in time. The friendly nobleman in question, being aware how closely Bruce was watched, could not venture to warn him personally and in plain terms of the danger which beset him, but sent him by a sure hand a pair of spurs and a purse of money. The sagacity of Bruce rightly interpreted the meaning of this double present, and he instantly set off for Annandale, and arrived there safely; having taken the precaution to have his horse shod backward, so that even had a pursuit been commenced, the pursuers would speedily have been thrown out.

High as Bruce ranked in the Scottish nobility, he had hitherto been looked upon as wholly lost to Scotland; as the mere minion of the English king; less anxious about the land to which he owed his birth, than to that in which he lived a life of splendid slavery. It was, therefore, with no little surprise, and perhaps in some cases even with suspicion, that the Scottish nobility then assembled at Dumfries saw him suddenly appear before them, with the avowed determination of following up the efforts of Wallace, and of liberating his trampled country, or nobly perishing in the attempt. The eloquence and spirit with which Bruce declared his intentions and exhorted the assembled nobles to join him in his efforts, roused their spirits to the highest enthusiasm, and they at once declared their intention to follow the noble Bruce even to the death. To this enthusiasm and assent there was but one exception:—Cummin, who had already betrayed the design of Bruce to the king, now endeavoured to introduce discord into the council, by dwelling with great earnestness upon the little probability that existed of their being successful against the tremendous power of England, and upon the still smaller probability of Edward showing any mercy to them, should they fall into his hands after insulting him by a new breach of their oath of fealty.

The discourse of Cummin had the greater weight because he was held to be a true patriot; and Bruce clearly perceived that this man, who had so nearly betrayed him to certain imprisonment and very probable execution, had so strong a hold on the minds of the nobles, that they would most likely follow his advice, until the arrival of Edward with an overwhelming power would render exertion useless. Enraged at such an opposition being added to the treachery of which he was aware that Cummin had already been guilty, Bruce, when the meeting of nobles was adjourned to another day, followed Cummin as far as the monastery of the Grey Friars, in the cloisters of which he went up to him and ran him through the body. Bruce imagined that he had killed the traitor, but on being asked by a friend and confidante, named Fitzpatrick, whether he had done so, he replied, 'I believe so.' 'Believe!' exclaimed Fitzpatrick, 'and is that a thing to leave to chance? I will secure him!' So saying, the fierce knight went back to the spot where Cummin lay, and stabbed him through the heart. The brutal violence, which in our more enlightened day we cannot even read of without horror and disgust, was then deemed a matter not of shame but of triumph and boasting, and the murderer Fitzpatrick actually took for his crest a hand and bloody dagger, and the words 'I will secure him!' for his motto.

The murder of Edward's spy—and murder it assuredly was, however base the character of the victim—left the assembled nobles, and Bruce especially, no choice as to their future course; they must either shake off the power of Edward, or perish beneath Edward's aroused vengeance. Bruce in this emergency proved himself well adapted for the lofty and perilous mission to which he had devoted himself. He flew from one part of the country to another, everywhere raising armed partisans, and sending them against the most important towns and castles that ventured to hold out for Edward; and by this activity he not only obtained strong holds in every direction, but organised and concentrated a force so considerable, that he was able to declare Scotland independent, and to have himself crowned as her king in the abbey of Scone, the archbishop of St. Andrew's officiating. Bruce, though both policy and ambition led him to be crowned, did not suffer mere ceremonial to occupy much of the time for which he had so much more important a use, but busily pursued the English until they were all driven from the kingdom, save those who found shelter in the comparatively few fortresses that still held out for Edward.

A.D. 1307.—Edward, who seemed as enthusiastic in his desire to conquer Scotland as the Scots were in their desire to live free from his yoke, received the tidings of this new defeat of his purpose only as a summons to advance to the conquests yet once more; and, while making his own arrangements, he sent forward a large advance force under Sir Aylmer de Valence, who fell suddenly upon Bruce, in Perthshire and put him completely to the rout. Bruce

himself, with a mere handful of personal friends, took shelter in the western isles; sir Simon Fraser, sir Christopher Seton, and the earl of Athol were less fortunate: being taken prisoners, Edward ordered their immediate execution, as rebels and traitors. Similar severity was shown in the treatment of other prisoners, and Edward in person now commenced his march against Scotland, vowing vengeance upon the whole of the nation for the trouble and disappointment to which it had exposed him. But a mightier than Edward now was at hand to render farther cruelty or injustice impracticable. He was already arrived as far on his journey of vengeance as Cumberland, when he was suddenly seized with illness, and died on the 7th of July, 1307, in the thirty-fifth year of his reign and the sixty-ninth of his age.

CHAPTER XXV.

The Reign of EDWARD II.

A.D. 1307.—THE dying commands of Edward I. to his son and successor were, that he should follow up the enterprise against Scotland, and never desist until that nation should be completely subdued. An abundantly sufficient force was ready for the young king Edward II.; and as Bruce had by this time rallied forces round him, and inflicted a rather important defeat upon sir Aylmer de Valence, the English people, too fond of glory to pay any scrupulous attention to the justice of the cause in which it was to be acquired, hoped to see Edward II. at the very commencement of his reign imitating the vigorous conduct of his martial father; and they were not a little disgusted when Edward, after marching some short distance over the border, gave up the enterprise, not from any considerations of its injustice, but in sheer indolence, and returned into England and disbanded that army upon the formation of which his father had bestowed so much exertion and care. Hitherto the character of this prince had been held in esteem by the English people, who, with their accustomed generosity, took the absence of any positive vice as an indication of virtue and talent, which only needed opportunity to manifest themselves. But this first act of his reign, while it disgusted the people in general, at the same time convinced the turbulent and bold nobles that they might now with safety put forward even unjust claims upon a king who bade fair to sacrifice all other considerations to a low and contemptible love of his personal ease. The barons, who had not been wholly kept from showing their pride even to the stern and determined hand of Edward I., were not likely to remain quiet under a weaker rule; and the preposterous folly of the new king was not long ere it furnished them with sufficiently reasonable cause of complaint.

The weak intellect of Edward II. caused him to lean with a child-like dependency upon favourites: but with this difference, that the dependency which is touching and beautiful in a child, is contemptible in a man, and must to the rough and warlike barons have been especially disgusting. The first favourite upon whom Edward bestowed his unmeasured confidence and favour was Piers Gaveston, a Gascon, whose father's knightly service in the wars of the late king had introduced the son to the establishment of the present king while prince of Wales. The elegant though frivolous accomplishments of which Gaveston was master, and the pains which he took to display and employ them in the amusement of the weak-minded young prince whom he served, obtained for Gaveston, even during the lifetime of Edward I., so alarming an influence over the mind of the heir-apparent, that the stern monarch, who had little taste for childish pursuits, banished Gaveston not only from the court, but from the realm altogether, and exacted the most positive promise from the prince never on any account to recall him.

His own interests and his promise to his deceased father were utterly forgotten by young Edward in his anxiety again to enjoy the company of his accomplished favourite, and having astounded his rugged barons by disbanding his army, he completed their wondering indignation by hastily sending for Gaveston. Before the favourite could even reach England, the young king conferred upon him the rich earldom of Cornwall, which had lately escheated to the crown by the death of Edmond, son of the king of the Romans. In thus bestowing upon an obscure favourite the rich possessions and liege title that had so recently sufficed a prince of the blood royal, Edward had only commenced his career of liberality; wealth and honours flowed in upon the fortunate young man, whom Edward at length allied to the throne itself by giving him for his wife his own niece, the sister of the earl of Gloucester.

The folly of the king was in nowise excused or kept in the back ground by the favourite. Instead of endeavouring to disarm the anger and envy of the barons by, at least, an affectation of humility, Gaveston received each new favour as though it were merely the guerdon and the due of his eminent merit; in equipage he surpassed the highest men in the realm, and he took delight in showing the wisest and most powerful men, that he, relying only upon the king's personal favour, had in reality a power and influence superior to all that could be won by wisdom in the council or valour in the field. Witty, he made the nobles his butt in the court conversations; accomplished, he took every opportunity to mortify them by some dexterous manœuvre in the tilt-yard or at the tourney; and the insolence of the favourite thus completed the hatred which the folly of the king had first aroused.

Soon after his accession to the throne Edward had to visit France, in order to do homage to Philip for Guienne, and also to espouse that monarch's daughter Isabella, to whom he had a long time been betrothed; and on his departure he gave a new proof of his infatuated affection for Gaveston, by not only preferring him to all the English

nobles for the honourable and important office of guardian of the realm, but also giving him in that capacity more than usually extensive powers.

When Edward brought his young queen to England he introduced Gaveston to her, and showed so anxious an interest in the favourite's welfare, that Isabella, who was both shrewd in observation and imperious in temper, instantly conceived a mortal hatred for the man who evidently possessed so much power over a mind which she deemed that she alone had a right to beguile or to rule. Gaveston, though too quick of perception to be unaware of the queen's feeling, was not wise enough to aim at conciliating her, but aggravated her already deadly enmity by affronts, which were doubly injurious as being offered to a queen by the mere creature and minion of her husband; a prosperous and inflated adventurer, whom a breath had made and whom a breath could just as easily destroy.

A.D. 1308.—Enraged that such a person should both share her husband's confidence and openly deride or defy her own influence, Isabella gave every encouragement to the nobles whom she perceived to be inimical to Gaveston; and it was with her sanction, if not actually at her suggestion, that a confederacy was formed for the express purpose of expelling the insolent favourite from the court. At the head of this confederacy was the king's own cousin, Thomas, earl of Lancaster. First prince of the blood, he was also possessed of both greater wealth and greater power than any other subject in the realm; and it was probably less from any patriotic feeling than from vexation, at seeing his private influence with the king surpassed by that of an upstart favourite, that he now so strenuously opposed him. This powerful noble assembled arround him all those barons who were inimical to Gaveston, and they entered into an agreement, which they solemnised by an oath, never to break up their confederacy until Gaveston should be expelled the kingdom. From this under current of opposition many open disturbances arose in the kingdom, and there were evident symptoms of a near approach to actual civil war. At length a parliament was summoned to meet at Westminster, which Lancaster and his associates attended with so great a force, that they were able to dictate their own terms to the king. Gaveston was accordingly banished, being at the same time sworn never to return, and the prelates threatening him with excommunication, should he venture to do so. Though Edward could not prevent this sentence being passed upon his minion, he contrived to deprive it of its sting. Instead of sending Gaveston home to his own country, he conferred upon him the office of lord-lieutenant of Ireland, went with him on his way thither as far as Bristol, and made him a parting gift of some valuable lands.

During his residence in Ireland, Gaveston displayed both courage and conduct in putting down rebellion, and probably was far happier in his new post than while mingling in the inane gaieties of the English court. But Edward was absolutely wretched at the loss of his favourite. Comparative peace was restored by that person's absence, but peace itself to the weak king seemed valueless until Gaveston should return to grace it. In order to pave the way for the restoration for which he was so anxious, the king endeavoured to gratify the most powerful of the barons. The office of hereditary high steward was given to Lancaster, and gifts and grants were profusely lavished upon the earls Warenne and Lincoln. When by these means Edward had, as he thought, sufficiently mollified Gaveston's enemies, he applied to the pope for a dispensation for the favourite, recalled him from Ireland, and hastened to Chester to meet him at his landing. As the absence of Gaveston had in a great measure caused his insolence to be forgotten, the barons, willing to oblige the king, consented to the favourite's reestablishment at court.

Had Gaveston been taught by the past to enjoy his good fortune unobtrusively and inoffensively, all might now have been well with him. But the doting folly of his master was fully equalled by his own incurable insolence and presumption, and he had not long been restored to his former station, ere his misconduct aroused the barons to even more than their former hate and indignation.

At first they silently indicated their anger by refraining from their attendance in parliament; but perceiving that no alteration was made in the profusion of the king or in the insolence of Gaveston, they attended parliament, indeed, but did so, in contempt of an especial law to the contrary, with a force powerful enough to enable them once more to dictate to the king, to whom, in the form of a petition, they presented their demand that he should delegate his authority to certain barons and prelates, who, until the following Michaelmas, should have power to regulate both the kingdom and the king's household; that the regulations thus made should become perpetual law; and that the barons and prelates in question should further be empowered to form associations for securing the observance of those regulations. In brief terms, this petition did really create an *imperium in imperio*; and the degradation of the royal authority was not a jot the less complete because the petitioners professed to receive the vast powers they demanded solely from the free grace of the king, and promised that this concession should not be drawn into a precedent, and that the powers demanded should determine at the appointed time.

A.D. 1311.—Many of the regulations made under the extraordinary powers thus usurped by the barons deserve all praise, inasmuch as they tended to provide for the security of the people at large and the regular administration of justice. But the main object of the barons was to rid themselves of Gaveston, who was accordingly again banished, and it was at the same time ordained that should he ever again return he

should he considered and treated as a public enemy.

To all other alterations Edward was utterly indifferent; but the banishment of Gaveston filled him with rage and grief. He therefore retired to York, and, gathering forces about him, openly invited Gaveston back from Flanders, while he declared that he had been tyrannously and illegally banished, and reestablished him in all his former pomp and power. The insolent and haughty nature of Gaveston was now so well known to the barons, that they felt they must either wholly crush him or prepare to be crushed by him; Lancaster accordingly summoned around him a formidable confederacy, at the head of which were Guy, earl of Warwick, Bohun, earl of Hereford, and Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke. Robert de Winchelsea, archbishop of Canterbury, brought the whole of the clergy to the aid of this mighty confederacy; and so general was the disgust caused by the king's absurd and ruinous folly, that earl Warenne, so long faithful, now openly declared against him.

Lancaster led the army of the confederacy to York, but the king escaped thence to Teignmouth, whence he embarked for Scarborough castle. Here he left the favourite, while he himself returned to York, to endeavour to raise an army sufficiently numerous to admit of his meeting the barons in the field.

In the meantime Gaveston was far less secure than Edward had supposed. The castle of Scarborough was very strong, but it was insufficiently garrisoned, and still more insufficiently provisioned; and, Pembroke being sent to besiege it, Gaveston found himself compelled to capitulate. He did so on condition that he should remain in the custody of Pembroke during two months, which time should be employed in endeavours to bring about an accommodation between the king and the barons; that should such endeavours fail, the castle should be restored unimpaired to Gaveston; and that Henry Piercy and the earl of Pembroke should with all their lands guarantee the due performance of these articles.

On the surrender of Gaveston, the earl of Pembroke treated his prisoner with all civility, and conducted him to Dedington castle, near Banbury, where, on pretext of business, he left him with only a very weak guard. Scarcely had Pembroke departed, when Guy, earl of Warwick, who had from the first exhibited a most furious zeal against Gaveston, attacked the castle, which was readily surrendered to him by the feeble and probably tutored garrison. Gaveston was now hurried away to Warwick castle, where Warwick, Hereford, Arundel, and Lancaster, after a very summary ceremony, ordered him to be beheaded, in contempt alike of the terms granted to him by Pembroke, and of the general laws of the land.

When Edward first heard of the death of his favourite, his rage seemed unappeasable and his grief inconsolable. But he was too weak-minded to be dangerous; and even while he was threatening the utter extermination of the barons, they reconciled themselves to him by the politic and empty form of feigning to regret the deed that was irrevocable, and proffering to ask upon their knees pardon for the offence. The quarrel between the king and the barons was, for the present at least, patched up; and the people hoped from this reunion of such powerful interests some signal vindication of the national honour, especially as regarded Scotland, where Bruce had for some time been both bravely and successfully exerting himself. Of the hill country he had made himself entirely master, and thence he had carried destruction upon the Cummins in the north lowlands. Seconded by his brother Edward Bruce, and by the renowned sir James Douglas, Robert was continually achieving some new conquest; and the munificence with which he bestowed upon the nobility the spoils he took, greatly tended to secure him that confidence, for want of which alone the murdered Wallace had failed in his patriotic efforts. With the exception of a few fortresses he had subdued the whole kingdom; and Edward, by the distractions of England, had been forced to consent to a truce, which Bruce wisely employed in consolidating his power, and in employing it to the reformation of the numerous abuses which war and license had necessarily introduced.

A.D. 1314.—The truce, ill-observed from the beginning, at length came to an end, and Edward now assembled a vast army with the design of at once crushing Bruce, and finally subduing that kingdom which had given so much trouble to his politic and warlike father. Besides assembling all the military force of England, he called over some of his powerful vassals of Gascony, and to the mighty army thus formed he added a huge disorderly force of Irish and Welsh, eager for plunder and peculiarly well fitted for the irregular warfare of a mountain land. With this various force, amounting to at least a hundred thousand men, he marched into Scotland.

Robert Bruce, with an army of only thirty thousand men, awaited the approach of his enemies at Bannockburn, near Stirling. On his right flank rose a hill, on his left stretched a morass, and in his front was a rivulet, along the bank of which he caused sharpened stakes to be set in pits which were then lightly covered with turfs.

Towards evening the English appeared in sight, and their advanced guard of cavalry was fiercely charged by a similar body of Scots led by Bruce in person. The fight was short but sanguinary, and the English were put to flight upon their main body; one of their bravest gentlemen, Henry de Bohun, being cleft to the chin by the battle-axe of Bruce.

The combat proceeded no further that night, but very early on the following morning the English army was led on by Edward. The left wing of the cavalry was intrusted to the command of the earl of Gloucester, Edward's nephew, whose youthful ardour led to a terrible calamity. Disdaining all caution, he led on his force at

full charge, and rider and horse were speedily plunging among the staked pits which Bruce had prepared for just such an emergency. The young earl himself was slain at the very outset, the greater number of his men were utterly disordered and helpless, and before they could recover and form in line of battle, they were so fiercely charged by the Scottish cavalry, under sir James Douglas, that they were fairly driven off the field. As the hopes of Edward and the anxiety of Bruce had chiefly referred to the English superiority in cavalry, this event had a proportionate effect upon the spirits of both armies; and the alarm of the English was now changed into a perfect panic by the success of the following simple stratagem. Just as the English cavalry were in full retreat from the field, the heights on the left were thronged with what seemed to be a second Scotch army, but what really was a mere mob of peasants whom Bruce had caused to appear there with music playing and banners flying. At sight of this new enemy—as this mere rabble was deemed—the English on the instant lost all heart, threw down their arms, and betook themselves from the field in the utmost disorder. The Scots pursued them, and the road all the way to Berwick, upwards of ninety miles, was covered with the dead and dying. Besides an immense booty which was taken on the field and during the pursuit, the victors were enriched with the ransoms of upwards of four hundred gentlemen of note, who were taken, in addition to a perfect host of meaner prisoners, to all of whom Bruce behaved with the humanity and courtesy of a true hero.

Determined to follow up his success, Robert Bruce, as soon as he could recall his troops from the pursuit and slaughter, led them over the border and plundered the north of England without opposition; and still further to annoy the English government, he sent his brother Edward to Ireland with four thousand troops.

Lancaster and the other malcontent barons who had declined to accompany Edward upon his Scottish expedition, no sooner beheld him return beaten and dejected, than they took advantage of his situation to renew their old demand for the establishment of their ordinances. The king was in no situation to resist such formidable domestic enemies; a perfectly new ministry was formed with Lancaster at its head, and great preparations were made to resist the threatened hostilities of the now once more independent Scotland. But though Lancaster showed much apparent zeal against the Scots, and was actually at the head of the army destined to oppose them, it was strongly suspected that he was secretly favourable to them, and actually held a secret correspondence with Bruce, judging that while the kingdom was thus threatened from without he could the more easily govern the king.

In the meantime Edward, utterly incapable of self-reliance, had selected a successor to Gaveston in the splendid but dangerous honour of his favour and confidence. This person was Hugh le Despenser, more commonly called Spenser, who to all the elegant accomplishments and personal graces of Gaveston, added no small portion of the presumption and insolence which had consigned that adventurer to an untimely grave. The elder Spenser was also very high in the king's favour, and as he possessed great moderation as well as great experience and ability, he might probably have saved both his son and the king from many misfortunes, had they not been self-doomed beyond the reach of advice or warning.

A.D. 1321.—Any favourite of the king would, *ipso facto*, have been disliked by the barons; but the insolence of young Spenser speedily made him the object of as deadly a hate as that which had ruined Gaveston.

To insolence Spenser added cupidity. He had married a niece of the king, who was also a coheiress of the young earl of Gloucester who fell at Bannockburn, and had thus acquired considerable property on the Welsh borders, which he was so anxious to extend that he became involved in hot dispute with two neighbouring barons, Aubrey and Ammori, towards whom common report made him guilty of great dishonesty and oppression.

In the same neighbourhood he got into a still more serious dispute respecting the barony of Gower. This barony came, by inheritance, into the possession of John de Mowbray, who imprudently entered upon possession without complying with the feudal duty of taking seizin and livery from the crown. Spenser, being very desirous to possess this property, persuaded the king to take advantage of De Mowbray's merely technical *laches*, declare the barony escheated, and then bestow it upon him. This was done, and the flagrant injustice of the case excited such general and lively indignation, that the chief nobility, including the earls of Lancaster and Hereford, Audley, Ammori, Roger de Mortimer, Roger de Clifford, and other barons, flew to arms and declared open war both against the favourite and the king himself.

As the barons had long been nursing a sullen and deep discontent, they had already made preparations; they, accordingly, appeared at the head of a powerful force, and sent a message to Edward, demanding the instant dismissal of Spenser, and threatening, should that be refused, to take his punishment into their own hands. Both the Spensers were absent on the king's business, and Edward replied to the message of his barons, that he could not, without gross and manifest breach of his coronation oath, condemn the absent, against whom, moreover, there was no formal charge made.

The barons probably expected some such answer; and they scarcely waited to receive it ere they marched their forces, devastated and plundered the estates of both the Spensers, and then proceeded to London and tendered to the parliament, which was then sitting, a complicated charge against both father and son. The parliament,

without obtaining or demanding a single one of the many articles of this charge, sentenced both the Spensers to confiscation of goods and to perpetual exile.

This done, they went through the mockery of soliciting and obtaining from the king an indemnity for their proceedings, which they thus plainly confessed to have been deliberately illegal, and then disbanded their troops and retired, in haughty confidence of security from any attempt at vengeance on the part of the weak king, each to his own estate.

So weak and indolent was the nature of Edward, that it is probable that he would have left the barons to the undisturbed enjoyment of their triumph, but for an insult which had been offered to his queen. Her majesty being belated in the neighbourhood of Leeds castle, was denied a night's shelter there by the lord Badlesmere, to whom it belonged, and on her attendants remonstrating, a fray arose, in which several of them were wounded and two or three killed.

In addition to the fact that the refusal of a night's lodging was churlish, and in the case of a lady doubly so, the queen had ever conducted herself so as to win the respect of the baronage, especially in her sympathy with their hatred of both Gaveston and the younger Spenser; and every one, therefore, agreed in blaming the uncivil conduct of the lord Badlesmere. Taking advantage of this temper, which promised him an easy victory, Edward assembled an army and took vengeance on Badlesmere, without any one interfering to save the offender.

Thus far successful, the king now communicated with his friends in all parts of the country, and instead of disbanding his force on the accomplishment of the object for which alone he had ostensibly assembled it, he issued a manifesto recalling the two Spensers, and declaring their sentence unjust and contrary to the laws of the land.

A.D. 1322.—This open declaration he instantly followed up by marching his troops to the Welsh marches, where the possessions of his most considerable enemies were situated. As his approach was sudden and unexpected, he met with no resistance; and several of the barons were seized and their castles taken possession of by the king. But Lancaster, the very life and soul of the king's opponents, was still at liberty; and, assembling an army, he threw off the mask he had so long worn, and avowed his long-suspected connection with Scotland. Being joined by the earl of Hereford, and having the promise of a reinforcement from Scotland under the command of sir James Douglas and the earl of Murray, Lancaster marched against the king, who had so well employed his time that he was now at the head of an army of thirty thousand men. The hostile forces met at Burton on the Trent; and Lancaster, who had no great military genius, and who was even suspected of being but indifferently endowed with personal courage, failing in his attempts at defending the passages of the river, retreated northward, in the hope of being joined and supported by the promised reinforcements from Scotland. Though hotly pursued by the royal forces, he retreated in safety and in perfect order as far as Boroughbridge, where he found his farther progress opposed by a division of the royal army, under sir Andrew Harclay. Lancaster attempted to cut his way through this force, but was so stoutly opposed that his troops were thrown into the utmost disorder; the earl of Hereford was slain, and Lancaster himself was taken prisoner and dragged to the presence of his offended sovereign. The weak-minded are usually vindictive; and even had Edward not been so, the temper of the times would have made it unlikely that a king so offended should show any mercy. But there was a petty malignity in Edward's treatment of Lancaster highly disgraceful to his own character. The recently powerful noble was mounted upon a sorry hack, without saddle or bridle, his head was covered with a hood, and in this plight he was carried to his own castle of Pontefract and there beheaded.

Badlesmere and upwards of twenty more of the leaders of this revolt were legally tried and executed; a great number were condemned to the minor penalties of forfeiture and imprisonment; and a still greater number were fortunate enough to make their escape beyond seas. Sir Andrew Harclay, to whom the king's success was mainly owing, was raised to the earldom of Carlisle, and received a goodly share of the numerous forfeited estates which the king had to distribute among his friends. If this distribution had been made with anything like judgement, it would have afforded the king a splendid opportunity of increasing the number of his friends and of quickening and confirming their zeal. But the king and his favourite were untaught by the past; and to the younger Spenser fell the lion's share of these rich forfeitures; a partiality which naturally disgusted the true friends of the crown.

To the enemies whom Spenser's cupidity thus made even among his own party, other and scarcely less formidable enemies were added in the persons of the relations of the attainted owners of the property he thus grasped at; and his insolence of demeanour, which fully kept pace with his increase in wealth, formed a widely-spread, though as yet concealed, party that was passionately and determinedly bent upon his destruction.

A fruitless attempt which Edward now made to recover his lost power in Scotland convinced even him that, in the existing temper of his people, success in that quarter would be unattainable; and after making an inglorious retreat, he signed a truce for thirteen years.

A.D. 1324.—If this truce was seasonable to king Robert Bruce—for king he was, though not formally acknowledged as such by England—it was no less so to Edward; for, in addition to the discontent that existed among his own subjects, he was just now engaged in a dispute of no small im-

portance with the king of France. Charles the Fair found or feigned some reason to complain of the conduct of Edward's ministers in Guienne, and showed a determination to avenge himself by the confiscation of all Edward's foreign territory; and an embassy sent by Edward, with his brother the earl of Kent at its head, had failed to pacify the king of France.

Edward's queen, Isabella, had long learned to hold him in utter contempt; but on the present occasion she seemed to sympathise with his vexation and perplexity, and offered to go personally to the court of France and endeavour to arrange all matters in dispute.

In this voluntary office of mediation Isabella made some progress; but when all the main points in dispute were disposed of, Charles, quite in accordance with feudal law, demanded that Edward in person should appear in Paris and do homage for his French possessions. Had he alone been concerned, this requisition could not have caused him an hour's delay or a minute's perplexity; not so, bound up as his interests were with those of Spenser. That insolent minion well knew that he had given the deepest offence to the pride of Isabella; he well knew her to be both bold and malignant, and he feared that if he ventured to attend the king to Paris, Isabella would exert her power there to his destruction; while, on the other hand, should he remain behind he would be scarcely able to defend himself in the king's absence, while his influence over that weak prince would most probably be won away by some new favourite. Isabella, who probably penetrated the cause that delayed her husband's journey, now proposed that, instead of Edward proceeding to France in person, he should send his son young Edward, at that time thirteen years of age, to do homage for Guienne, and resign that dominion to him. Both Spenser and the king gladly embraced this expedient; the young prince was sent over to France; and Isabella, having now obtained the custody of the heir to the crown, threw aside all disguise, declaring her detestation of Spenser and her determination to have him banished from the presence and influence he had so perniciously abused; a declaration which made Isabella very popular in England, where the hatred to Spenser grew deeper and more virulent every day. A great number of the adherents of the unfortunate Lancaster, who had escaped from England when their leader was defeated and put to death, were at this time in France; and as they, equally with the queen, detested Spenser, their services were naturally tendered to her. Foremost among them was Roger Mortimer. This young man had been a powerful and wealthy baron in the Welsh marches, but having been condemned for high treason, his life was spared on condition of his remaining a prisoner for life in the Tower of London. Aided by friends, he had been fortunate enough to escape to France, and having in the first instance been introduced to Isabella only in the character of a political partisan, his handsome person, accomplishments, and wit speedily obtained him a more tender and more criminal favour. Having thus fallen away from her duty to her husband, she was easily induced to include him in the enmity she had hitherto professed to confine to his minion. As Isabella henceforth lived in the most unconcealed intimacy with Mortimer, and as their mutual correspondence with the most disaffected barons in England was made known to the king, he became alarmed, and sent a peremptory message requiring her not only to return to England, but also to bring the young prince home with her. To this message Isabella as peremptorily replied, that neither she nor her son would ever again set foot in England until Spenser should be definitively removed.

Edward's situation was now truly terrible. At home, secret conspiracies were formed against him; abroad, a force was rapidly preparing to invade him; the minion for whom he had encountered so many enmities could do but little to aid him; and his own wife and child, those near and precious connections upon which he ought to have been able to rely in the worst of circumstances, were at the very head of the array that threatened his crown, if not his person. The king of France entered warmly into the cause of the queen; and Edward's own brother, the earl of Kent, being induced to believe that the sole intention of Isabella was to procure the banishment of Spenser, joined the queen, as did the earls of Leicester and Norfolk. Nor was the enmity of the clerical order wanting to the formidable array against Edward.

A.D. 1326.—With all these elements prepared for the destruction of the unhappy Edward, it was clear that nothing was wanted towards the commencement of a civil war but the appearance of the queen at the head of an invading force. This appearance Isabella was very willing to make; but some delay was caused by the decent unwillingness of the king of France to have an expedition, headed by the wife and son, sail from any of his ports against the husband and father. Determined in her purpose, Isabella removed this obstacle to its accomplishment, by betrothing young Edward to Philippa, daughter of the count of Holland and Hainault. Having thus allied herself with this prince, Isabella was speedily enabled to collect a force of upwards of three thousand men; and with this force she sailed from Dort, and landed safely and unopposed upon the coast of Suffolk. Here she was joined by the earls of Norfolk and Leicester, and the bishops of Ely, Hereford, and Lincoln, who brought to her aid all their vassals: and Robert de Watteville, who was sent down to Suffolk at the head of a force to oppose her, actually deserted to her with the whole of his troops. As she progressed her forces were still more increased. The men of substance thought that they ran no risk in siding with the heir to the crown, while the common sort were allured by the general professions of justice and love of liberty, of

which Isabella took care to be abundantly liberal in her proclamations.

On hearing that his queen had landed and was advancing against him in force, Edward's first endeavour was to raise the Londoners in his defence; rightly judging that if he could do that, he would still have a chance of obtaining reasonable terms. But his attempt met with no success; his entreaties and menaces alike were listened to in a sullen silence, and he departed to make a similar attempt in the west.

The king's departure was the signal for a general insurrection in London. Wealth, it may be easily supposed, was the chief crime against which the insurgent populace levelled its rage; the next heinous crime was that of being passively loyal to the fugitive monarch. Robbery and murder were committed wholesale and in the broad light of day; and among the victims was the bishop of Exeter. This prelate, who was as remarkable for kindly disposition as for talent and loyalty, was seized as he passed along the street, beheaded, and his body thrown into the Thames. The rioters, or rather the rebels, now by a stratagem obtained possession of the Tower, and then entered into a formal association and covenant, by which they bound themselves to put to death all who should dare to oppose the designs and desires of the queen.

The advance guard of the treacherous and vindictive Isabella passed through London in pursuit of the king, and consisted of a body of mixed English and Hollanders, the latter commanded by John de Hainault, and the former by the king's own brother the earl of Kent. Arrived at Bristol, the unfortunate king was utterly disappointed of the aid and support he expected to find there; and his furious pursuers being but a short distance in his rear, he hastily departed for Wales, leaving the elder Spenser, who had been some time before created earl of Winchester, to defend Bristol castle, of which he was governor. The faithless garrison mutinied against the earl, who was then nearly ninety years of age, and delivered him into the hands of the queen's partisans, by whom, without even the mockery of a trial, he was hanged. Nor did the brutality of his enemies end even here; he was scarcely dead ere he was taken from the gibbet, and his body cut up and thrown to the dogs; his head being stuck upon a pole and exhibited to the populace.

After equally ineffectual attempts to escape and to raise sufficient force for his defence in field or fortress, the unfortunate king was discovered among the mountains of Wales, and imprisoned in Kenilworth castle, in the custody of the earl of Leicester. The younger Spenser about the same time was taken, and he speedily met with the fearful fate of his father; a fate which, even in the case of this arrogant minion, whatever his faults or crimes, was illegal and brutally inflicted. The earl of Arundel was also put to death by the dominant party, though the utmost malice could allege nothing against him, save that he had maintained his loyalty unshaken and uncorrupted.

Baldock, the chancellor, who, as being the most active as well as the ablest of the king's advisers, was especially hated by the populace, and who, moreover, was detested by Isabella, could not so safely be put to death by the direct tyranny of the barons; for, he being a priest, his death would have been offensive to Rome. But the barons, well knowing the power and temper of the London mob, sent the unhappy man to the bishop of Hereford's palace in London. As had been foreseen, his slender guard was overpowered, and, after he had been brutally maltreated by the mob, he was thrown into Newgate, where he shortly afterwards died of his wounds or of poison.

A.D. 1327.—Having, by this long series of illegal and cruel deeds, given abundant intimation of the fate that would await those who should dare to oppose her measures, Isabella now summoned a parliament to meet her at Westminster, and a long and formal charge was presented to it against the king. Though the charge was laboured with the utmost ingenuity, and obviously inspired by the utmost malignity, it did not, from beginning to end, contain a single accusation upon which the meanest of his subjects could justly have been punished, however slightly, either in purse or person. The worst that was alleged against him was a most pitiable want of talent; unless, indeed, we may condescend to notice that most strange charge against a sovereign, that he had imprisoned sundry barons and prelates who had been convicted of treason. A more absurd charge it would have been scarcely possible to frame; but if such a charge had been presented to that scandalous parliament, the unhappy king would still have been pronounced guilty, for they who sat in judgment upon him could only confess his innocence by confessing their own treason and injustice.

At the very commencement of these disgraceful proceedings, the young prince of Wales had been named as regent; he was now pronounced to be king in the room of his father, whose deposition was declared in the same breath. But, as if to show more fully how conscious they were of the injustice and illegality of their conduct, these malignant and servile nobles sent a deputation to Edward, in his dungeon, to demand his *resignation* after they had pronounced him justly *deposed*.

Utterly helpless in the hands of his enemies, whose past conduct sufficiently warned him against trusting to their justice or compassion, the unhappy king gave the resignation required; and Isabella, now wholly triumphant, lived in the most open and shameless adultery with her accomplice Mortimer.

The part which Leicester had taken in this most disgusting revolution had procured him the earldom of Lancaster; but not even this valued and coveted title could reconcile him, conspirator and traitor though he was, to the odious task of adding personal ill usage to the many miseries

under which his royal captive was already suffering. The honourable and gentle treatment which Lancaster bestowed upon the king filled the guilty Isabella and her paramour with fears, lest the earl should at length be moved to some more decisive manifestation of his good feeling; and the royal prisoner was now taken from Kenilworth, and committed to the custody of the lords Berkeley, Maltravers, and Gournay, each of whom guarded him an alternate month. The lord Berkeley, like the earl of Lancaster, had too much of true nobility to add to the miseries of his prisoner, but when he passed to the hands of the other two state gaolers, they added personal ill-treatment to his other woes. Every thing that could irritate first and then utterly prostrate the spirit of the unhappy king was put in practice; and when at length they despaired of breaking down his constitution with sufficient rapidity by these indirect means, they broke through all restraints and put him to death. We shall not describe with the minuteness of some of our historians the barbarous and disgusting process by which the ruffian keepers perpetrated their diabolical act. Suffice it to say, that a red-hot iron had been forcibly introduced into the bowels of the unhappy sufferer; and though the body exhibited no outward marks of violence, the horrid deed was discovered to all the guards and attendants by the screams with which the agonised king filled the castle.

It is as well to state here what became of these most detestable and ferocious wretches. The public indignation was so strong against them, that, even before the impudent guilt of Isabella caused her downfall, their lives were in danger, and when that event at length took place they were obliged to fly the country. Gournay was seized at Guienne and sent to England, but was beheaded on the way, probably at the instigation of some who feared lest he should divulge their concern in his crime. Maltravers lived for some years on the continent, and at length, on the strength of some services to his victim's son and successor, ventured to approach him and sue for pardon, which, to the eternal disgrace of Edward III., was granted.

CHAPTER XXVI.

The Reign of EDWARD III.

A.D. 1327.—WHEN Isabella and her paramour had consummated their hideous guilt by the murder of Edward II., the earl of Lancaster was appointed guardian of the person of the young king, and the general government of the kingdom was committed to a council of regency, consisting of the primate and the archbishop of York, the bishops of Worcester, Winchester, and Hereford, the earls of Norfolk, Kent, and Surrey, and the lords Wake, Ingham, Piercy, and Ross.

The first care of the dominant party was to procure a formal parliamentary indemnity for their violent proceedings; their next, to remove all stigma from the leaders and head of the Lancastrian party, and to heap all possible odium and disqualification upon the adherents of the Spensers.

Disgusted as the people were by the gross misconduct of Isabella, her power was as yet too formidable to be opposed, and the first disturbance of the young king's reign came from the Scots. Though Robert Bruce, by his advanced age and feeble health, was no longer able to take an active personal part in the field, as had been his wont, his brave and sagacious spirit still animated and instructed the councils of his people. Feeling certain that England would never give him peace should its domestic affairs be so completely and calmly settled as to enable it advantageously to make war upon him, he resolved to anticipate its hostility while it was labouring under the disadvantages which are ever inseparable from the minority of a king and the plurality of the regency. Having made an unsuccessful attempt upon Durham castle, he gave the command of twenty-five thousand men to lord Douglas and the earl of Murray, with orders to cross the border and devastate as well as plunder the northern English counties. The English regency, sincerely desirous of avoiding war, at least for that time, with so difficult and obstinate an enemy as Scotland, made some attempts at maintaining peace, but, finding those attempts unsuccessful, assembled an army of sixty thousand men, exclusive of a strong body of highly-disciplined foreign cavalry under John of Hainault; and the young prince himself led this formidable force to Durham in search of the invaders. But the difficulty of finding so active and desultory an enemy was only inferior to that of conquering him when found. Lightly armed, mounted on small swift horses so hardy that every common supplied them with abundant food, and easily subsisted themselves, these northern soldiers passed with incredible celerity from place to place, plundering, destroying, and disappearing with unparalleled rapidity, and suddenly reappearing in some direction quite different to that in which they had been seen to take their departure.

On no occasion was their desultory activity more remarkable or more annoying than on the present. Edward followed them from place to place, now harassing his troops with a forced march by difficult roads to the north, and now still more dispiriting them by leading them to retrace their steps southward again; but though he everywhere found that the Scots *had been* in the places where he sought them, and had left fearful marks of their temporary stay, he everywhere found that they had made good their retreat; and to this harassing and annoying waste of activity he was for some time exposed, in spite of his having offered the then very splendid reward of a hundred pounds per annum for life to anyone who would give him such information as would enable him to come up with the enemy. At length he received information of the exact locality of the enemy, and was enabled to come up with them, or rather to be tantalised with the sight of them; for they had taken up so strong a

position on the southern bank of the river Wear, that even Edward, young as he was and burning for the combat, was obliged to confess that it would be a wanton exposure of his brave troops to certain destruction were he to attempt to cross the river while the foe maintained so admirably chosen a position. Naturally brave, Edward was doubly annoyed at this new difficulty on account of his previous vain researches; and in the excess of his enthusiasm he sent a formal challenge to the Scots, to abandon their extraneous advantages, and meet his army, man to man and foot to foot, in the open field. The generous absurdities of chivalry rendered this challenge less irregular and laughable than it would now be; and lord Douglas, himself of a most fiery and chivalric spirit, would fain have taken Edward at his word, but he was restrained by the graver though not less courageous earl of Murray, who drily assured Edward that he was the very last person from whom the Scots would like to take advice as to their operation.

The Scots and Edward maintained their respective positions for several days; and when the former at length moved higher up the river, they did so by so unexpected and rapid a movement, that they were again securely posted before Edward had any chance of attacking them. The high courage of the youthful monarch led him to desire to attack the enemy, no matter at what risk or disadvantage; but as often as he proposed to do so he was overruled by Mortimer, who assumed an almost despotic authority over him. While both armies thus lay in grim and watchful, though inactive hostility, an affair took place which had well nigh changed the fortunes of England. Lord Douglas, audacious and enterprising, had not merely contrived to take an accurate survey of every portion of Edward's encampment, but also to obtain the password and countersign; and in the dead of night he suddenly led two hundred of his most resolute followers into the very heart of the English camp. His intention was either to capture or slay the king, and he advanced immediately to the royal tent. Edward's chamberlain and his chaplain gallantly devoted themselves to the safety of their royal master, who, after fighting hand to hand with his assailants, succeeded in escaping. The chamberlain and chaplain were both unfortunately killed; but the stout resistance they made not only enabled Edward to escape, but also aroused so general an alarm, that lord Douglas, baulked in his main design, was happy to be able to fight his way back to his own camp, in doing which he lost nearly the whole of his determined little band. The Scots now hastily broke up their camp and retreated in good order into their own country; and when Edward, no longer to be restrained even by Mortimer, reached the spot which the Scots had occupied, he found no human being there save six English prisoners, whose legs the Scots had broken to prevent them from carrying any intelligence to the English camp

Though the high spirit and warlike temper which Edward had displayed during this brief and bootless campaign made him very popular, the public mind was, justly, very dissatisfied with the absolute nullity of result from so extensive and costly an expedition; and Mortimer, to whom all the errors committed were naturally attributed, became daily more and more disliked. So puffed up and insolent was he rendered by his disgraceful connection with Isabella, that his general want of popularity seemed to give him neither annoyance nor alarm. Yet was there a circumstance in his position which a wise man would have made haste to alter. Though he had usurped an even more than royal power, and settled the most important public affairs without deigning to consult either the young king or any of the princes of the blood royal; though he by his mere word had gone so far as to settle upon the adulterous Isabella nearly the whole of the royal revenue; yet in forming the council of the regency he had relied so much on his power that he reserved no office or seat therein for himself. This was a grave error. He must have been ill-judging indeed if he imagined that the mere absence of nominal power would procure a character for moderation for a man whose authority actually superseded that of the whole council.

A. D. 1328.—To all the other offences committed by Mortimer he now added the very serious one of wounding the pride of the nation. War upon Scotland, and the most strenuous attempts to reduce that nation once more to the condition of a conquered province, were universally popular objects in England. But Mortimer, aware that he was daily becoming more and more hated, concluded a peace with Robert Bruce, fearing that the continuance of a foreign war would put it out of his power to keep his domestic enemies in check. He stipulated that David, son and heir of Robert Bruce, should marry the princess Jane, sister of the young king Edward; that England should give up all claim to the homage of Scotland, and recognise that country as being wholly independent; and that, in return, Robert Bruce should pay 30,000 marks, by way of expenses.

This treaty was excessively unpopular; and Mortimer, conscious of that fact, now began to fear that the close friendship and unanimity that existed among the three royal princes, Kent, Norfolk, and Lancaster, boded him no good. He accordingly, when summoning them to attend parliament, took upon himself to forbid them, in the king's name, from being attended by an armed force. Whatever had been their previous intentions, the three princes paid implicit obedience to this order; but, to their great astonishment, they, on reaching Salisbury, where the parliament was to meet, found that Mortimer and his friends were attended by an armed force. Naturally alarmed at this, the earls retreated and raised a force strong enough to chase Mortimer from the kingdom. They advanced for the purpose of doing so, but unfortunately the earls, who had hitherto

been so closely united, now quarrelled, Kent and Norfolk declined to follow up the enterprise, and Lancaster, too weak to carry it out by himself, was compelled to make his submission to the insolent Mortimer.

A.D. 1329.—But though, at the intercession of the prelates, Mortimer consented to overlook the past, and bore himself towards the princes as though the whole quarrel were forgotten as well as forgiven, he determined to make a victim of one of them, in order to strike terror into the survivors. Accordingly, his emissaries were instructed to deceive the earl of Kent into the belief that king Edward II. had not been put to death, but was still secretly imprisoned. The earl, who had suffered much from remorseful remembrance of the part he had taken against his unhappy brother, eagerly fell into the snare, and entered into an undertaking for setting the imprisoned king at liberty and replacing him upon the throne. The deception was kept up until the earl had committed himself sufficiently for the purpose of his ruthless enemy, when he was seized, accused before parliament, and condemned to death and forfeiture; while Mortimer and the execrable Isabella hastened his execution, so that the young Edward had no opportunity to interpose.

A.D. 1330.—Though the corrupt and debased parliament so readily lent itself to the designs of Mortimer, the feeling of the commonalty was very different indeed, and it was quite evening before anyone could be found to behead the betrayed and unfortunate prince, who during the day which intervened between his sentence and execution must have been tortured indeed with thoughts of the unholy zeal with which he had served the royal adulteress, to whose rage, as much as to that of her paramour, he was now sacrificed.

Perceiving that the sympathy of the people was less courageous than deep and tender, Mortimer now threw Lancaster and numerous other nobles into prison, on the charge of having been concerned in the conspiracy of Kent. Any evidence, however slight, sufficed to ensure conviction; and as forfeiture was invariably a part of the sentence, Mortimer had abundant means of enriching himself and his adherents; and how little scruple he made about availing himself of this opportunity may be judged from the fact, that the whole of the large possessions of the earl of Kent were seized for Geoffrey, younger son of Mortimer; though this latter person was himself already in possession of the greater portion of the vast wealth of the two Spensers and their adherents. The cupidity and insolence of Mortimer at length produced their natural consequence; a detestation so general and so fierce, th nothing was wanting to his destruction but for some one to be bold enough to make the first attack upon him; and, fortunately, that person was found in the young king himself. Most fortunate it assuredly was that Mortimer, in his insolence and pride of place, had overlooked the necessity of so treating the king while yet a minor, as to secure his favour and support when he should at length attain his majority.

Edward was of far too high and generous a nature to have been otherwise than deeply stung by the petty insults and galling restraints imposed upon him by Mortimer; and now that he was in his eighteenth year he determined, at the least, to make an effort at obtaining the independence for which he had long sighed; he therefore communicated his wishes to the lord Montacute, who engaged his friends the lords Clifford and Molins, sir John Nevil, sir Edward Bohun, and others, to join him in a bold attempt at delivering both king and people from the tyranny of Mortimer.

Queen Isabella and her paramour Mortimer at this time resided in Nottingham castle; and so jealously did they guard themselves, that even the king was only allowed to have a few attendants with him when he lodged there, and the keys of the outer gates were delivered to the queen herself every evening. Lord Montacute, however, armed with the king's authority, had no difficulty in procuring the concurrence of sir William Eland, the governor, who let the king's party enter by a subterraneous passage which had long lain forgotten and choked up with rubbish. So quietly was everything done, that the armed men reached the queen's apartment and seized upon Mortimer before he could prepare to make resistance. Isabella implored them to 'spare her gentle Mortimer;' but the paramour's doom was sealed beyond the power of her entreaties to alter it. A parliament was immediately summoned, and was found as supple and facile an instrument for his ruin as it had been for doing his pleasure. He was accused of having usurped regal power, of having procured the death of king Edward II., of having dissipated the royal treasure, and of having obtained exorbitant grants, of secreting two-thirds of the 30,000 marks paid by Scotland, and a variety of similar misdemeanours. The thoroughly servile parliament in its eagerness to convict could not legally convict even this most outrageous criminal. Evidence was not called to a single point, though every point might have been proved by a perfect cloud of witnesses; but this parliament convicted Mortimer and sentenced him to the gibbet and forfeiture, not upon testimony, but upon what they called the notoriety of the facts! A loose system of condemning men, which none but tyrants or their tools would ever tolerate, even could no other evidence be found. Though at the period of the conviction of Mortimer, men were too much irritated against him to look to strict justice, scarcely twenty years had passed ere his illegally attainted rank was restored to his son, upon the right and honourable principle that, however detestable and however morally undeniable the guilt of the elder Mortimer, his conviction had been the result not of evidence, but of mere rumour and assumption. Simon de Beresford and some others of the mere satellites of Mortimer were

executed, and the vilest criminal of all, the adulteress Isabella, was confined for the remainder of her life to her castle of Risings. The king allowed her four hundred a year for her support, and he paid her one or two formal visits every year; but having once deprived her of the influence of which she had made so bad and base a use, he took care that she should never again have an opportunity of regaining it.

As soon as Edward had wrested from the usurping hands of Mortimer the royal power, he showed himself well worthy of it by the manner in which he used it. He not only exhorted his judges and other great officers to execute justice, and to put a stop to the open depredations and armed bands of robbers by which the country was now more than ever infested and disgraced, but he personally exerted himself in that good work, and showed both courage and conduct in that important task.

A.D. 1332.—Soon after the completion of the treaty between England and Scotland, as related under the head of the year 1328, the great Robert Bruce died, worn out even more by infirmities and toil than by years; and his son and heir, David Bruce, being as yet a minor, the regency was left to Randolph, earl of Murray, the constant sharer of Robert's perils. In this treaty it was agreed, that all Scots who inherited property in England, and all Englishmen who inherited property in Scotland, should be restored to possession as free and secure as though no war had taken place between the two countries. This part of the treaty had been faithfully performed by England; but Robert Bruce and, subsequently, the regent Murray had contrived to refuse the restoration of considerable properties in Scotland, either from actual difficulty of wresting them from the Scottish holders, or from a politic doubt of the expediency of so far strengthening an enemy — which they judged England must always in reality be—by admitting so many Englishmen to wealth and consequent power in the very heart of the kingdom. Whatever the motive by which Bruce and Murray were actuated in this matter, their denial or delay of the stipulated restoration gave great offence to the numerous English of high rank who had a personal interest in it. Many who were thus situated were men of great wealth and influence; and their power became more than ever formidable when they were able to command the alliance of Edward Baliol. He was the son of that John Baliol who had briefly worn the Scottish crown; and he, like his father, settled in France, with the determination of leading a private life rather than risk all comfort for the mere chance of grasping a precarious and anxious power. This resolution, though consonant with the soundest philosophy, was not calculated to procure him much worldly estimation; and his really strong claim to the Scottish royalty procured him so little consideration in France, that for some infraction of the law he was thrown into gaol, as though he had been the meanest private person. In this situation he was discovered by lord Beaumont, an English baron, who laid claim to the Scotch earldom of Buchan. Beaumont without loss of time procured Baliol's release and carried him over to England, where he placed him, nominally at least, at the head of the confederation which already had meditated the invasion of Scotland.

King Edward secretly aided Baliol and the English barons in preparing for their enterprise, though he would not be persuaded to give them any open encouragement, as he had bound himself to pay 20,000*l.* to the pope, should he, Edward, commit any hostilities upon Scotland within a certain period which had not yet expired; moreover, the young king David, still a minor, was actually married to Edward's sister Jane, though the marriage was not yet consummated; and the world would scarcely fail to censure Edward, if, under such circumstances, he should cause a renewal of war between the two countries. Under these circumstances, eager as Edward might be to aid his nobles in their enmity to Scotland, he determined to confine himself to secret proceedings on their behalf; and, thus aided, their nominal leader, Baliol, was speedily at the head of a force of two thousand five hundred men, commanded by the lord Beaumont before mentioned, Umfreville, earl of Angus, the lords Talbot, Mowbray, and other eminent barons interested in the adventure. As such a force could not be so secretly raised as wholly to escape the notice of the Scottish regent, who would naturally expect to be attacked by the English border, Baliol and his friends embarked at Ravenspur and landed their force on the coast of Fife. The former regent, Murray, was dead; and his successor, Donald, earl of Mar, was far inferior to him in warlike experience and ability. Nevertheless the English were promptly and vigorously opposed the moment they landed; and though they succeeded in beating back their undisciplined opponents, time was thus afforded to Mar to collect a very large army, which some historians reckon as high as forty thousand men.

The hostile forces came in sight on the opposite side of the river Erne: and Baliol, crossing that river in the night, attacked the unwieldy force of the Scots so vigorously and unexpectedly, that he drove them from the field with considerable slaughter, their numbers being a disadvantage to them amid the confusion. But as daylight approached, the Scots resolved once more to try their fortune against an enemy whose inferior numbers made it disgraceful to yield to them: but they were charged while straggling over some broken and difficult ground, and so complete was the rout that ensued, that while the English lost scarcely fifty men, the Scots lost twelve thousand, including the earls of Athol and Monteith, the lord Hay of Errol, constable of Scotland, the lords Keith and Lindsey, and the earl of Carrick, a natural son of Robert Bruce.

Baliol followed up this victory by taking

Perth. Here he was blockaded by sea, and besieged on the land by an army of forty thousand Scots, under the earl of March and sir Archibald Douglas; but the English ships dispersed the blockading squadron; and as Baliol was thus enabled to command an abundant supply of provisions, the besieging Scots were shortly obliged to retire from that very approach to famine by which they had anticipated reducing him; and the nation being in effect subdued, for the present at least, Baliol was solemnly crowned at Scone on the 7th of September. So little chance did there now appear to be of a change of fortune in favour of David Bruce, that he and his betrothed wife departed for France: and their hitherto zealous partisans sued Baliol for a truce, that his title might be fairly examined and decided upon by the Scottish parliament.

A.D. 1333.—Baliol's prosperity was as fleeting as it had been sudden. Having owed all his success to the presence of his English supporters, he was no sooner obliged to allow them to depart, from want of means to support them, than sir Archibald Douglas and others of the friends of Bruce fell upon Baliol and his slender attendance, slew Baliol's brother John, and drove Baliol himself back to England in the most complete destitution. Baliol had previously to this reverse proposed to Edward that his sister Jane should be divorced from David Bruce, in which event Baliol would marry her and also do homage to Edward for Scotland; thus restoring to England that superiority which the minion Mortimer had given up during Edward's minority. As Edward now began to despair of Baliol's success by any other means, he resolved to interfere openly, and having obtained a considerable grant from parliament for that purpose—which grant was accompanied by a very blunt, though very reasonable desire, that he thenceforth 'would live on his own revenue and not grieve his subjects with illegal taxes'—he led a considerable army to Berwick, where a powerful garrison was commanded by sir William Keith. The plan of the Scottish leaders was, that Keith should obstinately defend Berwick, and while he thus engaged the attention of Edward, Douglas should lead a numerous enemy over the border, and carry the horrors and losses of war into the enemy's own country. But Edward's army was so well disciplined and so well provided, that before Douglas could march into Northumberland his plan of operations was changed, by the information that sir William Keith was reduced to such extremity, that he had engaged to surrender Berwick should no relief reach him within a few days. Douglas marched to the relief of that important place, and in a general action that ensued, the Scots were utterly defeated, with a loss of nearly thirty thousand men. The English loss was certainly very trifling; yet we cannot without considerable hesitation adopt the accounts which concur in assuring us that the total English loss amounted to thirteen soldiers, one esquire, and one knight; a loss which can only be imagined by considering that battle to have been little better than a disorderly flight on the one part and a murderous pursuit on the other.

As the result of this battle, Scotland was again apparently submissive to Baliol. He was acknowledged as king by the Scottish parliament, and he and many of the Scottish nobles did homage to Edward, who then returned to England, leaving a detachment to support Baliol. As long as this detachment remained Baliol was most submissively, not to say servilely, obeyed by the Scots, even when he stung their national pride by ceding in perpetuity to England, Berwick, Dunbar, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and the whole of the south-eastern counties of Scotland. But as soon as Baliol, considering himself safe, and perhaps being seriously inconvenienced by the expense of keeping them, sent away his English mercenaries, the Scots again rose against him, and after a variety of struggles between him and Sir Andrew Murray, who acted as regent in behalf of the absent David Bruce, Baliol was once more chased from all that he fondly imagined he had permanently conquered for himself or England.

A.D. 1335.—Edward again marched to chastise and subject the Scots, who abandoned or destroyed their homes and sought shelter in their mountain fastnesses, but only to return again the moment that he had retired. In this obstinately patriotic course the Scots were greatly encouraged by Edward's position with regard to France. He had for years laid an unfounded claim to the sovereignty of that country; and though he had on one occasion in the most distinct terms recognised Philip's right, and done homage to him for his lands there held, the encouragement of Robert d'Artois and the concurrence of Edward's father-in-law, the count of Hainault, the duke of Brabant, the archbishop of Cologne, and several other sovereign princes, had induced Edward to persevere in a claim which was opposed to common sense, and plainly contradicted by his own deliberate act and deed, and thus laid the foundation of a mutual hatred which has only completely subsided within the memory of men who as yet are but young. He pretended that he ought to succeed in right of his mother Isabella, though Isabella herself was legally and formally excluded from succeeding; he was thus guilty of the special absurdity of claiming to inherit from a woman a crown to which a woman could not succeed—and he could only support that special absurdity upon a general principle—that of the natural right of women to succeed being wholly indefeasible by special regulation; and in that case each of the three last kings had left daughters whose right upon that general principle would take precedence of his! And yet such a monstrous absurdity of assumption found friends, and caused rivers of the best blood of both nations to be shed in fierce conflict!

To all his other abettors in this really ridiculous as well as unjust claim was now

edded the well-known Flemish demagogue James d'Arteveldt, a brewer of Ghent, who had reached to so despotic a power over his fellow-citizens, that, after exciting them to furious resistance against their legitimate sovereigns, he himself could fill all the other towns of Flanders with his adroit and unprincipled spies, and could put down all chance of opposition in Ghent itself by the simple process of ordering the opponent to be butchered—and he *was* butchered without remorse or delay. To this demagogue Edward had no difficulty in recommending himself; for, with the servility that ever accompanies the ambition of such men, the demagogue, who detested his natural superiors, was in a perfect flutter of gratified vanity at being solicited by a powerful foreign monarch, and invited Edward to make the Low Countries his 'vantage point against France; suggesting to him that, to prevent the Flemings from having any scruple about aiding him, he should claim their aid, as rightful king of France, in dethroning the usurper Philip of Valois,—that *usurper*, to whom, both personally and by a formal written deed, he had done homage and owned fealty!

The king of France was greatly aided by the influence of the pope, who at this time resided at Avignon, and was to a considerable extent dependent upon Philip. The king of Navarre, the duke of Brittany, the king of Bohemia, the bishop of Liege, and numerous other powerful allies, tendered their aid to Philip, as being really interested for him; while Edward's allies, looking only to what they could get of the large sums he had wrung from his people for this unjustifiable enterprise, were slow and cold in theirs.

A.D. 1339.—After much difficulty in keeping his hopeful allies even apparently to their faith, and after having his pretensions to the crown of France very accurately pronounced upon by two of those allies, the count of Namur and the count of Hainault,—who succeeded his father and Edward's father-in-law in the interval between the old count joining in Edward's scheme and the actual commencement of operations—the two counts in question abandoning Edward solely on the plea that Philip was their *liege lord*, against whom they as vassals could not fight, Edward encamped near Capelle with an army of nearly 50,000, the majority of whom were foreign mercenaries. Philip advanced towards the same spot with nearly a hundred thousand of his own subjects; but, after simply gazing at each other for a few days, these mighty armies separated without a blow, Edward marching his mercenaries back into Flanders and there disbanding them. In this hitherto bloodless and unproductive contest Edward had not only expended all the large sum granted by his people, and pawned everything of value that he could pawn, even to the jewels of his queen, but he had also contracted debts to the frightful amount of 300,000*l.*; and probably it was the very vastness of the sacrifice he had made that determined him to persevere in a demand, of the injustice of which he must have been conscious from the very outset. Aware that he had unmercifully pressed upon the means of his subjects, and finding that they were daily growing more and more impatient of his demands, Edward now returned to England and offered his parliament a full and new confirmation of the two charters and of the privileges of boroughs, a pardon for old debts and trespasses, and a reform of certain abuses in the common law. The first of these the king ought to have been ashamed to confess to be necessary. But public spirit and the control of parliament over the royal expenditure were as yet only in their infancy; and the whole concessions were deemed so valuable, that the parliament in return granted the king,—from the barons and knights, the ninth sheep, fleece, and lamb from their estates, for two years; from the burgesses, a ninth of their whole movables at their real value; and from the whole parliament, a duty of forty shillings on, 1st, each three hundred wool fells, and, 2nd, each last of leather, also for two years. It was expressly stated that this grant was not to be drawn into a precedent; but as the king's necessities were great, it was additionally determined that twenty thousand sacks of wool should immediately be put at his disposal, the value to be deducted from the ninths which would of necessity come in more slowly. While the parliament of England acted thus liberally in forwarding Edward's design upon France, they made a formal declaration that they aided him as king of England, and not as king of France; and that in the event of his conquering the latter country, the former must ever remain wholly distinct from and independent of it. But had Edward been successful it certainly would not have been this bare and idle protest that would have prevented so resolute and self-willed a monarch from removing the seat of government to France, and making England a mere province and treasury.

A.D. 1340.—Philip kept a watchful eye upon the English movements; and when Edward at length sailed in a fleet of two hundred and forty vessels, he was encountered off Sluys by a French fleet of nearly four hundred vessels, carrying forty thousand men. The inferior force of the English was at the very outset fully compensated for by the skill of their naval commanders, who got the weather-gage of the enemy, and the advantage of fighting with the sun to their backs; while the action taking place so near Flanders, the Flemings hastened out to join the English, and the result of the obstinate and sanguinary action was the total defeat of the French, with the loss of two hundred and thirty vessels and thirty thousand men, including two of their admirals.

Edward, whose loss had been comparatively trifling, now marched to the frontiers of France with an army a hundred thousand strong, his recent triumph having caused a host of foreigners to join him on his landing. Robert d'Artois, in order to follow

up the success of Edward, laid siege to St. Omers. But though his force numbered 50,000 men, it was chiefly composed of a mere rabble of artificers, so little experienced in war or in love with its perils, that a sally of the garrison put the whole of this doughty army to flight, to the great annoyance of its really able and brave commander.

Edward's subsequent operations were by no means so successful. He greatly distressed Tournay, indeed, and he suffered no very great advantage even in the way of manœuvre to be gained by the French; but every day brought some new proof that his very allies were at heart hostile to his purpose, and only supported him in their own greediness of gain; while, on the other hand, supplies arrived so slowly from England, that he was utterly unable to meet the clamorous demands of his creditors. A long truce, therefore, was very gladly agreed to by him, and he hastily and by absolute stealth returned to England. Annoyed at his want of success, and attributing it chiefly to the slowness with which supplies had reached him, Edward no sooner arrived in England than he began to vent his anger upon his principal officers; and he with great impolicy showed especial rage in the case of Stratford, archbishop of Canterbury, upon whom had devolved the difficult and not very pleasant task of realising the taxes granted by the parliament. It was in vain to urge that the ninth sheaf, lamb, and fleece, being unusual taxes, were necessarily collected with unusual slowness; the king was enraged at his own ill-success, and was determined to vent it upon his officers; sir John St. Paul, keeper of the privy seal, sir John Stonor, chief justice, the mayor of London, and the bishops of Chichester and Lichfield, were imprisoned; and the archbishop of Canterbury only escaped the like indignity by chancing to be absent from London on Edward's arrival.

A.D. 1341.—Archbishop Stratford, who really seems only to have failed in his duty from the novel and difficult nature of it, was not of a temper to quail before the unjust anger even of so powerful and passionate a prince as Edward; and on learning to what lengths the king had gone with the other great officers of state, the archbishop issued a general sentence of excommunication against all who should assail the clergy either in person or property, infringe the privileges secured to them by the ecclesiastical canons and by the Great Charter, or accuse a prelate of treason or any other crime to bring him under the king's displeasure. Nor did the bold and somewhat arrogant archbishop stop even here. After having thus generally aimed at the king's conduct, and after having taken care to employ the clergy in painting that conduct in the darkest colours to the people, Stratford personally addressed a letter to the king, in which he asserted the superiority of the clerical to the civil power, reminded him that the priesthood were answerable at the divine tribunal as well for kings as for subjects, and were the spiritual fathers of the former as of the latter, and were therefore manifestly and fully entitled both to direct them to right conduct and to censure them for transgressions. This bold and unlimited assertion of superiority was in no wise calculated to soothe Edward's irritation, and he marked his sense of Stratford's conduct by sending him no summons to attend the parliament. But the archbishop, attended by a numerous and imposing train of peers spiritual and temporal, presented himself, crosier in hand and in full pontificals, and demanded admission. For two days the king refused to admit him; but at length, fearing the consequences of too complete a breach with the ecclesiastical power, he not only permitted him to take his seat in parliament, but also restored him to his former high office.

The maxim of the English parliament seems at that time to have been, that the necessity of the king should be made the advantage of the subject. The close restrictions which had been laid upon Henry III. and Edward II. were now, as far as was deemed safe, made the basis of the parliament's demands upon Edward III. for concessions to be granted by him in return for a grant of twenty thousand sacks of wool. Edward was so pressed by his creditors, that he was obliged to comply with the terms, hard as they were; but as soon as his necessities became somewhat mitigated he revoked all that he deemed offensive, alleging that he was advised to do so by *some* of his barons, and that in originally making such concessions he had *dissembled* and had made them with a *secret* protest. A most dishonest plea in itself; and one which, it is obvious, would, if allowed, render all the most solemn public engagements mere deceptions and mockeries.

A.D. 1342.—Dissensions in Brittany led to a state of affairs which revived Edward's expiring hope of conquering France. He accordingly sent a strong fleet and army thither to the aid of the countess of Mountfort, who was besieged by Charles of Blois. Robert d'Artois, who commanded this force, fought a successful action with the French, and landed his troops in Brittany. He laid siege to Vannes and took it, but shortly afterwards died of a wound received at the retaking of that place by a party of Breton nobles of the faction of Charles. Deprived of the services of Robert, upon whose ability and valour Edward had great reliance, he now determined to proceed in person to the aid of the countess. The truce between England and France had expired, and the war was openly and avowedly to be carried on between these two powers, which for some time had really been breaking their truce in the character of partisans to the respective competitors for the duchy of Brittany. Having landed near Vannes with an army of twelve thousand men, Edward, anxious to make some important impression, and greatly over-rating his means of doing so, simultaneously commenced three sieges; of Vannes, of Rennes, and of Nantes. As might have been ex

pected, but little progress was made by a small force thus divided. Even the chief siege, of Vannes, conducted by Edward in person, was a failure; and Edward was at length obliged to concentrate all his troops in that neighbourhood, on account of the approach of Philip's eldest son, the duke of Normandy, with an army of thirty thousand foot and four thousand horse. Edward strongly entrenched himself; but he soon became so distressed for provisions, while his antagonists, both of the fortress and the army, were well and fully supplied, that he was glad to enter into a truce for three years, and consent to Vannes remaining in the hands of the pope's legates, who negotiated the truce, while all the other strongholds of Brittany should remain in the hands of those who then held them. Edward returned to England, and though he had made a truce for the long term of three years, it is quite clear from his conduct that he merely did so to extricate himself and his followers from actual capture. He made complaints of a virtual breach of the treaty by the punishment of certain Breton nobles who were partisans of England; and the parliament, adopting his views, granted him a fifteenth from the counties, and a tenth from the boroughs for two years, to which the clergy added a tenth for three years. Henry, earl of Derby, son of the earl of Lancaster, and cousin of the king, was now sent with a force into Guienne; and having beaten off all assailants from that province, he followed the count of Lisle, the French general, to Bergerac, beat him from his entrenchments, and took the place. He afterwards subjected a great part of Perigord; and the count of Lisle, having again collected and reinforced his troops, attempted to recapture Auberoche, when the earl, at the head of 1,000 horse, surprised him, completely routed his force, and took him prisoner.

A.D. 1345.—After this the earl made a most rapid series of conquests on the side of Guienne, partly owing to the general discontent of the French at some new taxes, especially one on salt, which Philip's necessities had compelled him to lay upon his people.

A.D. 1346.—As soon as Philip's finances became in better order, vast preparations were made by the French to change the aspect of affairs. A very splendid army was led towards Guienne by the dukes of Normandy and Burgundy, and other of the chief nobles of France; and the earl of Derby found his force so inadequate, that he was compelled strictly to confine his movements to the defensive. The French army, therefore, was left full opportunity to lay siege to Angoulême, and they invested it so closely, that lord Norwich, the gallant English governor, was reduced to the most painful extremities. Despairing of relief, and unwilling to surrender himself and troops as prisoners, he had recourse to a not very creditable stratagem, which, moreover, was only successful in consequence of the rigid honour of the duke of Normandy. Desiring a conference with that noble leader, lord Norwich proposed a cessation of arms for the following day, which, as being the feast of the Virgin, he professed a dislike to desecrating. The cessation of arms being agreed to, lord Norwich marched his troops through the beleaguered city, and, as he wished to pass through the French lines, sent a messenger to remind the duke of the existing truce. '*I see the governor has outwitted me*,' was the noble reply of the duke, who allowed the English to pass without annoyance, and contented himself with obtaining possession of the place.

While these and minor transactions were passing in France, Edward had been engaged in England in preparing a splendid expedition with which he and his son the prince of Wales, now about fifteen years of age, at length set sail from Southampton. The original destination of this expedition, which amounted to nearly a thousand sail, was Guienne: but contrary winds prevailing for some time, Edward listened to the advice of Geoffrey d'Harcourt, and resolved to make a descent upon Normandy, the rich fields of which would supply his army, while the very proximity to the capital would render any impression made there of proportionate importance. This determination made Edward speedily disembark at La Hogue, with four thousand English men-at-arms and ten thousand archers, together with ten thousand Welsh and six thousand Irish infantry, who, if not very important in actual line of battle, were admirably adapted, in quality of foragers and scouts, to be serviceable to their own force and most mischievous to the enemy.

Having destroyed the shipping in La Hogue, Cherbourg, and Barfleur, Edward, who on landing had knighted his son Edward and some of the young nobility, dispersed his lighter and more disorderly troops all over the country, with orders to plunder and destroy, without other restriction than that they should return to their camp by night. The effect of this order was to spread the utmost consternation not only all over the province, but even to Paris itself; and as Caen seemed most likely to be the next object of Edward's enterprise, the count d'Eu, constable of France, and the count of Tancarville, were despatched with an army to its defence. As had been foreseen, Edward could not resist the temptation to attack so rich a place; and the inhabitants, encouraged by the presence of regular troops, joined them in advancing against the English. But the zeal of these civilians gave way at the very first shock of battle; the troops were swept away along with them, both the counts were taken prisoners, and the conquering troops entered and plundered the city with every circumstance of rage and violence. The unhappy people sought to procrastinate their doom by barricading their houses and assailing the English with missiles from the windows and house-tops, and the soldiers, enraged at this more insulting than injurious opposition, set fire to two or three houses in various parts of the town. But Edward, alarmed lest the spoil should thus be lost, stopped the vio-

lence of his troops, and, having made the inhabitants give up their vain resistance, allowed his soldiers to plunder the place in an orderly and deliberate way for three days, reserving to himself all jewels, plate, silk, and fine linen and woollen cloths. These, together with three hundred of the most considerable citizens of Caen, he sent over to England.

Edward now marched towards Rouen, where he expected to have a similar profitable triumph; but finding the bridge over the Seine broken down, and the king of France in person awaiting him with an army, he marched towards Paris, plundering and committing the most wanton destruction on the road. He had intended to pass the Seine at Poissy, but found the opposite bank of the river lined with the French troops, and that and all the neighbouring bridges broken down. By a skilful manœuvre he drew the French from Poissy, returned thither, repaired the bridge with wonderful rapidity, passed over with his whole army, and having thus disengaged himself from danger, set out by hasty marches for Flanders. His vanguard cut to pieces the citizens of Amiens, who attempted to arrest their march; but when the English reached the Somme they found themselves as ill situated as ever, all the bridges being either broken down or closely guarded. Guided by a peasant, Edward found a ford at Abbeville, led his army over sword in hand, and put to flight the opposing French under Godemar de Faye; the main body of the French, under their king, being only prevented from following Edward across the ford by the rising of the tide.

After this narrow escape, Edward, unwilling to expose himself to the enemy's superior cavalry force in the open plains of Picardy, halted upon a gentle ascent near the village of Cressy, in a position very favourable for his awaiting the approach of the French. Having disposed his army in three lines, he entrenched his flanks, and there being a wood in his rear, in that he placed his baggage. His first and second lines he committed to the young prince of Wales, with the earls of Warwick, Oxford, Arundel, and Northampton, and the lords Chandos, Holland, Willoughby, Roos, and other eminent leaders; while the third line, under his own immediate command, he kept back as a *corps de reserve*, either to support the former two if beaten back, or to improve any impression that they might make upon the enemy.

In addition to the care with which Edward had secured his flanks and rear, he placed in his front some cannon, then only newly invented and never before used to any extent in actual battle. His opponent, though he also possessed cannon, had, it should seem, left them behind in his hasty and furious march from Abbeville.

Philip's army amounted to upwards of a hundred and twenty thousand men; but the superiority of the English archers, and the inefficiency of the bow-strings of the archers on the French side, from their not having been secured against rain, caused the very first charge to be injurious to this vast and tumultuous host. Young Edward no sooner perceived the confusion that took place in the crowded ranks of his enemy, than he led his line steadily into the mêlée, and so furious was the combat, that the earl of Warwick, alarmed lest the gallant young prince should be overpowered, sent to the king, who surveyed the battle from a neighbouring hill, and entreated him to send a reinforcement. Learning that the prince was not wounded, the king said in reply to Warwick's message, 'Return to my son, and tell him that I reserve the honour of the day to him; I am confident that he will show himself worthy of the honour of knighthood which I so lately conferred upon him. He will be able to repel the enemy without my assistance.'

The king of France, far from inactive, did his utmost to sustain the first line by that which was under his own command. But the first disadvantage could not be remedied, and the slaughter momentarily became greater. Philip had already had one horse killed under him, and, being remounted, was again rushing into the thickest of the fight, when John of Hainault seized the bridle and literally dragged him from the field. The battle was now changed into a complete rout, and the vanquished French were pursued and slaughtered until nightfall. When the king received his gallant son, he rushed into his arms, exclaiming, 'My brave son, persevere in your honourable course. You are my son indeed, for valiantly have you acquitted yourself to-day. You have shown yourself worthy of empire.'

The loss to the French on this most fatal occasion amounted to 1,200 knights, 1,400 gentlemen, 4,000 men-at-arms, and about 30,000 men of inferior rank. Among the slain, of superior rank, were the dukes of Lorraine and Bourbon, the earls of Flanders, Blois, and Vaudemont, and the kings of Majorca and Bohemia. The latter king, though very old and quite blind, would not be dissuaded from taking a personal part in the battle, but had his bridle fastened to those of two attendants, and was thus, by his own order, or at least by his own act, led to perish in the thickest of the fight. His crest and motto were a triple ostrich plume and the words *Ich dien*, I serve, which were adopted by the prince of Wales, in memory of this most decisive battle.

Of this battle we may remark as of a former one, that it seems to have been rather a chase murderously followed up; for while the French lost so awful a number of all ranks, the English lost only three knights, one esquire, and a few common soldiers.

Great as Edward's victory was, he clearly perceived that for the present many circumstances warned him to limit his ambition to capturing some place that would at all times afford him a ready entrance into France; and accordingly, after employing a few days in burying the dead and resting his army, he presented himself before Calais.

John de Vienne, knight of Burgundy, commanded this important garrison; an honour which he owed to his very high reputation and experience. He was well supplied with means of defence; and Edward at the very outset determined not to attempt assault, but to starve this important garrison into submission. He accordingly entrenched the whole city and formed his camp, causing his soldiers to raise thatched huts for their protection from the severity of the weather during the winter. De Vienne, judging what was Edward's design, sent all the superfluous hands out of the city, and, to the honour of Edward be it said, he not only let the helpless people pass through his lines, but even supplied them with money to aid them in seeking some other place of refuge.

During twelve months Edward was engaged in the siege of Calais, and the earl of Derby was during that period carrying on war in Guienne, Poictiers, and the southern provinces of France. Charles of Blois at the same time invaded Brittany, and laid siege to the castle of Rochelle de Rien, where he was attacked and taken prisoner by the countess of Montfort. While she and her rival and antagonist, the wife of Charles de Blois, were displaying their courage and talents in France, king Edward's queen, Philippa, was still more importantly exerting herself in England. The Scots had a few years before recalled their king, David Bruce; and though they could not greatly rely upon his talent or prowess, they were encouraged by the engagement of Edward in France to make an irruption into the northern English counties, to which they were strongly urged by the king of France, who in all his truces with Edward had shown great regard for the safety and welfare of Scotland. With an army of 50,000 men David Bruce broke into Northumberland, and ravaged and devastated the country as far south as the city of Durham. Philippa, doubly indignant that such an outrage should be committed during the absence of her husband, got together an army of only about 12,000 men, which she placed under the command of lord Piercy, and accompanied it and him to Neville's Cross, near Durham. Here she addressed the troops in a very spirited speech, and could scarcely be persuaded to retire even when the battle actually commenced. The result was proportionate to the gallantry of the attempt. The Scots were completely routed, with a loss of from fifteen to twenty thousand killed, among whom were Keith, the earl marshal, and sir Thomas Charteris, the chancellor; and among a vast number of prisoners were David Bruce himself, the earls of Fife, Sutherland, Monteith, and Carrick, the lord Douglas, and many nobles of less note.

Queen Philippa, after lodging her important prisoners in the Tower of London, was herself the bearer of the news to Edward, who was still before Calais, where she was received with all the applause and admiration due to her gallant and more than womanly devotion under circumstances so difficult.

A.D. 1347.—John de Vienne in his defence of Calais had well justified his sovereign's choice of him. But as Philip had in vain endeavoured to relieve him, and actual famine had begun to do its dreadful work upon the garrison, De Vienne now offered to surrender, on condition that the lives and liberties of his brave fellows should be spared. But Edward was so irritated by the very gallantry which, as De Vienne very pertinently argued, he would have expected from anyone of his own knights under similar circumstances, that he at first would hear nothing short of the whole garrison surrendering at discretion; but he was at length persuaded to alter his terms, though even then he required that the keys of the place should be delivered to him by six of the principal citizens, bareheaded, and with ropes upon their necks, and that, as the price of the safety of the garrison, these six men should be at his absolute disposal for either life or death.

To send six men to what seemed certain destruction could not fail to be a terrifying proposition. The whole garrison was in dismay; but Eustace St. Pierre nobly volunteered; his example was followed by five other patriots, and the six brave men appeared in the prescribed form before Edward, who only spared their lives—even after this touching proof of their excellence—at the entreaties made to him upon her knees by his queen Philippa.

On taking possession of Calais, Edward adopted a plan far more politic than any inhuman execution of brave men could have been; for, considering that every Frenchman must needs be an enemy to him, he cleared this important key to France of all its native inhabitants, and made it a complete English colony.

A.D. 1349.—Even this politic measure, and a truce which now existed between France and England, had well nigh failed to preserve to Edward this only valuable fruit of all his expense of blood and treasure. He intrusted the governorship of Calais to a native of Pavia, who had the reputation of bravery, but who was utterly unrestrained by any feeling of fidelity; and this man volunteered to deliver his important trust to Geoffrey de Charni, the commander of the nearest French troops, on payment of twenty thousand crowns. The traitor was himself betrayed by his secretary, who despatched tidings of the intended treachery in time to enable Edward, with sir Walter Manny and the prince of Wales, to reach Calais with a thousand men. The governor was secured and taxed with his crime; and easily consented, as the price of his pardon, to lead the French into the ambush prepared for them by Edward. The French appeared and were attacked and conquered. Edward himself fought as a mere private gentleman, and was twice felled to the earth by his gallant antagonist, sir Eustace de Ribaumont, who at length surrendered to him. Those of the French officers who were captured were treated with much distinction by Edward and his heroic son; and the king not only

gave Eustace de Ribaumont his liberty without ransom, but also presented him with a handsome chaplet of pearls, which he desired him to wear in memory of his having proved the stoutest knight with whom the king of England had ever been personally engaged.

Edward, partly in commemoration of his toils in France and partly to elevate the warlike spirit among his nobles, shortly afterwards established the order of the Garter; an order which, being to this very day limited to twenty-five persons besides the sovereign, is one of the proudest and most envied rewards of eminent merit.

A.D. 1349.—This year deserves especial remark from the awful pestilence which, arising in the East, swept with fierce and destroying power through England, as through all the rest of Europe, carrying off on an average a full third of the population of every country in which it made its terrible appearance.

A.D. 1350.—The miseries inflicted by the pestilence upon both France and England tended to prolong the cessation of arms between them; but Charles king of Navarre, surnamed, very appropriately, the *Bad*, caused much bloodshed and disturbance in France; and Edward, at length wearied with peace, allied himself with the French malcontents, and sent an army under the heroic prince of Wales—who was now generally known by the title of the *Black Prince*, from the colour of his armour—to make an incursion on the side of Guienne, while he himself broke in on the side of Calais.

Each of these incursions was productive of great loss to the French, and of numerous prisoners and much spoil to the English, but led to no general or decisive engagement; and before any such could be brought on, Edward was called over to England to prepare for a threatened invasion by the Scots, who had surprised Berwick, and had gathered an army there ready to fall upon the north of England. But at Edward's approach they retired to the mountains, and he marched without encountering an enemy from Berwick to Edinburgh, plundering and burning at every step. Baliol attended Edward on this occasion, and was either so disgusted with the ruin which he saw inflicted, or so utterly hopeless of ever establishing himself upon the Scottish throne, that he made a final and formal resignation of his pretensions, in exchange for a pension of two thousand pounds.

A.D. 1356.—The prince of Wales in the meantime had penetrated into the very heart of France and committed incredible havoc. Having only an army of 12,000 men, most of whom were foreign mercenaries, he was anxious to march into Normandy, and form a junction with the king of Navarre and the English force that was assisting that monarch, under the command of the earl of Lancaster; but every bridge being broken down and every pass guarded, he next directed his march towards Guienne. John, king of France, who had succeeded Philip of Valois, though a mild and just prince, was a very brave man; and, being enraged at the destruction wrought by the young prince, he got together an army of nearly 60,000 men, with which he overtook the Black Prince at Maupertuis, near Poictiers; and the prince having done all that could be done to prevent himself from being compelled to fight at a disadvantage, now exerted himself no less to avoid defeat even while so fighting.

With so great a superiority of force, the French king, by merely surrounding the English, might without any risk have starved them into submission; but both John and his principal nobles were so eager to close with and utterly destroy so daring and mischievous an enemy, that they overlooked all the cooler suggestions of prudence. Even this hot haste would perhaps have proved fatal to the English; but, fortunately for them, though John had not patience to surround his enemy and starve him into submission, he did allow his impetuosity to be just sufficiently checked to afford that enemy time to make the very best of his situation, bad as it really was.

The French had already drawn up in order of battle, and were preparing for that furious and instant onset which, next to patient hemming in of the English, would have been their most certain means of success, when king John suffered himself to be delayed to enable the cardinal of Perigord to endeavour to bring the English to terms without farther bloodshed. The humane endeavour of the cardinal was not ill received by the Black Prince, who was fully sensible of the disadvantageous position which he occupied, and who frankly confessed his willingness to make any terms not inconsistent with honour; and offered to purchase an unassailed retreat by, 1st, the cession of all the conquests he had made during this and the preceding campaigns; and 2ndly, pledging himself not to serve against France for seven years from that date. Happy would it have been for John had he been contented with these proffered advantages. But he imagined that the fate of the English was now absolutely at his disposal, and he demanded the surrender of Calais, together with prince Edward and a hundred of his knights as prisoners; terms which Edward indignantly refused.

By the time that the negotiation was thus terminated the day was too far spent to allow of the commencement of action, and Edward thus gained the inestimable advantage of having the whole night at his disposal to strengthen his post and alter the disposition of his forces. Besides greatly adding to the extent and strength of his entrenchments, he caused the captal de Buche, with three hundred archers and the like number of men-at-arms, to make a circuit and lie in ambush ready to seize the first favourable opportunity of falling suddenly on the flank or rear of the enemy. The main body of his troops the prince had under his own command; the van he intrusted to the earl of Warwick; the rear

to the earls of Salisbury and Suffolk; and even the chief subdivisions were headed, for the most part, by warriors of scarcely inferior fame and experience.

The king of France also drew out his army in three divisions; the first of which was commanded by his brother the duke of Orleans, the second by the dauphin and two of John's younger sons, and the third by John himself, who was accompanied by his fourth son, Philip, then only fourteen years old.

The comparative weakness of the English army was compensated by its position, which only allowed of the enemy approaching it along a narrow lane flanked by thick hedges. A strong advanced guard of the French, led by the marshals Clermont and Andrehen, commenced the engagement by marching along this lane to open a passage for the main army. This detachment was dreadfully galled and thinned by the English archers, who from behind the hedges poured in their deadly arrows without being exposed to the risk of retaliation. But, in spite of the terrible slaughter, this gallant advance guard pushed steadily forward, and the survivors arrived at the end of the lane and bravely charged upon a strong body of the English which awaited them under the command of the prince in person. But the contest was short as it was furious; the head of this brave and devoted column was crushed even before its rear could fairly emerge from the lane. Of the two marshals, one was taken prisoner and the other slain on the spot, and the rear of the beaten column retreated in disorder upon its own army, galled at every step by the ambushed archers. At the very instant that the hurried return of their beaten friends threw the French army into confusion, the captal de Buche and his detachment made a well-timed and desperate charge upon the French flank, so close to the dauphin, that the nobles who had the charge of that young prince became alarmed for his safety, and hurried him from the field.

The flight of the dauphin and his immediate attendants was the signal for that of the whole division; the duke of Orleans and his division followed the example; and the vigilant and gallant lord Chandos, seizing upon the important instant, called to prince Edward to charge with all his chivalry upon the only remaining division of the French, that which was under the immediate command of John himself. Feeling that all depended upon this one effort, John fought nobly. The three generals who commanded the German auxiliaries of his army fell within sight of him; young Philip, whose sword was wielded with a hero's spirit in defence of his father, was wounded; and the king himself was several times only saved from death by the desire of his immediate assailants to make him prisoner; still he shouted the war-cry and brandished his blade as bravely as though his cause had been surely triumphant. Even when he was sinking with fatigue he demanded that the prince in person should receive his sword; but at length, overwhelmed by numbers, and being informed that the prince was too far off to be brought to the spot, he threw down his gauntlet, and he and his gallant boy were taken prisoners by Sir Denuis de Morbec, a knight of Arras, who had fled from his country on being charged with murder.

The gallant spirit which John had displayed ought to have protected him from further ill treatment; but some English soldiers rescued him from de Morbec, in hope of getting rewarded as his actual captors; and some Gascons, actuated by the same motives, endeavoured to wrest him from the English. So high, indeed, ran the dispute, that some on both sides loudly threatened rather to slay him than to part with him living to their opponents, when, fortunately, the earl of Warwick, despatched by the prince of Wales, arrived upon the spot and conducted him in safety to the royal tent.

Prince Edward's courage and conduct in the field were not more creditable to him than the striking yet perfectly unaffected humanity with which he now treated his vanquished enemy. He received him at his tent, and conducted him as an inferior waiting upon a superior; earnestly and truly ascribed his victory less to skill than the fortune of war, and waited behind the royal prisoner's chair during the banquet with which he was served. The example of the prince was followed by his army; all the prisoners were released, and at such moderate ransoms as did not press upon them individually, though their great number made the English soldiers wealthy.

Edward now made a truce with the French for two years, and conducted John to London, treating him not as a captive but as a monarch; taking care to appear, alike as to horse and attire, as a person of inferior station.

King Edward showed his approval of his son's modest and delicate conduct by closely imitating it; advancing to Southwark to meet John on his landing there, and in every sense treating him not as a captive, but as a monarch and a voluntary visitor.

Edward had now two kings his prisoners in London. But the continued captivity of David Bruce had proved less injurious to Scotland than Edward had anticipated, the powers of that country being ably and indefatigably directed by David's heir and nephew, Robert Stuart. Edward therefore restored David to liberty at a ransom of 100,000 marks, for the payment of which the sons of his principal nobles became hostages.

A.D. 1358.—Though the very virtues of John, king of France, were calculated to encourage disobedience to him in so turbulent and ill-regulated an age, and in a country so often brutalised as France was by being made the theatre of war, yet his absence was early and visibly productive of injury and disturbance to his kingdom. If his goodness had been sometimes imposed upon and his kindness still more frequently presumed upon, yet, as it was well known that he had both wisdom and courage, his presence had kept the ill-disposed within certain bounds. The dauphin, upon

whom the difficult task now lay of ruling during the imprisonment of his father, was brave and of good capacity; but he had one fatal defect, in itself sufficient to incapacitate him for fully supplying his father's place: he was only eighteen years of age. How far that circumstance weakened his authority appeared on the very first occasion of his assembling the states. Though his father was now made captive in defending the kingdom, the young dauphin no sooner demanded the supplies which his father's captivity and the situation of the kingdom rendered so necessary, than he was met not by a generous vote of sympathy, confidence, and assistance, but by a harsh and eager demand for limitation of the royal authority, for redress of certain alleged grievances, and for the liberation of the king of Navarre, who had been so mischievous to France even while John was at liberty to oppose him, and whose liberation now might rationally be expected to be productive of the very worst consequences. This ungenerous conduct of the states did not lack imitators. Marcel, provost of the merchants, the first and most influential magistrate of Paris, instead of using the weight of his authority to aid the dauphin, actually constituted himself the ringleader of the rabble, and encouraged them in the most insolent and unlawful conduct. The dauphin, thus situated, found that he was less the ruler than the prisoner of these ungrateful men, who carried their brutal disrespect so far as to murder in his presence the marshals de Clermont and de Conflans. As usual, the indulgence of ill dispositions increased their strength; all the other friends and ministers of the dauphin were threatened with the fate of the murdered marshals, and he at length seized an opportunity to escape. The frantic demagogues of Paris now openly levied war against the dauphin, and it is scarcely necessary to add that their example was speedily followed by every large town in the kingdom. Those of the nobles who deemed it time to exert themselves in support of the royal authority were taunted with their flight from the battle of Maupertuis, or, as it is more generally termed, of Poictiers; the king of Navarre was liberated from prison by aid of the disaffected, and the whole kingdom was the prey of the most horrible disorders.

The dauphin, rather by his judgement than by his military talents, reduced the country at length to something like order. Edward, in the meantime, had practised so successfully, and, we may add, so ungenerously, upon the captive John, as to induce him to sign a treaty which was so manifestly and unfairly injurious to France, that the dauphin refused to be bound by it. [A.D. 1359-60.]—War consequently was recommenced by Edward; but though the English armies traversed France from end to end, and committed the most disgraceful ravages, Edward's success was so disproportionate, and his advantages constantly proved so fleeting, that even the duke of Lancaster, his own near relative and zealous as well as able general, remonstrated with him upon his absurd obstinacy in insisting upon terms so extreme, that they were calculated rather to induce desperation than to incline to submission.

These remonstrances, backed as they were by the whole circumstances of the case, at length led Edward to incline to more reasonable terms. By way of salvo to his dignity, or pride, he professed to have made a vow during an awful tempest which threatened the destruction of his army, and in obedience to this his alleged vow, he now concluded peace on the following footing: viz. that king John should be restored to liberty at a ransom of three millions of golden crowns; that Edward should for himself and his successors renounce all claim to the crown of France, and to his ancestral provinces Anjou, Touraine, Maine and Normandy; and should, in exchange, receive other specified districts in that direction, with Calais, Guienne, Montreuil and Ponthieu, on the other side of France, in full and independent sovereignty; together with sundry other stipulations. John was accordingly restored to liberty; and as he had been personally well treated in England, and, besides, was at all times greatly inclined to sincerity, he seems to have exerted himself to the utmost to cause the treaty to be duly fulfilled. But the people in the neighbourhood of Guienne were obstinately bent against living under the English dominion; and some other difficulties arose which induced John to return to England in the hope of adjusting matters, when he sickened and died, A.D. 1363.

A.D. 1364.—Charles the dauphin, who succeeded to the throne of France, devoted his first efforts to settling all disturbances in his own realm, and ridding it of the numerous *free companions*, who, soldiers in time of war and robbers in time of peace, were a very principal cause of all the disorder that reigned; and he was prudent enough to cause them to flock to that Spanish war in which the Black Prince most imprudently took part.

Having got rid of this dangerous set of men, and having with secret gladness beheld the Black Prince ruining himself alike in health and fortune in the same war which drafted so many desperate ruffians from France, Charles, in the very face of his father's treaty, assumed a feudal power to which he had no just claim. Edward recommenced war; but though France once more was extensively ravaged, a truce was at length agreed upon, when the varied events of war, consisting rather of the skirmishes of freebooters than of the great strife of armies, had left Edward scarce a foot of ground in France, save Calais, Bourdeaux, and Bayonne.

A.D. 1376.—Edward the Black Prince, feeble in health, had for some time past been visibly hastening to the grave. His warlike prowess and his unsullied virtue—unsullied save by that warlike fury which all mankind are prone to rate as virtue—made his condition the source of a very deep and universal interest in England, which was greatly heightened by the un-

popularity of the duke of Lancaster, who, it was feared, would take advantage of the minority of Richard, son and heir of the Black Prince, to usurp the throne. This general interest grew daily more deep and painful; and the Black Prince, amid the sorrow of the whole nation, expired on the 8th of June, in the very prime of manhood, aged only forty-six. The king, who was visibly affected by the loss of his son, lived only a twelvemonth longer, dying on the 21st of June, 1377, in the 51st year of his reign, and in the 65th of his age.

The sense of power is usually more influential on men's judgement than the sense of right; and though his wars both with Scotland and France chiefly originated in tyrannous self-will, the splendour of his warlike talents and the vigour of his character made him beloved and admired by his people during his life, and still make the English historian love to linger over his reign. His very injustice to foreign people, kept sedition and its fearful evils afar from his own subjects; and if he was himself too burthensome in the way of taxation, he at least kept a firm hand over his nobles, and did much towards advancing and establishing the right of the people at large to be unmolested in their private life, and to have their interests considered, and their reasonable demands attended to. It has, indeed, been generally admitted that he was one of the best and most illustrious kings that ever sat on the English throne, and that his faults were greatly outweighed by his heroic virtues and amiable qualities. On the whole, the reign of Edward III., as it was one of the longest, so was it also one of the brightest in our history.

CHAPTER XXVII.

The Reign of RICHARD II

A.D. 1377.—EDWARD III. was succeeded by Richard II., son of the Black Prince. The new king was but little more than eleven years old; but he had three uncles, the dukes of Lancaster, York, and Gloucester, whose authority, aided by the habits of obedience which the firm rule of the late king had established, seemed to promise at the least an undisturbed minority.

The very commencement of this reign proved how much Edward III. had raised the views and added to the importance of the commons in parliament, the deliberative business of which had now so much increased, that they found it necessary to choose a speaker, both to be their organ of communication, and to keep due order and gravity in their debates. The choice, however, showed but little gratitude to the late king, for it fell upon Peter de la Mare, a man who had distinguished himself by opposition to the late king's ministers, and had been imprisoned for a violent attack on Alice Pierce [or Perrers], who, as the king's mistress, had become so unpopular in consequence of the influence she was supposed to have upon his measures, that he was obliged to part with her to appease the popular clamour.

Though the choice of this person for speaker did not indicate any intention on the part of the commons towards too submissive a conduct, they did not immediately show any desire unduly to interfere in the government, but confined themselves to petitioning the lords that a council of nine, composed of trustworthy and virtuous men, should be appointed to conduct the public business and to superintend the life and education of the young king during his minority. The former part of the petition was answered by the appointment of the bishops of London, Carlisle, and Salisbury, the earls of March and Stafford, and sirs Richard de Stafford, Henry le Scrope, John Devereux, and Hugh Segrave, who were empowered to conduct the public business for one year. With respect to the latter portion of the petition, the lords declined interfering with it; reasonably thinking that to interfere in the young prince's private life and education, unless his royal uncles proved careless or inimical, would be neither delicate nor just.

Of the three uncles, the duke of Lancaster was certainly by far the ablest, and probably not the least ambitious; and though there was no one to whom any authority was ostensibly or formally given to control the council, Lancaster seems to have been the actual regent, who for some years not only controlled, but, by his irresistible though secret influence, even appointed the council.

As is usual with popular and large assemblies, the commons, on finding their interference complied with instead of its being resented, became anxious and somewhat impatient to push it still farther. Scarcely had the major part and the most important part of their first petition been acted upon, when they presented another, in which they prayed the king and his council to take measures to prevent the barons from confederating together to uphold each other and their followers in violent and unlawful deeds. A civil answer was given to this petition; but though the answer was couched in those general terms which really bind the parties using them to no particular course, it speedily called forth another petition of a far more ambitious nature, and calculated to add at one step most prodigiously to the influence of the commons, who now prayed that, during the minority of the king all the great officers should be appointed by parliament—clearly meaning that the mere appointment by the lords should thenceforth be of no validity, unless it were confirmed by the commons. This petition did not meet with so favourable a reception; the lords still retained to themselves the power of appointing to the great offices of state, and the commons took part in the appointments only by tacit acquiescence.

Previous to this parliament being dissolved the commons gave another proof of their consciousness of their own growing importance, by representing the necessity as well as propriety of their being annually assembled, and by appointing two of their number to receive and disburse two fif

tenths and two tenths which had been voted to the king.

A.D. 1381.—Though the war with France broke forth from time to time, in spite of the prudent conduct of Charles, who most justly was called *the Wise*, the military operations were not such as to demand detail. But if unproductive of glory or territory, the war was not the less destructive of treasure; and on the parliament meeting in 1380, it was found requisite, in order to provide for the pressing and indispensable necessities of the government, to impose a poll-tax of three groats upon every person, male and female, who was more than fifteen years of age.

There was no foreign country with which England had so close and continuous an intercourse as with Flanders, which greatly depended on England for its supply of the wool necessary for its manufactures. The spirit of independence that had arisen among the Flemish peasants, as exemplified in the brutalities which they had committed upon their natural and lawful rulers, and the servility with which they had submitted to the utmost tyranny at the hands of a brewer, now began to communicate itself to the lower order in England. Then, as in far more modern times, there were demagogues who sought to recommend themselves to the credulous people, and to prey upon them by the loud inculcation of an equality among mankind, which no man not decidedly inferior to all the rest of his race in the quality of intelligence, can fail to see is but partially true in the abstract, and wholly false by force of circumstances which are at once inevitable and perfectly independent of the form of government and even of the good or bad administration of the laws. Among the demagogues who just at this period raised their voices to deceive and plunder the multitude, was one John Ball, a degraded priest, but a man by no means destitute of ability. To such a man the imposition of a tax which was both excessive and cruel in the then state of labour and its wages, was a perfect godsend; and the opportunity it afforded him of giving vent to exciting and plausible declamation, was not diminished by the bitter and impolitic mockery of a recommendation from the council, that when this new poll-tax should be found to press too severely on the poor, the wealthy should relieve them by increasing their own contribution.

It is not easy to imagine any circumstances under which so excessive a demand upon a suffering population could have failed to cause discontent and sedition; but when to the excess of the tax the excited temper of the people and the activity of their deluders, the demagogues, was added an insolent brutality on the part of the collectors, there could be little doubt of the occurrence of great and extended mischief.

The tax in question was farmed out to the tax-gatherers of the various districts, who thus had a personal interest in the performance of their invidious duty, which was certainly not likely to make them less urgent or less insolent. Everywhere the tax raised complaints both loud and deep and every poor man was anxious to avail himself of any possible misrepresentation as to the age of the children for whom he was charged. The blacksmith of a village in Essex having paid for the rest of his family, refused to do so for a daughter whom, whether truly or falsely does not appear, he stoutly averred to be under the prescribed age; and the tax-gatherer, a low brutal fellow, offered a violent indecency to the girl in proof of his right to the demand. The father, poor, irritated at the loss of the money he had already paid, and doubly indignant at the outrage thus offered to his child, raised the ponderous hammer he had just been using in his business, and dashed the ruffian's brains out on the spot. Under a state of less violent excitement the bystanders would probably have been shocked at the smith's fatal violence; but, as it was, the murder acted like a talisman upon the hitherto suppressed rage of the people, and in a few hours a vast multitude, armed with every description of rude weapon, was gathered together, with the avowed intention of taking vengeance on their tyrants and of putting an end to their tyranny. From Essex the flame spread to all the adjoining counties; and so sudden and so rapid was the gathering, that before the astounded government could even determine on what course to follow, upwards of a hundred thousand desperate men had assembled on Blackheath, under the command of Wat Tyler, the blacksmith, and several other ringleaders who bore the assumed names of Hob Carter, Jack Straw, and the like. The king's mother, the widow of the heroic Black Prince, in returning from a pilgrimage to Canterbury, had to pass through this desperate and dissolute multitude; and such was their indiscriminate rage, that she, to whom they owed so much respect, was taken from her vehicle, insulted with the familiar salutes of drunken clowns, and her attendants were treated with equal insult and still greater violence. At length, probably at the intercession of some of the least debased of the leaders, she was allowed to proceed on her journey.

The king in the meantime had been conducted for safety to the Tower of London, and the rebels now sent to demand a conference with him. He sailed down the river in a barge to comply with their request, but as he approached the shore the mob showed such evident inclination to brute violence, that he was compelled to return to the fortress.

In London the disorder was by this time at its height. The low rabble of the city, always in that age ripe for mischief, had joined the rioters from the country; warehouses and private houses were broken open, and not merely pillaged, but the contents burned or otherwise destroyed when they could not be carried away; and the Savoy palace, the property of the duke of Lancaster, which had so long been the abode of the king of France, was in wanton mischief completely reduced to ashes. A-

cribing their sufferings to the richer and better instructed classes, the mob not merely maltreated, but in very many cases even murdered, such gentlemen as were unfortunate enough to fall into their hands; and lawyers, especially, were treated without mercy.

The king at length left the Tower and proceeded to a field near Mile End, where one of the main bodies of the rioters had assembled. They surrounded him with peremptory demands for a general pardon for all concerned in the insurrection, the instant abolition of all villeinage, and of tolls and imposts in all markets, together with a fixed money rent of land-holdings instead of personal service. The government was as yet in no condition to proceed to forcible measures; and, consequently, charters to the above were hastily drawn out and delivered, and this body of rioters was thus sent peaceably away.

But the danger was as yet only partially past. A larger body of the rebels, headed by Wat Tyler and other leading insurrectionists, had in the meantime broken into the Tower and put to death Simon Sudbury, chancellor and archbishop of Canterbury, and sir Robert Hales the treasurer, with some other persons of high rank, though of less note; and were passing through Smithfield just as the king and his attendants entered that place. The king, with a spirit and temper far beyond his years, for he was now only sixteen, entered into conference with Wat Tyler, who had previously left his band with an order to rush forward at a given signal, murder the whole of the royal retinue, and make the young monarch their prisoner. Flushed with his brutal and hitherto unchecked triumph, Wat Tyler made such menacing gestures as he spoke to the king, that William Walworth, the then mayor of London, was so provoked out of all sense of the danger, that he struck the ruffian to the ground, and he was speedily despatched. A fierce yell from the rebels proclaimed their rage at the loss of their leader; but before they could rush upon the royal party, young Richard rode steadily up to them, and in that calm tone of high confidence and command which has so great an influence over even the most violent men, exclaimed, 'My good people! What means this disorder? Are ye angry that ye have lost your leader? I am your king! Follow me! I myself will be my people's leader!' Without giving them time to recover from the surprise his coolness and the majesty of his air and appearance had caused them, the king led the way into the neighbouring fields, where he was joined by an armed force under sir Robert Knolles. Cautioning sir Robert and his other friends to allow nothing short of the most vital necessity to urge them into violence, the king, after a short conference, dismissed this band as peaceably and as well satisfied as he had the former one at Mile End, and by means of giving them similar charters.

While the king had thus skilfully been temporising, the nobility and gentry in all parts of the country had been actively assembling and arming their retainers; in a few days Richard was able to take the field at the head of 40,000 men; the rioters dared no longer to appear openly and in force; and the charters, which, reasonable as they now seem, were not merely unfit for the state of the country at that time, but actually impracticable of execution, were formally revoked, not only upon that ground, but also as having been extorted while the king was under constraint of men who had banded together to murder all the higher ranks and bring about a sanguinary and sweeping revolution. It is scarcely possible to imagine a sovereign so young giving more clear proof of courage and ability than Richard did on this sad occasion; but his later years by no means fulfilled the bright promise thus given by his boyhood.

A.D. 1385.—Scarcely was peace restored after this alarming revolt, when the attitude of the Scots rendered it absolutely necessary to chastise and check them. Accordingly the king with a numerous army entered Scotland by Berwick. But the Scots, who had a strong auxiliary body of French cavalry, had already secured all their movable property in the mountains, and, leaving their houses to be burned, they entered England, dispersed themselves in huge marauding parties throughout Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire, and returned laden with booty, without having met any show of resistance.

The English army under Richard had in the meantime marched unopposed to Edinburgh, burning all the towns and villages on their way. Perth, Dundee, and a vast number of other places in the Lowlands, were treated in the same manner. But when news reached the army of the successful inroad of the Scots upon the northern counties of England, the true nature of Richard, his frivolity, and his determined preference of pleasure to action, only too clearly appeared; for he positively refused to make any attempt at cutting off the retreat of the spoil-laden enemy, and immediately led his army home.

A.D. 1386.—The French had aided the Scots chiefly, if not solely, with a view to annoy the English. And Flanders being now at peace with France, a large fleet and army assembled in the Flemish port of Sluys for the invasion of England. The fleet actually sailed, but was scarcely out of port when it encountered a terrible storm, which dispersed it and destroyed many of the largest ships. The English men-of-war attacked and took the remainder, and thus, for the present at least, this new danger was averted.

But though this expedition had thus completely failed, it turned the attention of the nation, as well as the king and council, towards those circumstances which made it only too certain that a similar attempt would be made at no great distance of time. The disturbances which had so recently agitated England from one end to the other could not fail to act as an invitation to foreign enemies; and, to make the

matter still worse, the best of the English soldiery, to a very great number, were at this time in Spain, supporting the duke of Lancaster in the claim he had long laid to the crown of Castile. Perhaps the alarm which called attention to these circumstances mainly served to avert the danger; at all events, it speedily appeared that the peace of England was in greater peril from Englishmen than from foreigners.

We have already had occasion, under the reign of Edward II., to point out the propensity of weak-minded princes to the adoption of favourites, to whose interests they delight in sacrificing all other considerations, including their own dignity and even their own personal safety. Richard, who had shown so much frivolity in his Scotch expedition, now gave a new proof of his weakness of mind by adopting a successor to the Spensers and the Gavestons of an earlier day.

Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, of noble birth, agreeable manners, and great accomplishments, but extremely dissolute and no less vain and ambitious, made his company so agreeable to Richard, that the young monarch seemed scarcely able to exist but in his presence. In proof of his attachment to him, the king made him marquis of Dublin—the title being then first used in England—created him by patent vice-king of Ireland for life, and evinced his preference for him by various other marks of royal favour.

As is uniformly the case with such favouritism, the favourite's rapacity and insolence kept full pace with the king's folly; the marquis of Dublin became the virtual king; all favours were obtainable through his interest, justice itself scarcely obtainable without it; and the marquis and his satellites became at once the plague and the detestation of the whole nobility, but more especially of the king's uncles, who saw the influence which they ought to have possessed, and much that ought to have been refused even to them, transferred to a man of comparative obscurity. The ministers, though they, it is quite clear, could have little power to correct their master's peculiar folly, shared the sovereign's disgrace, and the whole kingdom soon rang with complaints and threatenings.

The first rush of the long-brewing tempest showed itself in a fierce attack upon Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, the chancellor. Though he was originally only the son of a merchant, he had won a high and well-deserved celebrity by his valour and conduct during the wars of the late king, and had since shown very splendid civil ability. He was supposed to be the chief confidential friend of the king and of De Vere, who was now, from the marquisate of Dublin raised to the dukedom of Ireland; and the duke of Gloucester consequently singled him out for persecution. Gloucester, who was both able and ambitious, had secured a most potent sway over both the lords and commons, and he now induced the latter to impeach the earl of Suffolk before the former: a power and mode of proceeding which the commons had possessed themselves of towards the close of the reign of Edward III.

The impeachment of the most eminent of his ministers naturally alarmed the king for himself and his favourite; and he retired to the royal palace at Eltham, to be out of immediate danger, and to deliberate upon his future course. Rightly judging that while the king was thus comparatively removed from danger and annoyance they would have little chance of bringing him to compliance with their wishes, the parliament sent to inform him that unless he immediately returned they would dissolve without making an attempt at preparation for the French invasion with which the nation was at that time threatened. And lest this threat should fail to compel the king to compliance, they called for the production of the parliamentary record of the deposition of Edward II. This hint was too intelligible to be disregarded, and the king at once consented to return, on the sole condition that, beyond the impeachment already commenced against the earl of Suffolk, no attack should be made upon his ministers; a stipulation which, most probably, he chiefly made with a view to the safety of the duke of Ireland.

The charges against Suffolk were directed almost wholly against his pecuniary transactions. He was accused, for instance, of having exchanged a perpetual annuity, *which he had fairly inherited*, for lands of equal value, with the king; of having purchased a forfeited crown annuity of 50*l.* and induced the king to recognise it as being valid; and of having obtained a grant of 500*l.* per annum to support his dignity on his being created earl of Suffolk. The first of these charges, it is clear, could only have been made by men who were sadly at a loss for some weapon with which to assail their enemy; the second was ill-supported; and the third proceeded with a very ill-grace from Gloucester, who, though as wealthy as Suffolk was poor, was himself in receipt of just double the amount by way of pension! When to this we add that, as to the first charge, it was positively proved that Suffolk had made no sort of purchase, honest or dishonest, from the crown during his enjoyment of office, the reader would be greatly surprised at learning that he was convicted and sentenced to lose his office—if it were possible for the reader to have noticed the events of history even thus far without learning that when powerful men hate deeply, they do not require either very important charges or very clear evidence to induce them to convict the party hated.

This triumph of the anti-favourite party emboldened them to fly at a higher quarry. They kept the letter of their agreement with the king, and made no farther attack upon his ministers; but at once proceeded to strike at his own authority by appointing a council of fourteen, to which the sovereign authority was to be transferred for a year, the council in question consisting, with the single exception of the archbishop of York, of the personal friends and partisans of the duke of Gloucester; and thus Richard II.

whose boyhood had promised so vigorous and splendid a reign, was at the early age of twenty-five virtually deposed, and a mere puppet and prisoner in the hands of his enemies. No chance of present resistance offered itself, and the unfortunate and weak king signed the commission which in reality uncrowned him, increasing rather than diminishing the pleasure and triumph of his enemies by an impotent protest which he made at the end of the session of parliament, to the effect that nothing in the commission he had signed was to be held to impair the prerogatives of the crown.

A.D. 1387.—The pampered favourite and his supporters, as they had so greatly profited by the king's weak misuse of his power, did not fail to do their utmost to stimulate his anger and to induce him to make some effort to recover his lost authority, in which, in truth, they were far more interested than he was.

Utterly estranged as the lords seemed, he resolved to endeavour to influence the sheriffs to return a commons' house calculated for his purpose; but here he found himself completely anticipated by the fact that most of the sheriffs and magistrates were the partisans of Gloucester, and actually owed their appointments to his favour.

Baffled in this quarter, he now tried what use he could make of the authority of the judges. Having met, at Nottingham, Tresilian, chief justice of the King's Bench, and several of the other most eminent judges, he proposed to them certain queries, to which, in substance, they replied, that the commission was derogatory to the prerogative and royalty of the king, and that those who urged it or advised the royal compliance with it were punishable with death; that those who compelled him were guilty of treason; that all who persevered in maintaining it were no less guilty; that the king had the right to dissolve parliament at his pleasure; that the parliament while sitting must give its first attention to the business of the king; and that without the king's consent the parliament had no right to impeach his ministers or judges.'

Richard did not consider when he took this step that opinions, even the favourable opinions of judges, are *only* opinions, and of little weight when opposed to usurped power, armed force, and an iron energy. Moreover, he could scarcely hope to keep his conference and the opinions of the judges a secret; and if he could do so, of what avail could be the latter? and would not this step sharpen the activity of his enemies by leading them to fear that it was but the prelude and foundation of a far more decided step? It actually had that effect; for as soon as the king returned to London, Gloucester's party appeared with an overwhelming force at Highgate, whence they sent a deputation to demand that those who had given him false and perilous counsel should be delivered up to them as traitors alike to king and kingdom; and they speedily followed up this message by appearing armed and attended in his presence, and accusing of having given such counsel the archbishop of York, the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, sir Robert Tresilian, and sir Nicholas Brembre, as public enemies. This accusation the lords offered to maintain by duel, and in token of their willingness to do so they actually threw down their gauntlets.

The duke of Ireland, at the first appearance of this new and urgent danger, retired into Cheshire to levy troops to aid the king; but he was met by Gloucester, as he hastened to join Richard, and utterly defeated. This defeat deprived him of all chance of being of use to his friend and master, and he escaped to the Low Countries, where he remained in exile and comparative obscurity until his death, which occurred not many years afterwards.

A.D. 1388.—Rendered bolder and more eager than ever by this defeat of the duke of Ireland, the lords now entered London at the head of an army of 40,000 men; and the king, being entirely in their power, was obliged to summon a parliament which he well knew would be a mere passive instrument in the hands of his rebellious lords. Before this packed and slavish parliament an accusation was now made against the five personages who had already been denounced; and this accusation was supported by five of the most powerful men in England, viz. the duke of Gloucester, uncle to the king whom he was endeavouring to ruin, the earl of Derby, son of the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Arundel, the earl of Warwick, and the earl of Nottingham, marshal of England.

As if the combined and formidable power of these great nobles had been insufficient to crush the accused, the servile parliament, though judges in the case, actually pledged themselves at the outset of the proceedings 'to live and die with the lords appellant, and to defend them against all opposition with their lives and fortunes!' Sir Nicholas Brembre was the only one of the five accused persons who was present to hear the thirty-nine charges made against him and the other four persons accused. He had the mockery, and but the mockery, of a trial; the others being absent were not even noticed in the way of evidence; but that did not prevent them from being found guilty of high treason. Sir Nicholas and also sir Robert Tresilian, who was apprehended after the trial, were executed; and here it might have been supposed that even these rancorous lords and their parliamentary tools would have halted in their career of chicane and violence; but far other was their actual conduct. All the other judges who had agreed to the opinions given at Nottingham were condemned to death, but afterwards banished to Ireland; and lord Beauchamp of Holt, sir James Berners, sir Simon Burley, and sir John Salisbury were condemned, and, with the exception of the last-named, executed.

The execution, or to speak more truly, the murder, of sir Simon Burley, made a very great and painful sensation even among

the enemies of the king; for he was highly and almost universally popular, both on account of his personal character and from his having from the earliest infancy of the lamented Black Prince been the constant and attached attendant of that hero, who as well as Edward III. had concurred in appointing him governor of the present king during his youth. But the gallantry which had procured him the honour of the Garter and the imperishable honour of a laudatory mention in the glowing pages of Froissart, the beggarly nature of the charges against him, and the very insufficient evidence by which even those charges were supported, and the singularity of his case from the circumstances which would have excused a far more implicit devotion to the king whose infancy he had watched, were all as nothing when opposed to the fierce determination of his and his sovereign's implacable enemies. Nay more, the king's wife, whose virtues had obtained her from the people the affectionate title of the good queen Anne, actually fell upon her knees before Gloucester, and in that humble posture for three hours besought, and vainly besought, the life of the unfortunate Burley. The stern enemies of his master had doomed the faithful knight to die, and he was executed accordingly.

As if conscious of their enormous villany, and already beginning to dread retribution, the parliament concluded this memorably evil session by an act, providing for a general oath to uphold and maintain all the acts of forfeiture and attainder which had previously been passed during the session.

A.D. 1389.—The violence with which the king had been treated, and the degradation to which he had been reduced, seemed to threaten not only his never recovering his authority, but even his actual destruction. But, whether from sheer weariness of their struggle, from disagreements among themselves, or from some fear of the interference of the commons, now daily becoming more powerful and more ready to use their power, the chiefs of the malcontents were so little able or inclined to oppose Richard, that he, being now in his twenty-third year, ventured to say in open council that he had fully arrived at an age to govern for himself, and that henceforth he would govern both the kingdom and his own household; and no one of all his lately fierce and overbearing opponents ventured to gainsay him. The ease with which the king regained his authority can only be accounted for, as it seems to us, by supposing that circumstances, no account of which has come down to us, rendered the king's enemies afraid of opposing him.

From whatever cause, however, it is certain that the king suddenly regained his lost power. His first act was to remove Fitzallan, archbishop of Canterbury, from the office of chancellor, and to replace him by the celebrated William of Wykeham, bishop of Winchester. Proceeding in the obviously wise policy of substituting friends for foes in the high offices of state, the king dismissed the bishop of Hereford from being treasurer, and the earl of Arundel from being admiral. The earl of Warwick and the duke of Gloucester were removed from the council; and even this evident sign of the king's determination to deprive his enemies of the power to injure him called forth little complaint and no opposition.

To the policy of what he did, the king in what he left undone added a still higher wisdom, which his former infatuation gave but little promise of. He did not show the slightest desire to recall the duke of Ireland; and while he took care to purge the high offices of state, he did not by any part of his demeanour leave any one room to doubt that he was heartily and completely reconciled to the still powerful uncles who had caused him so much misery. Nay, more, as if determined to remove all danger of the revival of past animosities, he of his own motion issued a proclamation confirming the parliamentary pardon of all offences, and still more completely to ingratiate himself with the tax-burthened people, he voluntarily declined levying some subsidies which had been granted to him by the parliament.

Partly as a consequence of these really wise and humane measures, and partly, perhaps, owing to the return from Spain of the duke of Lancaster, Richard's government for the next eight years went on so smoothly and so prosperously, that not a single dispute occurred of consequence enough to be related. Lancaster, between whom and Richard there had never been any quarrel—unless we may interpret the past conduct of the duke's son as the indication of one—was powerful enough to keep his brothers in check, and was at the same time of a more mild and peace-loving temper. And, accordingly, the duke was extremely useful to Richard, who in turn took every opportunity of favouring and gratifying his uncle, to whom at one time he even ceded Guienne, though, from the discontent and annoyance expressed by the Gascons, Richard was shortly afterwards obliged to revoke his grant. The king still more strongly testified his preference of Lancaster, on occasion of a difference which sprang up between that duke and his two brothers. On the death of the Spanish princess, on account of whom Lancaster had entertained such high but vain hope, and expended so much time and money, the duke married Catherine Swinford, by whom he had previously had children, and who was the daughter of a private Hainault knight of no great wealth. Lancaster's two brothers loudly exclaimed against this match, which they, not wholly without reason, declared to be derogatory to the honour of the royal family. But Richard stepped in to the support of his uncle, and caused the parliament to pass an act legitimatising the lady's children born before marriage, and he at the same time created the eldest of them earl of Somerset.

While these domestic events were passing, occasional war had still been going on both with France and Scotland; but in each instance the actual fighting was both

feeble and infrequent. This was especially the case as to France; while the most important battle on the Scottish side was that of Otterbourne, in which the young Percy, surnamed Harry Hotspur, from his impetuous temper, was taken prisoner, and Douglas killed; but this really was less a national battle than a combat arising out of a private quarrel and individual animosity.

A.D. 1396.—The insurrections of the Irish having become so frequent as to excite some fear for the safety of that conquest, the king went thither in person; and the courage and conduct he displayed in reducing the rebels to obedience, did much towards redeeming his character in the judgement of his people. A still farther hope was raised of the tranquillity and respectability of the remainder of this reign by a truce of twenty-five years which was now made between France and England. To render this truce the more solid, Richard, who ere this had buried the 'good queen Anne,' was affianced to Isabella, the daughter of the king of France, then only seven years old. It seems probable that Richard, still feeling insecure of the peacefulness of his uncles and the barons generally, sought by this alliance not only to strengthen the truce between the two nations, but also to obtain from it additional security against any domestic attacks upon his authority.

But though he thus far gave proofs of judgement, there were other parts of his conduct which were altogether as impolitic and degrading. Unstable, inconsistent, wildly extravagant, and openly dissolute, the king effectually prevented his popularity from being confirmed. Having shown so much wisdom in refraining from recalling the duke of Ireland—and perhaps even that arose less from wisdom than from satiety of his former minion—he now selected as his favourites, to almost an equally offensive extent, his half-brothers the earls of Kent and Huntingdon, to whom he so completely committed the patronage of the kingdom, as to render himself, in that respect at least, little more than their mere tool. This, with his indolence, excessive extravagance, indulgence at the table, and other dissolute pleasures, not only prevented his growing popularity from ever being confirmed, but even caused a revival of the former complaints and animosities.

A.D. 1397.—What rendered this impolitic conduct the more surely and entirely destructive to Richard, was the profoundly artful manner in which his chief and most implacable enemy, the duke of Gloucester, availed himself of it. Instead of endeavouring to vie with Richard's favourites and to invite a share of his favour, the duke almost retired from the court; appearing there only on the public occasions which would have caused his absence to have been ill remarked on, and devoting all the rest of his time to cultivating the popular favour by every art of which he was master. When obliged to offer his opinion in council, he took care to give the most powerful reasons he could command for his opposition to the measures of the king. As the truce and alliance which Richard had concluded with France were almost universally unpopular, Gloucester, to all orders of men who had approach to him, affected the utmost personal sorrow and patriotic indignation, that Richard had so completely and shamefully degenerated from the high anti-Gallican spirit of his renowned and warlike grandfather, who looked upon the French as the natural foes of England, and upon France as the treasure-house of England's high-born chivalry and lusty yeomen. To fall in with the interested opinions of men is the surest possible way to obtain their favour; and the more unpopular Richard became, the more openly and earnestly did the people, and more especially the military, declare that the duke of Gloucester's patriotism was the real cause of his want of favour at court; and that his wisdom and counsel alone could ever restore the honour and prosperity of the nation, whose true interests he so well understood and so disinterestedly advocated.

That Gloucester for a long time had harboured the most treasonable designs against Richard is quite certain from even his own confession; and Richard, urged by the advice not only of his favourites, but also of the king of France, suddenly caused Gloucester to be arrested and conveyed to Calais; while at the same time his friends the earls of Arundel and Warwick were seized and thrown into prison. As both the dukes of Lancaster and York and their eldest sons approved of and supported the king's suddenly adopted course, the friends of the imprisoned nobles saw that resistance would only serve to involve themselves in ruin. The king, too, by influencing the sheriffs, caused a parliament to be assembled, which was so completely subservient to his wishes, that it not only annulled the commission which had so extensively trenched upon the royal authority, and declared it high treason to attempt the renewal of a like commission, but even went so far as to revoke the general pardon that Richard had *voluntarily* confirmed after he regained his authority, and to revoke it, in the face of that fact, upon the ground of its having been *extorted by force and never freely ratified by the king!*

The duke of Gloucester, the earls of Arundel and Warwick, and the archbishop of Canterbury were now impeached by the commons. Arundel was executed, Warwick banished for life to the isle of Man, and the archbishop was deprived of his temporalities and banished the kingdom. That they all really were cognizant of and concerned in Gloucester's more recent treasonable projects there can be no moral doubt; and yet, legally, these men were all unjustly condemned, for they were condemned not for any recent treason, but for that old rebellion which the king *had* pardoned voluntarily, and while under no restraint. The chief partisans of Gloucester being thus disposed of, the governor of Calais was ordered to bring the duke himself over for trial; but to this order he returned word that the duke had suddenly died of apoplexy. When it is considered that this

sudden death of the duke happened so conveniently for releasing the king from the unpleasant practical dilemma of either setting at liberty a powerful and most implacable foe, or incurring the odium which could not but attach to the act of putting to death so near a relation, it is difficult to withhold belief from the popular rumour, which was very rife at the time, and still more so during the next king's reign, that the duke was, in fact, smothered in his bed, in obedience to a secret order of his king and nephew.

Ere the parliament was dismissed, very extensive creations and promotions took place in the peerage, of course among those who had been most useful and zealous in aiding the recent royal severity; and at the very close of this busy and discreditable session the king gave a singularly striking, though practically unimportant, proof of his inconsistency; he exacted an oath from the parliament perpetually to maintain the acts they had passed—one of those very acts being in direct and shameful violation of a precisely similar oath which had been subsequently sanctioned by the king's free and solemn ratification!

A.D. 1398.—When the parliament met at Shrewsbury, in January, 1398, the king again manifested his anxiety for the security of the recent acts, by causing both lords and commons to swear, upon the cross of Canterbury, that they would maintain them. Still ill at ease on this point, he shortly afterwards obtained the additional security, as he deemed it, of a bull from the pope, ordaining the permanence of these acts. At the same time, as if to show the utter folly of swearing to the perpetuation of acts, the parliament reversed the attainders, not only of Tresilian and the other judges, for the secret opinions they had given to the king at Nottingham, but also of the Spensers, father and son, who were attainted in the reign of Edward II.

Though the enmity towards Gloucester of the nobles who had so zealously aided in the destruction of that prince had united them in apparently indissoluble friendship while the duke lived, animosities and heart-burnings soon sprang up among them when this common bond of union was removed. The duke of Hereford in his place in parliament solemnly accused the duke of Norfolk of having slandered the king, by imputing to him the intention of destroying some of the highest of the nobility; Norfolk gave Hereford the lie, and demanded the trial by duel. The challenge was allowed and accepted; and as the parliament was now separating, and legislative authority might yet be rendered necessary by the result of this duel, a singular and somewhat hazardous expedient was resorted to; that of delegating the full powers of the parliament to a committee of twelve lords and six of the commons.

The lists for the duel were fixed at Coventry, the king in person was to witness the combat, and the whole chivalry of England was split into two parties, siding with the respective champions. But on the day of duel the king forbade the combat, banishing Norfolk for ten years, and Hereford for life.

The great inconsistency of Richard makes it difficult to write his reign. By the act we have just recorded he showed sound and humane policy; yet in the very next year we find him committing a most wanton and despotic wrong; as though he would balance the prudence of putting an end to one source of strife among his nobles by taking the earliest possible opportunity to open up another!

A.D. 1399.—The duke of Lancaster dying, his son applied to be put into possession of the estate and authority of his father, as secured by the king's own patent. But Richard, jealous of that succession, caused the committee to which the authority of parliament had been so strangely delegated, to authorise him to revoke that patent, and to try and condemn Lancaster's own attorney for having done his duty to his employer! This monstrous tyranny was not carried to the length of actually putting the attorney to death, in pursuance of the sentence, but that extreme rigour was only commuted to banishment!

The tyranny of this strange act was indisputable and detestable; but by no means more strange and unaccountable than its singular impolicy. It would have been impossible to name a noble then living who was more generally and universally popular than Henry, the new duke of Lancaster. He had served with great credit against the infidels in Lithuania; he was closely connected by blood with many of the most powerful of the nobility, and by friendship with still more; and his own popularity, and the detestation into which the king had now fallen, caused the great majority of the nation not only to take an indignant interest in the flagrant wrong done to the duke, but also to hope that the vastness of his wrongs would induce him to become the avenger of theirs.

Notwithstanding the mere irritating and driving out of the country a man who, alike by birth, popularity, and talents, was so well calculated to wrest from him his tottering throne, the infatuated Richard now left England, as though for the express purpose of inviting and facilitating some attempt likely to consummate his probable ruin! His cousin, and the presumptive heir to the throne, Roger, earl of March, having been slain in a skirmish with the Irish kern, Richard went over to Ireland in person to avenge his deceased relative. The promptitude of the duke of Lancaster was fully equal to the infatuation of Richard. Embarking at Nantes with a retinue only sixty in number, the duke landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire, and was joined by the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland. In the presence of these two potent nobles, and of the archbishop of Canterbury and that prelate's nephew, the young earl of Arundel, both of whom had been his companions from Nantes, the duke solemnly made oath that he had returned to the country with no other purpose than that of recovering his duchy that had been

so tyrannously withheld from him. Having thus taken the best means to appease the fears of the king's few friends, and of the numerous lovers of peace whom the dread of a civil war, as a consequence of his aiming at the throne, would otherwise have rendered hostile to him, the duke invited not only all his own friends, but all in England who were true lovers of justice, to aid and uphold him in this incontestably just and reasonable design; and his appeal, partly from personal affection to him, but chiefly from general and intense detestation of the absent king, was so eagerly and speedily answered, that, in a very few days, he who had so lately left Nantes with a slender retinue of only sixty persons was at the head of an army of as many thousands, zealous in his cause, and beyond expression anxious to take signal vengeance for the numerous tyrannies of Richard.

On leaving England for the purpose of chastising the Irish rebels, Richard gave the important office of guardian of the realm to the duke of York. This prince did not possess the talents requisite in the dangerous crisis which had now arisen; moreover, he was too closely connected with the duke of Lancaster to allow of his exerting the extreme rigour by which alone the advances of that injured but no less ambitious noble could be kept in check; and those friends of the king whose power and zeal might have kept York to his fidelity, and supplied his want of ability, had accompanied Richard to Ireland. Everything, therefore, seemed to favour the duke of Lancaster, should ambition lead him to attempt something beyond the mere recovery of his duchy.

The duke of York, however, did not at the outset show any want of will to defend the king's rights. He ordered all the forces that could be collected to meet him at St. Albans; but after all exertion had been made, he found himself at the head of no more than 40,000 men; and these far from zealous in the royal cause. Just as he made this discovery of his two-fold weakness, he received a message in which the duke of Lancaster begged him not to oppose his recovery of his inheritance, to which he still with consummate hypocrisy affected to limit his demands and wishes. York confessed that he could not think of opposing his nephew in so reasonable and just a design, and York's declaration was received with a joy and applause which augured but ill for the interests of the absent king. Lancaster, still pretending to desire only the recovery of his right, now hastened to Bristol, where some of the ministers had taken refuge, and, having speedily made himself master of the place, gave the lie to all his professions of moderation by sending to instant execution the earl of Wiltshire, sir John Bussy, and sir Henry Green.

Intelligence of Lancaster's proceedings had by this time reached Richard, who hastened from Ireland with an army of 20,000 men, and landed at Milford Haven. Against the force by which Lancaster had by this time surrounded himself, the whole of Richard's army would have availed but little; but before he could attempt anything, above two-thirds of even that small army had deserted him; and he found himself compelled to steal away from the faithful remnant of his force and take shelter in the isle of Anglesey, whence he probably intended to embark for France, there to await some change of affairs which might enable him to exert himself with at least some hope of success.

Lancaster, as politic as he was ambitious, saw at a glance how much mischief and disturbance might possibly accrue to him if Richard obtained the support and shelter of France or even of Ireland, and he determined to possess himself of the unhappy king's person previous to wholly throwing off the thin mask he still wore of moderation and loyalty. He, therefore, sent the earl of Northumberland to Richard, ostensibly for the purpose of assuring him of Lancaster's loyal feeling and moderate aim; and Northumberland, as instructed, took the opportunity to seize upon Richard, whom he conveyed to Flint castle, where Lancaster anxiously awaited his precious prize. The unfortunate Richard was now conveyed to London, nominally under the protection, but really as the prisoner, of Lancaster, who throughout the journey was everywhere received with the submission and acclamations that of right belonged to his sovereign. The Londoners, especially, showed unbounded affection to the duke; and some writers even affirm that they, by their recorder, advised Lancaster to put Richard to death. However atrocious this advice, the spirit of that age was such as by no means to make it improbable that it was given. But Lancaster had deeper thoughts, and had no intention of letting his whole designs be visible, or at least declared, until he could do so with perfect safety from having the chief authorities of the nation compromised by his acts. Instead, therefore, of violently putting an end to the captive king, he made use of the royal name to sanction his own measures. Richard, helpless and a prisoner, was compelled to summon a parliament; and before this parliament thirty-three articles of accusation were laid against the king. Most of the nobles who were friendly to Richard had secured their own safety by flight; and as Lancaster was at once powerful and popular, we may fairly believe that Richard was as ill provided with friends in the commons as in the lords. But the bishop of Carlisle, in the latter house, nobly redeemed the national character, by the ability and firmness with which he showed, at once, the insufficiency of the charges made against Richard, and the unconstitutional and irregular nature of the treatment bestowed upon him. He argued, that even those of the charges against Richard which might fairly be admitted to be true, were rather evidence of youth and want of judgement than of tyranny; and that the deposition of Edward II., besides that it was no otherwise a precedent than as it was a successful act of violence, was still farther no precedent in

this case, because on the deposition of Edward the succession was kept inviolate, his son being placed upon the throne; while the duke of Lancaster, whom it was now proposed to substitute for Richard, could only mount the throne, even after Richard's deposition, by violating the rights of the children of his father's elder brother, Lionel, duke of Clarence, upon whom the crown had been solemnly entailed by the parliament.

The spirited and just conduct of the able prelate, however honourable to himself, and however precious as, *pro tanto*, rescuing the national character from the charge of being utterly lost to all sense of right, was of no service to the unhappy Richard. The bishop was heard by the parliament as though he had given utterance to something of incredible folly and injustice: the charges were voted to be proven against Richard; and the duke of Lancaster, now wholly triumphant, immediately had the bishop of Carlisle arrested and sent prisoner to St. Albans' abbey, there to acquire a more subservient understanding of the principles of constitutional law.

Richard being in due form deposed, the duke of Lancaster, who had so recently made oath that he sought only the recovery of his duchy,—of which it is beyond all question that he had been most wrongfully deprived—now came forward, crossed himself in the forehead and breast with much seeming devotion, and said, 'in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, I, Henry of Lancaster, challenge this realm of England, and the crown, and all the members and appurtenances also, that I am descended by right line of the blood, coming from the good king Henry the Third, and through that right that God of his grace hath sent me, with help of kin and of my friends, to recover it; the which realm was on point of being undone by default of governance and undoing of the good laws.'

The right to which the duke of Lancaster here pretends requires a few, and but a few, words of explanation. 'There was,' says Hume, 'a silly story received among the lowest of the vulgar, that Edmond, earl of Lancaster, son of Henry the Third, was really the *elder* brother of Edward; but that by reason of some deformity in his person he had been postponed in the succession, and his younger brother imposed upon the nation in his stead. As the present duke of Lancaster inherited from Edmond, by his mother, this genealogy made him the true heir of the monarchy, and it is therefore insinuated in his speech, but the absurdity was too gross to be openly avowed either by him or the parliament.'

But if too gross for formal parliamentary use, it could scarcely be too gross for imposing upon the changeful, ignorant, and turbulent rabble; and Henry of Lancaster was far too accomplished a demagogue to overlook the usefulness of a falsehood on account of its grossness.

The deposition of Richard rendered it necessary that the parliament should be dissolved; but in six days after that event took place, a new parliament was called by his usurping successor. This parliament gave a new proof of the absurdity of swearing the parliament and people to the perpetuity of laws; all the laws of Richard's former parliament, which had not only been sworn to but also confirmed by a papal bull being now abrogated at one fell swoop! And to make the lesson still more striking and still more disgusting, all the acts of Gloucester's parliament which had been so solemnly abrogated, were now as solemnly confirmed! For accusing Gloucester, Warwick, and Arundel, many peers had been promoted; they were now on that account degraded! The recent practice had made appeals in parliament the rightful and solemn way of bringing high offenders to justice; such appeals were now abolished in favour of common-law indictments. How could peaceable and steady conduct be expected from a people whose laws were thus perpetually subjected to chance and change, to the rise of this or to the fall of that party?

Henry of Lancaster, by due course of violence and fraud, of hypocrisy and of perjury, having usurped the crown, the disposal of the person of the late king naturally became a question of some interest; and the earl of Northumberland, who had acted so treacherous a part, was deputed to ask the advice of the peers upon that point, and to inform them that the king had resolved to spare Richard's life. The peers were unanimously of opinion that Richard should be confined in some secure fortress, and prevented from having any communication with his friends. Pontefract castle was accordingly fixed upon as the deposed king's prison, and here he speedily died at the early age of thirty-four. That he was murdered no historian denies; but while some say that he was openly attacked by assassins who were admitted to his apartments, and that before he was dispatched he killed one of his assailants and nearly overpowered the rest, others say that he was starved to death, and that his strong constitution inflicted upon him the unspeakable misery of living for a fortnight after his inhuman gaolers had ceased to supply him with any food; and this latter account is the more likely to be the correct one, as his body, when exposed to public view, exhibited no marks of violence upon it. Whatever his fault, it is impossible to deny that he was most unjustly treated by the usurper Henry, and very basely abandoned by both houses of parliament; and his fate furnishes a new proof that the smallest tyrannies of a weak sovereign, in a rude and unlettered age, will provoke the most sanguinary vengeance at the hands of the very same men who will patiently and basely put up with the greatest and most insulting tyrannies at the hands of a king who has either wisdom or courage.

Apart from the sedition and violence of which we have already given a detailed account, the reign of the deposed and murdered Richard had but one circumstance worthy of especial remark; the commence-

ment in England of the reform of the church. John Wickliffe, a secular priest of Oxford, and subsequently rector of Lutterworth, in Leicestershire, being a man of great learning and piety, and being unable, by the most careful study of the scriptures, to find any justification of the doctrine of the real presence, the supremacy of Rome, or the merit of vows of celibacy, felt himself bound to make public his opinion on these points, and to maintain 'that the scriptures were the sole rule of faith; that the church was dependent on the state and should be reformed by it; that the clergy ought to possess no estates; that the begging friars were a nuisance and ought not to be supported; that the numerous ceremonies of the church were hurtful to true piety; that oaths were unlawful, that dominion was founded in grace, that everything was subject to fate and destiny, and that all men were predestined to eternal salvation or reprobation.'

It will be perceived from this summary that Wickliffe in some particulars went beyond the reformers of the sixteenth century; but, drawing his opinions from the scriptures and writings of the fathers, he, in the main, agrees with the more modern reformers who also sought truth in that same true source. Pope Gregory XI. issued a bull for the trial of Wickliffe as to the soundness of his opinions. The duke of Lancaster, who then, in consequence of Richard's minority, governed the kingdom, not only protected Wickliffe, but appeared in court with him, and ordered that he should be allowed to sit while being examined by Courtenay, bishop of London, to whom the pope's bull was directed. The populace at this time were much against Wickliffe, and would probably have proceeded to commit actual violence upon both him and his great protector but for the interference of the bishop. But Wickliffe's opinions being, for the most part, true, and being maintained by an extremely earnest as well as learned and pious man, soon made so much progress, that the university of Oxford neglected to act upon a second bull which the pope directed against the intrepid reformer; and even the populace learned to see so much soundness in his arguments, that when he was summoned before a synod at Lambeth, they broke into the palace and so alarmed the prelates who were opposed to him, that he was dismissed without censure. On subsequent occasions he was troubled for his opinions, but though he showed none of the stern and headlong courage of Luther in a later age, he did that which paved the way for it. Being sufficiently tinctured with the enthusiasm necessary to unmask imposture, he gained the approbation of honest men: while he so skilfully explained and temporised, that he lived prosperously and died in peace at his rectory, in the year 1385; having set the example of deep and right thinking upon the important subjects of religion, but leaving it to a later generation to withstand the tyrannous assumptions of Rome even to the death. The impunity of Wickliffe and his contemporary disciples must not, however, be wholly set down to the account of his and their prudent temporising and skilful explanation. These, indeed, under all the circumstances, greatly served them, but would have utterly failed to do so but that as yet there was no law by which the secular arm could be made to punish the heterodox; and Rome, partly from her own schisms and partly from the state of England, was just at this time in no condition to take those sweeping and stern measures which, either in an earlier or later age, with the greater favour of the civil ruler, she would have proved herself abundantly willing to take. That the power and opportunity, rather than the will, were wanting on the part of Rome to suppress the Lollards—as Wickliffe's disciples were called—rests not merely upon speculation. Proof of that fact is afforded by an act which about four years before the death of Wickliffe the clergy surreptitiously got enrolled, though it never had the consent of the commons, by which act all sheriffs were bound to apprehend all preachers of heresy and their abettors. The fraud was discovered and complained of in the commons during the next session; and the clergy were thus deterred from making immediate use of their new and ill-acquired power, though they contrived to prevent the formal repeal of the smuggled act.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Reign of HENRY IV.

A.D. 1399.—HOWEVER Henry IV. might gloss over the matter to the servile commons or to the profoundly ignorant rabble, he could not but be perfectly aware that he had no hereditary right; that his 'right,' in fact, was merely the right of a usurper who had paved the way to the throne by the grossest hypocrisy. And he must have constantly been tortured with doubts and anxieties, lest the ambition of some new usurper should be sanctioned as his own had been, by what artful demagogues facetiously called the 'voice of the people,' or lest some combination of the barons should pluck the stolen diadem from his brow, to place it on that of the heir of the house of Mortimer, whom parliament had formerly declared the heir to the crown. But Henry could lessen these cares and fears by reflecting that he had possession, and that possession was not so easily to be wrested from him by a future usurper, as it had been by himself from the weak and unskilled arm of Richard; while, even should the parliamentary decision in favour of the true heir be brought into play, it was not so difficult or uncommon a thing to alter the most solemn acts, even when passed amid oaths and supported by a bull! Moreover, as to the difficulty that might arise from the true heir, Henry probably placed his chief reliance here—that this heir, then only seven years old, and his younger brother, were in Henry's own custody in the royal castle of Windsor.

A.D. 1400.—Had Henry been previously ignorant of the turbulent character of his

narons, his very first parliament had furnished him with abundant information upon that score. Scarcely had the peers assembled when disputes ran so high among them that not only was very 'unparliamentary' language bandied about among them, even to the extent of giving each other the lie direct, and as directly charging each other with treason, but this language was supported by the throwing down, upon the floor of the house, of no fewer than forty gauntlets in token of their owners' readiness to maintain their words in mortal combat. For the present the king had influence enough among those doughty peers to prevent them from coming into actual personal collision. But he was not able to prevent their quarrel from still rankling in their hearts, still less was he able to overpower the strong feeling of hatred which some of them cherished against his own power and person.

We spoke, a little while since, of the degradation by Henry's parliament of certain peers who had been raised by Richard's parliament, on account of the part they took at the time of the rebellion of the duke of Gloucester. The earls of Rutland, Kent, and Huntingdon, and the lord Spencer, who were thus degraded, respectively, from the titles of Albemarle, Surrey, Exeter, and Gloucester, the three first being dukedoms and the fourth an earldom, now entered into a conspiracy to seize the king at Windsor; and his deposition, if not his death, must infallibly have followed had they succeeded in the first part of their design. The earl of Salisbury and the lord Lumley joined in this conspiracy, and the measures were so well taken that Henry's ruin would have been morally certain, but that Rutland, from compunction or some less creditable motive, gave the king timely notice, and he suddenly withdrew from Windsor, where he was living comparatively unprotected, and reached London in private just as the conspirators arrived at Windsor with a party of five hundred cavalry. Before the baffled conspirators could recover from their surprise the king posted himself at Kingston-on-Thames, with cavalry and infantry, chiefly supplied by the city of London, to the number of twenty thousand. The conspirators had so entirely depended upon the effect of surprising the king and making use of the possession of his person, that they now saw they had lost all in losing him, and they betook themselves to their respective counties to raise their friends and dependents. But the king had now all the advantage of being already in force, and strong detachments of his friends pursued the fugitives so hotly that they had not the chance of making any combined resistance. The earls of Kent and Salisbury were seized at Cirencester, in Gloucestershire, by the inhabitants of that place, and were beheaded on the following day; Spencer and Lumley were similarly disposed of by the men of Bristol; and the earls of Huntingdon, sir Thomas Blount, sir Benedict Sely, and several others who were made prisoners, were subsequently put to death by Henry's own order. It gives us a positive loathing for the morality of that age when we read that on the quartered bodies of these persons being brought to London, the mangled and senseless remains were insulted by the loud and disgusting joy, not only of immense numbers of the rabble of the turbulent metropolis, but also by thirty-two mitred abbots and eighteen bishops, who thus set an example which—can we doubt it?—was only too faithfully followed by the inferior clergy. But the most disgusting as well as the most horrible part of this sad story still remains to be told. In this truly degrading procession the earl of Rutland made a conspicuous figure, not merely as being son and heir of the duke of York, as having aided in the murder of his uncle the duke of Gloucester, as having deserted from Richard to Henry, and having conspired against the latter and betrayed to him the wretched men whose remains were now being brutally paraded before the eyes of the rabble; these distinctions were not enough for his evil ambition, and lest he should be overlooked in the bloody procession, he carried upon a pole the ghastly head of one of those victims whom he had first seduced and conspired with, and then betrayed—and that victim was the lord Spencer, his own brother-in-law! Surely this man had successfully aimed at the sublimity of infamy!

A.D. 1401.—Politic in everything, and resolute to make everything as far as possible subservient to his safety and interest, Henry, who in his youth and while as yet a subject had been, as his father had, a favourer of the Lollards, now laid himself out to aid in their oppression, in order to conciliate the established clergy. And to all the other evil characteristics of this reign is to be added that of the originating, in England, of civil penal laws against the undefined and indefinable crime of heresy.

Lollardism, appealing to the simple common sense of the multitude, had by this time become very widely disseminated in England; and the clergy, unable to oppose the leading arguments of the detested heretics, and unpossessed of the power to silence those whom they could not confute, loudly demanded the aid of the civil power. Anxious to serve a vast and powerful body of men who in any great emergency would be so well able to serve him, Henry engaged the parliament to pass a bill, which provided, that all relapsed heretics who should refuse to abjure their errors of faith when summoned before the bishop and his commissioners, should be delivered over to the civil authorities, who should publicly commit them to the flames. An atrocious use of the king's power, but every way worthy of the atrocious hypocrisy and violence by which that power had been acquired.

When this act was passed with all the due forms, the clergy speedily afforded proof that they did not intend to allow it to remain a dead letter. William Sautre, a clergyman of London, was condemned as a relapsed heretic by the convocation of Canterbury, and being committed to the

chastisement of the civil power, the king issued his writ, and the wretched man was burned to death. Great as all the other crimes of Henry were, they fall into comparative insignificance in comparison of this: that he was *the first, since the extinction of the dark and brutal superstition of the Druids, who disgusted and horrified the inhabitants of England with the awful sight of a fellow-creature yielding up his breath amid the ineffable tortures of the sacrificial flames.*

While Henry, conscious of the badness of his title, was thus endeavouring, by the most atrocious sacrifices to expediency, to strengthen himself in England, he, as far as possible, avoided the necessity of making any considerable exertions elsewhere. But even his consummate art could not wholly preserve him from the cares of war.

The king of France had too many causes of anxiety in his own kingdom to admit of his making, as both he and his friends were anxious to make, a descent upon England, and he was obliged to content himself with getting his daughter safely out of the hands of Henry. But the Gascons among whom Richard was born, and who, in spite of his numerous and glaring faults, were passionately attached to his memory, refused to swear allegiance to his murderer; and had the king of France been able to send an army to their support, they would, beyond all doubt, have made an obstinate resistance. But Charles's own situation rendering him unable to assist them, the earl of Worcester, at the head of an English army, found no difficulty in bringing them to obedience; and they were the less inclined to make any new attempt at shaking off Henry's yoke, because he was in communion with the pope of Rome, whose zealous partisans they were; while France was in communion with the anti-pope, then resident at Avignon.

A sturdier and more formidable opponent of the usurper was found nearer home. Owain Glendwyr, the powerful chieftain of Wales, a lineal descendant of the ancient princes of that country, and greatly beloved on that account as well as for his remarkable personal courage, gave deep offence to Henry by the firm attachment which he displayed to the memory of the murdered Richard. Lord Gray, of Ruthyn, a confidential and unscrupulous friend of Henry, had a large possession in the Welsh marches; and well knowing that he should please Henry—perhaps even personally instigated by him—he forcibly entered Glendwyr's territory, and expelled him and his followers. The personal fame and the ancient descent of Glendwyr enabled him easily and speedily to collect a sufficient force to oust the intruders, and Henry, as probably had been agreed, sent assistance to lord Gray, whence a long and sanguinary war ensued.

The Welsh chieftain no longer combated merely his personal enemy, but made war without distinction upon all the English subjects in his neighbourhood, and among them upon the earl of Marche. Sir Edmund Mortimer, uncle of that nobleman, assembled the family retainers and endeavoured to make head against Glendwyr, but was defeated, and both he and the young earl, who, though only a youth, would go to the field, were taken prisoners.

Detesting the family of Mortimer in all its branches, Henry not only took no steps towards obtaining the release of the young earl, but even refused to grant the earnest intreaties of the earl of Northumberland to be permitted to do so, although the earl had so mainly contributed to Henry's own elevation, and was, besides, very nearly related to the young captive. But in point of ingratitude, as in point of hypocrisy, Henry stopped at no half measures; and having thus shown his sense of the earl's past service, he very shortly afterwards made a new service the actual ground of a new and even more directly insulting ingratitude.

The Scots, tempted by the occasion of so recent and flagrant an usurpation of the crown, made incursions into the northern counties of England; and Henry, attended by the most warlike of his nobles, marched in such force to Edinburgh, that the Scots, unable at that moment prudently to give him battle, retired to the mountains, as was ever their custom when they could not fight, yet would not resist. In this dilemma, with a foe which he could neither provoke into the field nor terrify into a formal and insincere submission, Henry issued a formal and pompous summons to Robert III. to come to him and do homage for his crown, and then marched home and disbanded his army.

A.D. 1402.—Delivered from the immediate presence of their enemy, the Scots exerted themselves so well, that lord Douglas was now able to lead an army of twelve thousand men, officered by all the heads of the nobility, into England, where the usual devastation and plunder marked their presence. The earl of Northumberland and his gallant son collected a force and overtook the Scots at Holmedon, as they were returning home laden with booty. In the battle which ensued the Scots were completely routed, vast numbers of them were slain or taken prisoners, and among the latter were lord Douglas himself, the earl of Fife, son of the duke of Albany and nephew of the king of Scotland, and the earls of Angus, Murray, and Orkney.

In that age the ransom of prisoners was a most important part of the profit of the warrior, whether officer or private. The noble who went to war for his sovereign not only ran the ordinary risks of the fight, but also, if taken prisoner, had to purchase his own release, often at a sum so vast as to entail comparative poverty upon his family for generations. Under such circumstances to interfere with him as to the ransom of his prisoners, when he was favoured by the fortune of war, was as scandalous a breach of faith as any other and more obvious invasion of his property; and this breach of faith, with the added infamy of extreme ingratitude, did Henry now commit, by sending a peremptory message to the Percies, not to ransom their prison

ers on any terms; the desire of the politic tyrant being to make the continued imprisonment of these noblemen a means of procuring advantageous terms from the kingdom of which they were the pride and ornament.

A.D. 1403.—Henry had probably reckoned on the continued faith of the earl of Northumberland, under any circumstances of provocation, from the unprincipled absence of all scruple which that nobleman had shown in aiding his usurpation. But the earl, besides that he himself smarted under the mingled insult and injury, was still farther prompted to vengeance by his son the younger Percy, better known as Harry Hotspur, and it was determined between them that an attempt should be made to hurl the ungrateful usurper from the throne to which they had so mainly contributed to raise him. Entering into a correspondence with Glendwyr, they agreed to join him in his opposition to Henry, and, still farther to strengthen themselves, gave lord Douglas his liberty, and engaged that warlike noble to join them with all the Scottish force that he could command. Their own military retainers and friends were not a weak army; and so despotic was the power of the earl's family, and, at the same time, so implicit and undying was the attachment of its followers, that the very men who had formerly followed the earl for the purpose of placing Henry on the throne, now followed for the purpose of deposing him.

All the preparations being made, the earl's army was ready for action when it was deprived of its leader by a sudden illness which disabled the earl from moving. But young Henry Percy had the confidence of his troops in a degree not inferior to that in which it was enjoyed by the earl himself, and he marched towards Shrewsbury, where he was to be joined by Glendwyr.

Henry who, whatever his crimes, was both brave and able, had just collected a force with a view to repelling or chastising the Scots, and by hurried marches he contrived to reach Shrewsbury before Glendwyr arrived to the support of Percy.

It was obviously the king's true policy to force Percy to an engagement before his expected allies could arrive, and the fierce and impatient temper of Harry Hotspur admirably seconded the king's wish.

As if fearful lest any motive should induce the king to decline the instant trial of their strength, Hotspur issued a manifesto, in which he urged every topic that was calculated to goad the king's conscience, or to wound his pride and lower his character. In the words of Hume, 'He renounced his allegiance, set him at defiance, and in the name of his father and uncle as well as in his own, he enumerated all the grievances of which he pretended the nation had reason to complain. He upbraided him with the perjury of which he had been guilty when, on landing at Ravenspur, he had sworn upon the gospels, before the earl of Northumberland, that he had no other intention than to recover the duchy of Lancaster, and that he would ever remain a faithful subject to king Richard. He aggravated his guilt in first dethroning and then murdering that prince, and in usurping on the title of the house of Mortimer, to whom, both by lineal succession and by declarations of parliament, the throne, when vacant by Richard's demise, did of right belong. He complained of his cruel policy in allowing the young earl of Marche, whom he ought to regard as his sovereign, to remain a captive in the hands of his enemies, and in even refusing to all his friends permission to treat for his ransom. He charged him again with perjury in loading the nation with heavy taxes, after having sworn that, without the utmost necessity, he would never lay any impositions upon them; and he reproached him with the arts employed in procuring favourable elections into parliament; arts which he himself had before imputed as a crime to Richard, and which he had made one chief reason of that prince's arraignment and deposition.'

The truths here collected tell very heavily against the character of Henry; but the reader must not omit to notice that in most of the crimes here laid to his charge the earl of Northumberland had been his zealous accomplice, and by his own overgrown power had mainly enabled him to do those very things which he now charged against him as crimes, and which he so charged only because of their bitter personal feud. So rarely, so very rarely, do even the most patriotic enterprises take their rise solely in patriotic and pure feelings.

On the following morning the embattled hosts attacked each other, and rarely upon English ground has so sanguinary an action taken place. Douglas and young Percy, who had so often and so bravely opposed each other, now that they fought in the same ranks seemed to strive to outvie each other in deeds of daring and self-exposure. Henry, on his side, with whom was the young prince of Wales, who now 'fleshed his maiden sword,' proved himself worthy of the usurped crown, as far as valour and conduct were concerned. Yet, though he repeatedly charged where the battle was the fiercest and the slaughter the most terrible, he even on this occasion showed that he never allowed courage to leave policy altogether behind. Feeling sure that the hostile leaders would not fail to direct their especial exertions to slaying him or making him prisoner, he caused several of his officers to be dressed and armed in the royal guise, and this policy at once proved the correctness of his judgment, and, in all human probability, saved his life, for several of the seeming kings paid with their lives for their temporary disguise; the fierce Douglas roaming through the field, and slaying each that bore the royal semblance who had the misfortune to come within the sweep of his trenchant and unsparing blade. The slaughter was tremendous, but the victory was on the side of the king, the troops of Percy falling into complete and irremediable disorder when that gallant, though too impetuous leader, was slain by some

undistinguished hand. About four thousand soldiers perished on the side of Percy, and above half that number on the side of the king, while, including the loss of both armies, considerably more than two thousand nobles and gentlemen were slain. The earls of Worcester and Douglas were taken; the latter was treated with all the respect and kindness due to a distinguished prisoner of war, but the former, together with sir Richard Vernon, was beheaded at Shrewsbury.

The earl of Northumberland, who by this time had recovered from his illness, had raised a small force and was advancing to the aid of his gallant son, when he was shocked and astounded by the disastrous tidings from Shrewsbury. Perceiving the impossibility, with all the force he could then command, of making head against the king, he dismissed all his followers, except the retinue usual to men of his rank, proceeded to York, and presented himself to the king, to whom he boldly affirmed that his sole intention was to endeavour, by mediating between his son and the king, to prevent the effusion of blood which now unhappily had taken place. Henry, whose policy it was to evade war by every means in his power, pretended to be deceived, and a formal pardon was given to the earl.

A.D. 1405.—But the earl of Northumberland knew mankind in general, and Henry in particular, far too well to suppose that there was any reality in this very facile forgiveness; and he was confirmed in his own enmity not only by the loss of his brave son, but also by the conviction that he had been too iniquitously useful, and was too dangerously powerful, to allow of his ever being safe from Henry, should circumstances allow of that prince acting upon his real feelings. He now did what had he done it previous to the battle of Shrewsbury would most probably have given him a complete and comparatively easy victory over Henry. The earl of Nottingham, son of the duke of Norfolk, and the archbishop of York, brother of that earl of Wiltshire whom Henry, while still duke of Lancaster, had beheaded at Bristol, had never ceased to hate Henry. Whether from their own backwardness or from some unaccountable oversight on the part of the Percies, these two powerful personages had taken no part against the king at Shrewsbury, but they now very readily agreed to join with Northumberland in a new attempt to dethrone the usurper. Still, as though the want of judgement on the part of the foes of Henry were always to stand him in as much stead as even his own profoundly artful policy, Nottingham and the archbishop took up arms before Northumberland had completed his preparations for joining them. They issued a manifesto, in which they descanted, though in temperate terms, upon Henry's usurpations, and demanded not only that sundry public grievances should be redressed, but also that the right line of succession should be restored. The earl of Westmoreland, who commanded the king's forces in their neighbourhood, finding himself too weak to allow of his prudently engaging them, had recourse to a stratagem so obvious, that he could only have resorted to it on the assumption that he had to do with very simple persons, and one that in proving successful showed that assumption to be very correct.

Westmoreland desired a conference with Nottingham and the archbishop, listened with admirable gravity to all the complaints they had to make, begged them to suggest remedies, cordially assented to the propriety of all that they proposed, and closed the conference, by undertaking on the part of the king, that everything should be arranged to their entire satisfaction. It might be supposed that men of their rank, men, too, who had entered upon so perilous an undertaking, would have had their suspicions aroused by the very facility of the assent to their terms; and it is difficult, even with the well-authenticated account before us, to believe that so far from that being the case, they actually suspected nothing when Westmoreland proposed that, as all their terms had been agreed to, and there was no longer any feud between them and his royal master, both armies should be disbanded, that the country might be relieved from the very great burthen of having two such large and expensive bodies to support. But the earl and the archbishop, like the doomed men told of in tales of witchcraft, rushed upon their ruin with closed eyes. They disbanded their army, and Westmoreland pretended to disband his; but the instant that his opponents were utterly powerless, Westmoreland's secret orders called his forces together again as if by magic, and Nottingham and the archbishop were made prisoners, and sent to the king, who was at that moment making forced marches towards them in the expectation of having to oppose them in the field. The earl of Nottingham and the archbishop were both condemned and *both* executed; a new proof, as regards the archbishop, of the very limited extent to which Rome could at this time exert its formerly awful power in England.

The earl of Northumberland, on learning this new calamity, which was chiefly attributable to the double folly of his friends in revolting before he could join them, and in listening to deceptions by which even children ought not to have been imposed upon, escaped into Scotland, accompanied by lord Bardolph; and Henry revenged himself upon them by seizing and dismantling all their fortresses. This done, Henry marched against Glendwyr, over whom the prince of Wales had obtained some advantages; but though Glendwyr was not in force to meet his enemies in the field, his mountain fastnesses and the incorruptible fidelity of his friends enabled him to escape from being captured.

A.D. 1407.—The earl of Northumberland and lord Bardolph, more inveterate than ever against Henry, since he had dismantled their castles, entered the north of England with but a slender retinue, in the hope that sympathy with them and hatred of the king would cause the people to flock to

their standard. But if Henry's crimes had made him hated, his success had made him feared; the attempt was utterly unsuccessful; and the sheriff of York, sir Thomas Rokeby, having got together a force, suddenly attacked the outlawed nobles, both of whom perished in the battle. To complete Henry's good fortune and wholly free him from his domestic enemies, the formidable Glendwyr soon after died.

Fortune served Henry in Scotland as it already had served him in England. Robert III., a mild and incapable sovereign, allowed his brother, the Duke of Albany, completely to usurp his authority; Albany, tyrannical and ambitious, threw his elder nephew, David, the heir apparent to the throne, into prison, where he was starved to death. Robert's younger son, James, who alone now stood between Albany and that throne for which he had already committed so awful a crime, was sent by his alarmed father for safety to France: but the vessel in which he sailed was captured by the English, and the prince was carried to London. There was at this time a truce between England and Scotland, notwithstanding which Henry would not part with his young prisoner; and this virtual loss of his only remaining child completely broke the heart of the unfortunate Robert, who shortly afterwards died. Henry now had a most stringent power over Albany, who governed Scotland as regent; for he could continue the duke in that high office by detaining young James, while, upon the slightest breach of peace on the duke's side, Henry could at once ruin him and gain the friendship of the Scots by restoring them their rightful king.

In the wars which occurred among the French factions during the latter part of this reign Henry took but little part, and nothing that his troops did in that country was of importance enough to merit any detailed mention.

It must not be supposed that the king, though outwardly thus prosperous, enjoyed his usurped dignity without any drawbacks. His mental sufferings are described to have been tremendous; the greatest success could not fortify his mind against harrowing dread of future misfortune, and even while he was preparing for new crimes by which to support his throne, he was haunted by remorse for the old ones by which he had acquired it. This perpetual misery at length wholly deprived him of his reason, and he died the victim of crime and remorse, a worn-out man, while yet as to age only in the very prime of life, on March 20, 1413, in the thirteenth year of his reign and in the forty-sixth of his age.

Of this reign little needs to be said in the way of summary. Ill-acquired as was Henry's authority, he showed himself so able to wield it, that had he been a legitimate sovereign his reign would undoubtedly have been one of the most glorious in our history.

The parliament, profiting by the defect of the king's title, made considerable advances in authority in this reign; but though Henry was politic enough to yield in matters of little moment, he also knew how to refuse when refusal was necessary to prevent encroachment from going further. Thus on one occasion he dismissed four persons from his household, including his confessor, at the demand of the commons; while, on another, he replied to the demand of the commons for greater lenity to the Lollards, by ordering a Lollard to be burned before the close of the session!

CHAPTER XXIX.

The Reign of HENRY V.

A.D. 1413.—THOUGH the bad title of Henry IV., and the care with which his father's jealous suspicions during the latter years of his reign had caused him to exclude his son from any share in the civil government, seemed to give the young prince but little opportunity of easily ascending the throne, he had the very great advantage of being popular. The courage and conduct which he had shown in military affairs, so far as his father had allowed him to act in them, and a certain chivalric and fantastic generosity, had not only caused the people to set at least a full value upon what he did of good, but also to excuse, as the mere 'flash and outbreak of a fiery mind,' irregularities which would have excited their utmost indignation against a prince of a more sullen and less generous temper.

Looked upon with jealousy by his father, and discouraged, or rather prevented, from mixing with the statesmen of the day and sharing in the cares of government, the mercurial temper of the young prince caused him to seek pleasure and companionship out of his proper sphere, and to make himself talked of among his future subjects for many frolics, which in any other person would have been treated as crimes of no ordinary magnitude. He not only rioted and drank with men of bad repute and broken fortune, but it is even said that on more than one occasion he joined them in laying the wealthy passenger under contribution on the highway. Shakspeare, who in this as in many other cases has painted faithfully, makes Falstaff exclaim to this young prince—'Rob me the exchequer, Hal!' but the prince, if historians speak the truth, took the liberty to rob the subject ere his coin could find its way to the exchequer. Such a course was but ill-adapted to reconcile the nation to the bad title upon which Henry V. now ascended the throne, or to give them hope that the laws would be well administered under his government. But as his generous and gay nature had reconciled them to the faults of the youthful prince, so now, young as he still was, the wisdom and propriety of his very first act gave them reason to think hopefully of him as their king.

On one of the many occasions in which prince Henry's turbulent companions had disturbed the public peace, certain of them were indicted for their misconduct, and the prince Henry attended their trial in the

court of King's Bench. Perceiving that the lord chief justice Gascoigne was not overawed by the presence of the heir apparent, prince Henry was guilty of some interruption, for which the chief justice at once ordered him to be taken to prison. It may be doubted whether some of the 'courage' and 'uprightness' which historians so emphatically attribute to the lord chief justice, on account of this affair, did not originate in the knowledge that the king would be rather pleased than angry at any mortification inflicted upon the popular heir apparent. At all events, however, we must admit that Gascoigne at least showed that he did not calculate, as many more eminent men have done, the future consequences of his present performance of his duty.

On the accession of Henry V., Gascoigne waited upon him with every expectation of receiving the plainest discouragement; but the king, so far from showing himself offended at the past, made it the especial subject of his commendation, and exhorted the chief justice to continue still to administer the laws faithfully and fearlessly, without reference to the rank of the offender. To the grave and wise ministers who had ably served his father the young king gave a like gracious reception; and sending for the former companions of his dissolute youth, he made them liberal presents, assured them of his intention wholly to reform his way of life, and forbade their ever again approaching his presence, until they should have followed his present example, as they had participated and encouraged his former vice.

Most men were greatly surprised at this wise conduct, and all were gladdened by it; and probably none were more completely in either of these categories than the ministers who, at the very time that they imagined they were earning the prince's bitter enmity by their discouragement of his youthful levities, were, in fact, securing both his esteem and his confidence.

Henry's prudence and justice were not manifested merely in thus making amends for his own early follies. Deeply conscious that his father had wrongfully acquired that throne which he himself had too much ambition to give up, he endeavoured, in all *but* giving it up, to do what he could towards repairing the wrongs committed by his father. He caused the memory of the murdered Richard to be honoured with the most solemn and splendid obsequies that could have been bestowed upon a potent sovereign newly deceased, and he set at liberty the young earl of Marche, of whom his father had been so extremely jealous, and showed him every kindness. The young earl, who was of an extremely mild temper and who seemed to have had no particle of ambition, appeared fully sensible of Henry's kindness, and not only would never make any attempt to disturb his government, but showed himself strongly and sincerely attached to his person. As if anxious to leave no token existing of the sad tumults of the last reign, Henry also restored the Percy family to their honours and property; and by this and numerous other acts indicative of his determination to forget all party distinctions, caused all parties to be too much delighted with his use of power to have either leisure or inclination to inquire how he became possessed of it.

But party-spirit could not be wholly eradicated from the popular heart even by the personal exhortations and example of the king himself. The horrible punishments which in the recent reign were for the first time in England inflicted upon heretics, though it might have awed many who would otherwise have continued to be Lollards, far more certainly made many such, who, but for this terrible advertisement, would have gone to their graves in utter ignorance of the very existence of Lollardism. The public attention was aroused and fixed by these brutal executions; discussion and inquiry followed, and by degrees the country became divided into two parties, the friends of Rome and the Lollards; and if the latter were by far inferior to the former in number, they were already sufficiently numerous to cause great annoyance to the clergy and some anxiety even to the civil power.

By far the most eminent man among the Lollards at this time was lord Cobham, who both under that title and as sir John Oldcastle, had done good service to the nation, and had been honoured with the notice and approbation of both the late and the present king. The very excellence of his character and the extent of his abilities made his sectarianism the more offensive to the church; and as it was deemed that the increasing number of the Lollards required to be checked by some especially striking example, lord Cobham was selected as the victim, and the archbishop of Canterbury, Arundel, applied to Henry for permission to indict Cobham.

Henry, who seems to have been better aware than the bigoted archbishop of the real effects of persecution in matters of faith, was extremely unwilling to consent to a prosecution which, he judged, would but too surely end in Cobham's destruction; and the archbishop was forbidden to take any steps until Henry himself should have endeavoured, by force of argument alone, to lead Cobham back to the church from which he had departed. Henry accordingly sent for lord Cobham to court, and endeavoured to convince him of his error; but Cobham was fully equal to Henry in the use of intellectual weapons, and was not, upon so important a topic, at all inclined to sacrifice truth to complaisance and etiquette. Finding it in vain to endeavour to convert the unfortunate nobleman, Henry, with seemingly sincere regret, was obliged to give the clergy their required permission to indict him. The archbishop, assisted by the bishops of London, Winchester, and St. David's, proceeded against him, and he was condemned to be burned. He was sent to the Tower, and a day was appointed for his execution, but before that day arrived he managed to escape from his gaolers. Naturally of a fierce and somewhat haughty spirit, the

treatment he had received and the danger from which he had so narrowly escaped excited him to so high a pitch of anger and resolution, that he determined to aim at a general revolution of the kingdom. And accordingly, from the obscure retreat in which he found shelter, he issued orders to the Lollards upon whom he could most depend, to join him upon a certain day, that they might in the first place seize upon the person of the king, who was at that time lodging in the palace of Eltham, in Kent, and then take summary vengeance upon the chiefs of their persecutors.

A.D. 1414.—As Cobham was very highly esteemed among the Lollards, and as they were not only very numerous but also included a great number of wealthy and respectable persons, the king, who was informed of what was in contemplation, deemed it necessary not only to guard himself against the intended surprise, but also to prepare to resist open insurrection. He accordingly removed to the palace at Westminster, and prepared himself for whatever force Cobham might be able to bring. Even now Cobham had ample opportunity to abandon his design, which became hopeless from the moment it became known, and to escape from the kingdom. But he seems to have been of a temper which difficulty and danger might enrage but could not intimidate, and he assembled all the forces he could raise in the fields of St. Giles. Being made acquainted with the appointed time as well as place of meeting, the king caused the gates of the city to be closed to prevent the discontented from getting an increase to their number from that quarter; he then went, well attended, to St. Giles, and seized those of the leaders who had already arrived, while the military, skilfully stationed, arrested all who were found hastening to the spot. It appeared that, as is usual in such cases, the greater number of the prisoners knew little or nothing of the real designs of their leaders, though of the criminal and treasonable designs of the latter there remained no shadow of doubt. Those who were proved to have had treasonable designs were executed, but by far the greater number were pardoned. He whom the clergy were the most anxious to punish, and who, indeed, was now not much less obnoxious to the civil than to the ecclesiastical authority, the lord Cobham himself, was fortunate enough to escape. But sentence was pronounced against him, *par contumace*, as a traitor and a relapsed and incorrigible heretic; and being apprehended about four years afterwards, he was hanged for his participation in treason against the king, and his body was burnt in pursuance of the sentence passed against him for heresy.

The severity with which the leaders in this crude and ill-planned revolt were treated, and the advantage which the circumstances of it gave the clergy, in being able to couple heresy and treason as offences naturally springing the one from the other, had a very sensible effect in checking the progress of Lollardy; but not so much on account of the terror attached to the punishment, as the disgrace and contempt which seemed everywhere to be attached to the crime. Very wisely the clergy and the civil authorities appeared at this time to treat the Lollards, associated as they had confessedly been with the civil disobedience of Cobham, not so much as heretics as partly heretics and partly loose fellows who were desirous of causing public disturbance for the better accomplishment of their own private ends; a mode of treating the case the best possible for making it intolerable in the eyes of all decent people, and for depriving such people of all curiosity as to its doctrinal peculiarities. Happy had it been for mankind if ridicule had ever been the substitute for persecution! Truth, indeed, would overcome the former as it has the latter; but what pangs would have been spared to some of the combatants—what dark and undying infamy to others! Nor was it merely among the unreflecting multitude, and those who, simply with reference to their worldly possessions, were unwilling to countenance those whose opinions and practices were likely to disturb the public peace and put wealth in peril, that the exploded plot of Cobham caused a distaste for Lollardism. The parliament met just after the dispersion of Cobham's adherents, and one of its first acts was levelled against heretics. This act provided that all persons who were convicted of Lollardy should not only be capitally punished, as was provided for by the former act, but should also forfeit all their lands and goods whatever to the king; and that the chancellor, treasurer, the justices of the two benches, all sheriffs, justices of the peace, and chief magistrates of all cities and boroughs, should be sworn to use their utmost pains and diligence in the extirpation of heresy.

That the Lollards were feared and detested, less on account of their religious heresy than as civil disturbers, appears from the contrast between the act thus providing, and the subsequent coolness with which this same parliament, on the king demanding a supply, begged him, instead of putting them to the task of imposing a tax upon the people, to take possession of the ecclesiastical revenues and convert them to the use of the crown. The renewal of this proposition, which had formerly been made to Henry's father, threw the clergy into alarm. To turn the king's attention from the proposed wholesale spoliation of the church, they endeavoured at once to supply his more pressing and immediate wants, and to conciliate his personal favour by voluntarily conferring upon him the valuable alien priories which were dependent upon chief abbeys in Normandy, and had been bequeathed to those abbeys while England and Normandy were still united under the crown of England. Still farther to turn the attention of the king from a proposal which was so pregnant with alarm and danger to the clergy, Chichely, the then archbishop of Canterbury, endeavoured to engage the king in a war with France.

A.D. 1415. — In this design, which was much more politic than either humane or Christian, the archbishop was considerably aided by the dying injunctions of Henry IV., who had warned his son, if he could at all plausibly engage the English people in war, never to allow them to remain at peace, which would infallibly turn their inclinations towards domestic dissensions. The kingdom of France had now for a long time been plunged in the utmost confusion and discord, and the various parties had been guilty of cruelties and outrages, disgraceful not merely to themselves but even to our common nature. The state of that kingdom was consequently at this time such as to hold out advantages to Henry, which were well calculated to give force to the advice of Chichely and the dying request of Henry IV. But just as Henry, who did not want for either ambition or a warlike spirit, was preparing and meditating an attack upon the neighbouring and rival kingdom, his attention was for the moment arrested by the discovery of a dangerous and extensive conspiracy at home.

As we have already said, the young earl of Marche was so sensible of the kindness shown to him by the present king at the commencement of his reign, that he seemed to have no desire ever to give any disturbance to his government. But the earl's sister was married to the earl of Cambridge, second son of the deceased duke of York, and he thus, not unnaturally, became anxiously concerned for the rights and interests of a family with which he had himself become so intimately connected. Deeming it possible to recover the crown for that family, he took pains to acquire partisans, and addressed himself, among others, to lord Scrope of Masham, and to sir Thomas Grey of Heaton. Whether from treachery or from want of sufficient caution on the part of the earl of Cambridge, the conspiracy became known to the king before it had gone beyond the mere preliminaries; but the conspirators upon being seized made such ample disclosures of their ultimate designs, as both enabled the king to order their trial, and fully warranted him in so doing. They were in the first instance tried by a jury of commoners, and condemned upon the testimony of the constable of Southampton castle, who swore that the prisoners had confessed their guilt to him; but they afterwards pleaded, and were allowed, their privilege as peers. But though Henry had hitherto shown so much inclination to moderation, he on this occasion evinced no desire to depart from the arbitrary practices of the kings of that age. A court of eighteen barons was summoned and presided over by the duke of Clarence; before this court the single testimony that had been given before the common jury was read, and without further evidence or nearer approach to even the form of a trial, these two prisoners, one of them a prince of the blood, were condemned to death without being heard in their own defence, or even being produced in court, and were executed accordingly!

The ill-digested and unsuccessful attempt of his brother-in-law put the young earl of Marche in considerable peril. As it was, nominally, on his account that war was to have been levied against the king, he was accused of having at the least consented to the conspiracy; but the constant attachment he had shown to Henry had probably gained him a strong personal interest with that monarch, who freed him from all farther peril on account of this affair by giving him a general pardon for all offences.

As soon as the excitement consequent upon this conspiracy had somewhat passed away, Henry again turned his attention towards France.

The duke of Burgundy, who had been expelled from France by a combination of the usually jarring powers of that country, had been in such correspondence with Henry, that the latter prince felt quite secure of the duke's aid whenever an English army should appear to claim it; and therefore, without making any precise arrangements with the duke, and indeed without even coming to any positive agreement with him, Henry on the 14th of August in this year put to sea and landed safely in Normandy, with about twenty-four thousand infantry, chiefly consisting of archers, and six thousand men-at-arms.

Harfleur had for its governor D'Estouteville, under whose command were De Guitri, De Gaucourt, and other eminent French soldiers. Henry laid immediate siege to the place, but was so stoutly and successfully resisted, that, between the excessive fatigue and the more than usual heat of the weather, his men suffered dreadfully, and were alarmingly thinned by fever and other sicknesses. But, in spite of all losses and discouragements, Henry gallantly persevered; and the French were so much straitened, that they were obliged to promise that if no relief were afforded them by the 18th of September they would evacuate the place. No signs of relief appearing by that day, the English were admitted; but so much was the army thinned, and in so sickly a condition were the majority of the survivors, that Henry, far from having any encouragement to follow up this success by some new enterprise, was advised by all about him to turn his attention to getting the skeleton of his army in safety back to England. Even this was no easy or safe matter. On his first landing he had so little anticipated the havoc which fatigue and sickness had made in his army, that he had incautiously dismissed his transports; and he now lay under the necessity of marching by land to Calais, before he could place his troops out of danger, and that, too, in the face of an army of fourteen thousand men-at-arms and forty thousand foot, assembled in Normandy under the command of the constable D'Albret. The French force so tremendously out-numbered that of Henry, that the latter very prudently offered to sacrifice his recent conquest of Harfleur, at the price of being allowed to pass unmolested to Calais; but the French, confident in their superiority, rejected his proposal. Henry, therefore, in order equally

to avoid discouragement to his own troops and encouragement to the French, retreated by easy marches to the Somme, where he hoped to pass the ford at Blanquetagne, as Edward had escaped from Philip de Valois under very similar circumstances; but he found that the French had taken the precaution to render the ford impassable, besides lining the opposite bank with a strong body of troops, and he was obliged to seek a safe passage higher up the river. Scarcely anything could exceed the distress of Henry's present situation. His troops were fast perishing with continual fatigue and the prevalent sickness; he could procure no provisions, owing to the activity of the French; and everywhere he found himself confronted by numerous enemies, ready to fall upon him the instant he should cross the river. But under all these circumstances Henry preserved his courage and presence of mind; and a ford near St. Quentin being but slenderly guarded, he surprised the enemy there, and led his army over in safety.

Henry now hastened towards Calais, but on passing the little river of Ternois, at Blangi, he had the mortification to perceive the main body of the French drawn up and awaiting him in the extensive plains of Agincourt. To reach Calais without an action was now evidently impossible; the French were to the English as four to one, besides being free from sickness, and abundantly supplied with provisions; in a word, Henry was now in fully as dangerous a position as that of Edward at Cressy, or the heroic Black Prince at Poictiers. Situated as they had been, he resolved to imitate their plan of battle, and he awaited the attack of the enemy on a narrow land closely flanked by a wood on either side. With their advantage in numbers and in facility of obtaining provisions, the French ought clearly to have remained obstinately on the defensive, until the English should by absolute famine be obliged to advance from their favourable position; a position which to a very great extent, gave advantage to the side having the smaller number of men to manœuvre. But their very superiority in numbers deprived the French of all prudence, and they pressed forward as if to crush the English by their mere weight. The mounted archers and men-at-arms rushed in crowded ranks upon the English, who, defended by palisadoes, and free from the crowding which embarrassed the actions and distracted the attention of the enemy, plied them with a deadly and incessant shower of shafts and bolts. The heavy land, rendered still more heavy and tenacious by recent rain, was highly disadvantageous to the French cavalry, who were soon still further incommoded in their movements by the innumerable dead and dying men and horses with which the English archers strewed the narrow ground. When the disorder of the enemy was at its height, Henry gave orders to the English to advance with their pikes and battle-axes; and the men-at-arms following them, the confused and pent-up multitude fell in crowds, without even the possibility of resistance. The panic of the enemy speedily led to a general rout, with the sole exception of the French rear-guard, which still maintained itself in line of battle upon the open plain. This also was speedily cut to pieces; and just as the action closed completely in favour of the English, an incident occurred which caused the loss of the French to be far more numerous in killed than it otherwise would have been. A mob of a few peasants, led on by some gentlemen in Picardy, had fallen upon the unarmed followers of the English camp with the design of seizing upon the baggage; and the alarm and outcry, thus caused, leading Henry to imagine that his numerous prisoners were dangerous, he hastily gave orders for them to be put to the sword; upon which a terrible slaughter of these unhappy men took place before he discovered his mistake, and revoked an order so sanguinary and so contrary to the laws of war.

In this short but most decisive action the French lost ten thousand killed, of whom eight thousand were cavalry, and fourteen thousand prisoners; the former included the constable d'Albret, the count of Nevers, the duke of Brabant, the duke of Alençon, the duke of Barre, the count of Vaudemont, and the count of Marle; while among the prisoners were the duke of Bourbon, the duke of Orleans, the mareschal Boucicaut, and the counts d'Eu, Vendome, and Richemont. The English loss, though considerable, was small compared to that of the enemy, and the chief Englishman of note that was slain was the duke of York. As if fully satisfied with his victory, and intent only on regaining his native land, Henry immediately continued his march to Calais, whence he embarked with his prisoners for England; and he even granted the French a truce for two years, without insisting upon any corresponding concession on their part.

A.D. 1418. — The intestine disputes of France still continued to rage most furiously; not only were the duke of Burgundy and the French court fiercely warring upon each other, but continual feuds, scarcely less violent, and no less bitter, raged among the various members of the royal family. This state of things encouraged Henry to make a new and stronger attempt upon France; and he landed in Normandy at the head of an army of twenty-five thousand men, without encountering the slightest opposition. He took Falaise; Evreux and Caen immediately surrendered to him, and Pont de l'Arche quickly afterwards opened its gates. Having subdued all Lower Normandy, Henry, having received from England a reinforcement of fifteen thousand men, proceeded to lay siege to Rouen. While thus engaged he was visited by the cardinal des Ursins, who tried to persuade him to afford a chance of peace to France by moderating his pretensions. But Henry, bent upon obtaining the sovereignty of that kingdom, and well aware of the advantages he derived, not only from his own strength, but also from the dissensions of the French, calmly replied, 'Do you not perceive that God has led me as by the hand? France has no sovereign; I

have just pretensions to that kingdom: everything here is in the utmost confusion, and no one thinks of resisting me. Can I have a more sensible proof that the Being who disposes of empires has determined to put the crown of France upon my head?'

But while Henry expressed this confidence, and made every effort and preparation to carry his designs into execution by force, he at the same time carried on negotiations for a peaceful settlement, on the one hand, with the queen and duke of Burgundy—who had the semblance, at least, of the only legal authority in the kingdom, inasmuch as they had the custody of the king's person—and with the dauphin on the other hand, who had all the popular favour on his side, and was, besides, the undoubted heir to the monarchy.

It is unnecessary here, indeed it would be out of place, to do more than merely to allude to the distractions of which France was now and for a long time had been the prey. Suffice it to say, that the disputes of the rival parties were so wholly and intensely selfish, that either of them, but especially the queen's party, seems to have considered the interests of the nation as nothing in comparison with even temporary personal advantages. Taking advantage of this temper of the antagonist parties, Henry offered to make peace with them on the condition of their giving him the princess Catherine in marriage, and with her, in full sovereignty, Normandy and all the provinces which were ceded to Edward III. by the treaty of Bretigni; and these terms, so obviously injurious to the power of France, were agreed to.

A.D. 1419.—While Henry was attending to some minor circumstances, the adjustment of which alone was waited for ere the treaty above described should be carried into effect, the duke of Burgundy, who had been carrying on a secret negotiation with the dauphin, formed a treaty with that prince, by which it was agreed between them that they should divide the royal authority as long as king Charles should survive, and that they should join their efforts to expel all intruders from the kingdom. An interview was appointed to take place between them; but as the duke of Burgundy had, by his own avowal, been the assassin of the late duke of Orleans, and had thus by his own act sanctioned any treacherous attempt that might be made upon his life, and had at the same time given every one reason to refuse to put any confidence in his honour, the most minute precautions were taken to guard against treachery on either side. But all these precautions were taken in vain. Several of the retainers of the dauphin, who had also been attached to the late duke of Orleans, suddenly attacked Burgundy with their drawn swords, and dispatched him before any of his friends could interfere to save him.

This murder created so much rage and confusion in France, and all parties, though from widely different motives, were so much excited by it, that all thought or care for preserving the nation from foreign domination was lost sight of; the views of Henry were thus most importantly forwarded, through an accident arising out of that very interview by which it was intended wholly to destroy his chances of success.

Besides the advantage which Henry derived from the new state of confusion and turmoil into which France was thrown by this event, he gained from it an extremely powerful ally in the person of the new duke of Burgundy, who, stipulating only for vengeance upon the murderers of his father, and the marriage of his sister with the duke of Bedford, agreed to lend Henry whatever aid he might require, without inquiry or care as to the evil that aid might eventually entail upon the nation. Henry had already made immense progress in arms. Rouen, though most gallantly defended by a garrison of four thousand men, who were zealously aided by fifteen thousand of the citizens, had at length been taken; as had Pontoise and Gisors with less difficulty; and so closely did he threaten Paris itself, that the court had removed in alarm to Troyes.

A.D. 1420.—When the negotiations between the duke of Burgundy and Henry had arrived at this point, Henry, accompanied by his brothers the duke of Clarence and Gloucester, proceeded to Troyes to finish the treaty, nominally with Charles, but in reality with the duke of Burgundy; for the unhappy Charles was in so completely imbecile a condition, that he was at best but a mere puppet in the hands of whoever had for the time the charge of his person.

The chief provisions of this treaty, in which the honour and interests of the nation were accounted as nothing, were as follows. Henry was to marry the princess Catherine; Charles was to enjoy the title and dignity of king during his life, but Henry was to be his heir, and was also to be intrusted with the immediate administration of the affairs of the kingdom, which was to pass to his heirs in common with England, with which kingdom it was to be united under him, though each kingdom should internally retain its own customs, privileges, and usages; all the French princes, peers, communities, and vassals were to swear to obey Henry as regent, and in due time to adhere to his succession as king; Henry was to unite with Charles and the duke of Burgundy in chasing the dauphin from the kingdom; and no one of the members of this tripartite league was to make peace with him, except with the consent of the other two. A treaty more scandalous to all parties it would be difficult to imagine. Even as regarded England, Henry was king only by succession to a usurper; and his claim to France, even on that ground alone, would have been scouted by the duke of Burgundy, had patriotism not been entirely banished from his breast by passion and personal interest.

But interest, and interest alone, was attended to by the parties concerned in this very singular treaty, which was drawn, signed, and ratified with as little scruple on the side of Burgundy, as though there

had been no other object in view than the mere gratification and aggrandisement of Henry. A few days after the signing of the treaty, this prince espoused the princess Catharine, and with her and her father proceeded to Paris. Possessed of the capital, he had but little difficulty in procuring from the parliament and the three estates a full and formal ratification of that treaty, in every line of which their degradation was visibly written.

The dauphin now assumed the style of regent of the kingdom, appealed to God to witness the justice of his cause, and prepared to defend it in arms; and Henry proceeded to oppose him. He first laid siege to Sens, which, after a very slight resistance, surrendered to him, and Montereau was subdued with no less ease. Henry now proceeded to Melun, but here he met with a stouter resistance, the governor, Barbasan, repelling every effort he could make for above four months; and even at the end of that time the brave governor was only induced to treat for surrender by the absolute state of famine to which the garrison was reduced. Henry was now obliged to visit England for the purpose of obtaining both men and money, and during his absence he left his uncle the duke of Exeter in the post of governor of Paris.

By this time the English, however much they were dazzled and flattered by the talents and success of their king, seem to have begun to take something like a correct view of the possible ultimate consequence to them, and to their posterity, of the proposed union of the two crowns; and the parliament voted him a subsidy of only a fifteenth, which would have been quite inadequate to his necessities, but that the French territory he had conquered served for the maintenance of his troops. Having got together, with the subsidy thus voted to him, a new army of twenty-four thousand archers, and four thousand cavalry, he embarked at Dover and safely reached Paris, where everything had remained in perfect tranquillity under the government of his uncle.

But during the absence of Henry the English had received a very severe check in Anjou. A Scotch brigade of seven thousand men had long been in the dauphin's service, sent thither by the regent of Scotland. Henry had taken the young king of Scots, who had so long been in captivity, to France, and caused him to issue orders for all Scots to leave the dauphin's service. But the earl of Buchan, who commanded the Scots, replied, that his king while in captivity could not issue orders, at all events could not expect him to obey them. This gallant and well-disciplined body of troops now encountered the English detachment under the command of the duke of Clarence. That prince was slain in the action by a Scottish knight named Allan Swinton; the earls of Somerset, Huntingdon, and Dorset were taken prisoners; and the English were completely routed; to the great joy of the dauphin, who rewarded the earl of Buchan with the office of constable.

Henry's return, however, soon damped the new-born joy of the dauphin, who was besieging Chartres, whither Henry marched, and compelled him to raise the siege without a struggle. From Chartres Henry marched to Dreux, which also surrendered without resistance, and then proceeded to lay siege to Meaux, the garrison of which had greatly annoyed the Parisians. Here the English were resisted with great skill and courage for eight months, by the governor Vaurus. At the end of that time the place was taken; and it was probably in reality on account of the obstinate resistance that he had met with, but professedly for the cruelty which Vaurus had undoubtedly shown to his prisoners, English as well as Burgundian, that Henry ordered him to be hanged upon the same gibbet upon which he had caused so many brave men to be executed.

The capture of Meaux led to the surrender of other places in the neighbourhood that until then had obstinately held out; and the dauphin, unable to resist the united power of the English and Burgundians, was driven beyond the Loire, and compelled to abandon nearly all the northern provinces; while the son of whom Henry's queen was just now delivered was as enthusiastically hailed at Paris as at London, as the future king of both nations.

Singularly handsome and vigorous in person, and having not yet nearly reached middle age, Henry might have been expected to have very many years of glory and triumph yet before him. But he was afflicted with a fistula, a disease with which the rude surgery of that age knew not how to deal; and he the powerful and ambitious, the envied and the successful king, found himself hurrying to the grave by the rapid progress of a disease, from which in our own time the poorest person would be relieved.

Conscious of his approaching end, he gave a new proof of 'the ruling passion strong in death.' Sending for his brother the duke of Bedford, the earl of Warwick, and some other noblemen who stood high in his esteem, he with great calmness delivered to them his last will as it affected both the kingdom and his family. Professing to view his approaching death without any other regret than that which arose from his leaving his great project incomplete, he assured them that they could not fail of success by the exertion of their known prudence and valour. He appointed Bedford regent of France, his younger brother the duke of Gloucester regent of England, and to the earl of Warwick he committed the government and protection of his infant son. He at the same time most urgently enjoined these friends, on no consideration to give freedom to the French princes taken at Agincourt, until his son should be of an age to govern for himself; carefully to preserve the friendship of the duke of Burgundy; to exert every means to secure the throne of France to their infant king; and failing success in that particular, never to make peace with France unless on condition of the permanent annexation of Normandy to the crown of England.

Apart from his ambition and the violent injustice which necessarily resulted from it, this prince was in very many respects deserving of the high popularity which throughout his life he enjoyed in England, and which he enjoyed no less in France subsequent to his marriage with the princess Catharine. His civil rule was firm and productive of excellent order without being harshly severe; and the uniform kindness and confidence which he bestowed upon the earl of Marche, who beyond all question had the preferable title to the crown, betokened no common magnanimity. Henry, who died in 1422, aged only thirty-four, left but one child, young Henry, then only nine months old; and the queen Catharine, rather sooner after the death of her husband than was strictly becoming, gave her hand in second marriage to sir Owen Tudor, a private gentleman, who, however, claimed to be descended from the ancient Welsh princes: to him she bore two sons, the elder of whom was created earl of Richmond, the younger earl of Pembroke; and the earl of Richmond subsequently became king of England, as we shall hereafter have to relate.

CHAPTER XXX.

The Reign of HENRY VI.

A.D. 1422.—WE had occasion to remark, under the head of Henry IV., that the usurpation of that prince gave a great and manifest impetus to the power of the parliament. A new proof was now afforded of the extent to which that power had increased. Scarcely any attention was paid to the important instructions given by Henry V. on his death-bed; and the parliament proceeded to make arrangements in accordance rather with its own views than with those of the deceased monarch, with respect to both the kingdom and the young king.

They altogether set aside, as to the former, the title of regent, and appointed the duke of Bedford, and during any absence of his, the duke of Gloucester, to act as protector or guardian of the kingdom; evidently placing a peculiar value on this distinction of terms, though to all practical purposes it necessarily was a mere distinction without a difference. They showed, however, a more practical judgement in preventing, or, at the least, in anticipating, any undue stretch of authority on the part of either of the royal personages, by appointing a council whose advice and approbation were necessary to the legalising of all important measures.

They next proceeded to show an equal disregard to the wishes of the deceased monarch, as related to the custody and government of his infant son, when they committed him to the care of Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, a natural son of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster; an arrangement which at least had this recommendation, that the prelate in question could set up no family pretension to the crown, and had, therefore, no inducement to act unfairly by his infant charge.

The duke of Bedford, long renowned for equal prudence and valour, immediately turned his attention to France, without making the slightest attempt to alter the determination of parliament, which a less disinterested and noble-spirited man would very probably have interpreted as a personal affront.

Charles, the late dauphin, had now assumed, as he was justly entitled to assume, the title of king of France; and being shut out by the English from Rheims, the ancient and especial place of coronation of the kings of France, he caused himself to be crowned at Poictiers. This prince, though only twenty years of age, was very popular with multitudes of the French, as well for the many virtues of his private character, as for the great and precocious abilities he had shown in most difficult phases of his public affairs.

No one knew better than the duke of Bedford that, excluded though the dauphin was from his rightful succession, by the unnatural and unpatriotic act of his imbecile father, his own abilities would be strongly aided by a natural and inevitable revulsion of feeling on the part of those Frenchmen who had hitherto shown themselves fast friends to England. He therefore strictly obeyed the dying injunctions of Henry as to a sedulous cultivation of the friendship of the duke of Burgundy, whose personal quarrel with Charles had so mainly aided the success of the English cause thus far, and whose support would henceforth be so vitally important to their maintaining their ground in France. Bedford, therefore, hastened to fulfil his part in the treaty of Troyes, by espousing Philip's sister, the princess of Arras; and he even offered his new brother-in-law the regency of France, which Philip, for not very obvious reasons, declined; though, as he was far from being unambitious, he could scarcely have overlooked that the regency, during the minority of young Henry and the continued success of the English, would be nearly equivalent to the actual sovereignty, and might, by some very slight circumstance, actually lead to it.

The duke of Bedford next turned his attention to securing the friendship of the duke of Brittany, who, whether as friend or foe, was next in importance, as regarded the English power, to Burgundy himself. The duke of Brittany had already given in his adhesion to the treaty of Troyes; but as Bedford knew how much that prince was governed by his brother, the count of Richemont, he skilfully laid himself out to fix the friendship of that haughty and not very strictly honourable person. Richemont was among the high personages who were made prisoners at Agincourt, but had been treated with great kindness in England, and even allowed by Henry V. to visit Brittany, on his parole of honour, to return at a given time. Before the time arrived the death of Henry occurred; and Richemont, contrary to all the usages and maxims of chivalry, affected to believe that as his parole had been given personally to Henry V., his honour was in nowise engaged to maintain it

towards that prince's successor. His plea was as irregular as it was meanly false; but as Bedford had obviously no means of compelling Richemont to a more honourable course of conduct, without involving himself in a very mischievous disagreement with the duke of Brittany, he very wisely made a virtue of necessity, and not only overlooked the count's misconduct, but even obtained for him the hand of the widow of the deceased dauphin Louis, the sister of Philip of Burgundy.

Having thus both politically and personally allied himself with the potent dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, Bedford now directed his attention to Scotland. The duke of Albany, who, as regent of Scotland, had so considerably aided the dauphin, now king Charles, by sending him large bodies of veteran Scotch troops, was now dead, and his office and power had been assumed by his son Murdac. This nobleman had neither the talents nor the energy of his father, and he was totally unable to limit, as the duke of Albany had done, any enterprises to which the turbulent nobles of Scotland might think proper to turn their attention. This instantly became evident from the sudden and vast increase of the number of Scottish nobles who hastened to offer their swords to Charles of France; and the piercing glance of Bedford discerned the strong probability of the Scots, at no distant day, doing Charles the still more effectual service of distracting the attention and dividing the force of his English enemies, by making formidable and frequent incursions upon the northern counties of England.

As the readiest and surest way of meeting this portion of his difficulties, Bedford induced the English government to restore to liberty the Scottish king, young James, on the payment of a ransom of forty thousand pounds. This young prince, who had resided in England from his early boyhood, and had there received the very best education which the scholastic state of that age could afford even to princes, had imbibed much of the English feelings and tastes; and during the whole of his short reign—(he was murdered in 1437 by the earl of Athol)—whatever might be the extent of the leaning he was alleged to have towards France, he never once gave the English cause to regret their generosity or to throw blame on the policy of Bedford, to which the young king owed his freedom and the enjoyment of his throne.

Even while engaged in these wise political precautions, the duke of Bedford strenuously exerted himself in those military movements and operations which were indispensable to the ultimate measures he contemplated.

King Charles in person, and all the forces under his own immediate leading, had long since been driven into the southern provinces beyond the Loire. But there were many of his attached partisans still possessed of fortresses in the northern provinces, and even in the neighbourhood of Paris. Against these fortresses, therefore, the duke of Bedford deemed it necessary to exert himself, before proceeding to deal with the main strength of Charles. Dorsay, Noyelle, and Rue in Picardy, were besieged and taken: and Pont sur Seine, Vertus, and Montaigne soon after fell into the English power. These successes were followed up by still more brilliant and important ones; till at length the constable of France, with many of the French nobles, were taken prisoners, and Bedford's army occupied La Charité and other towns upon the Loire.

Every new success of the English by which they were brought nearer to his southern provinces, made Charles the more painfully anxious for the preservation of the few strongholds which he still held in those of the north, where they could so greatly annoy and impede their inimical neighbours. One of these, Yvri in Normandy, had for three months held out against the utmost efforts of its besiegers, under the personal command of Bedford himself; but the gallant governor at length found himself reduced to such straits, that he agreed to surrender unless relief should reach him by a certain day. Information of this threatened state of Yvri no sooner reached Charles than he sent a detachment of fourteen thousand men to its relief, one half of the detachment being Scots and the other half French. The chief command of this detachment was given to the earl of Buchan, the titular constable of France, who made the utmost efforts to perform his mission successfully, but had the mortification to find that the place had already been surrendered ere he could arrive. Resolved not to return from so long a march without having at least attempted some important enterprise, he turned to the left, and marching rapidly to Verneuil, prepared to besiege that place, which was delivered up to him by the citizens, in spite of all the opposition that could be made by the garrison.

It had been well had Buchan contented himself with his success. But encouraged by it, he called a council of war to consult whether he should now make good his retreat, with the glory he had so easily and cheaply acquired, or await the coming up of the duke of Bedford. Though the former plan was strongly and well urged by the graver and more politic of his officers, the latter was so agreeable to Buchan's own desire to engage the enemy at any risk, that he finally adopted it, and it was not long ere his army was confronted with that of Bedford. The numbers were tolerably equal; and Buchan, drawing up his men in excellent order under the walls of Verneuil, determined in that advantageous position to await the charge of the enemy. This prudent precaution, in a situation from which greater prudence would wholly have preserved him, was defeated by the impetuous rashness of the viscount of Narbonne, who led his men so furiously to the charge, that for an instant the English archers were beaten from the line of palisadoes, behind which, according to their usual custom, they had stationed themselves. Quickly recovering themselves

however, and forming behind and among their baggage, they poured their arrows so thickly and with such deadly precision, that Narbonne's men fell fast around him and were soon thrown into confusion. The main body of the constable's army, animated out of all sense of steady discipline by the dashing but most imprudent charge of this division, rushed to Narbonne's support, and necessarily partook with his men the slaughter and the panic caused by the English archers; while the duke of Bedford, perceiving the confusion of the enemy, seized upon the favourable moment, and charged them at the head of the main body of his men-at-arms. The French ranks quickly broke under this vigorous attack, and the rout in a few minutes became general. Though Bedford's victory was complete, it was, as he considered, so dearly purchased by the loss of sixteen hundred of the English to about two thousand of the French, that he would not allow any rejoicings for a victory which had cost the English a loss so nearly proportioned to that of the enemy. But the loss of the French could not fairly be estimated by a mere statement of numbers. It was unusually great among the leaders; Buchan himself, the earl of Douglas and his son, the counts D'Aumale, De Tonnere, and De Ventadour, with many other nobles, were among the slain; and the duke D'Alençon, the marshal de la Fayette, and the lords Gaucourt and Mortemar among the prisoners. On the following day Verneuil, having now no hope of relief, surrendered to Bedford.

Nothing could appear more desperate than the case of the French king. He had in this fatal battle lost the bravest of his leaders; his partisans had no longer even a chance of making any head against the English in the provinces north of the Loire; and he was so far from possessing the necessary means of recruiting his army and enticing other gallant men to embrace his desperate cause, that he actually had not even the means of paying for the support of his retinue, though he carefully abstained from indulging many of the frivolous and expensive shadows of royalty, while he was still uncertain of the issue of his contest for its substance. But just as he himself, as well as both his friends and his foes, began to deem his cause utterly lost, a most unexpected incident occurred to save him.

Jacqueline, countess of Holland and Hainault, had, from the politic motives which so generally determined princely marriages, espoused the duke of Burgundy's cousin-german, John, duke of Brabant. The bridegroom was a mere boy of fifteen; the lady was much older, and of a masculine and ardent temper. The sickly and weak-minded boy-husband soon became the utter detestation of his vigorous and high-spirited wife, and she applied to Rome to annul the unequal and unsuitable marriage. Being well aware that, venal as Rome was, much difficulty would ensue, from the powerful opposition which would be made to her design by the duke of Burgundy, and being fearful that he would even go to the extreme of putting her under personal restraint, she made her escape to England, and solicited the aid and protection of the duke of Gloucester. The personal beauty of the countess Jacqueline, together with the temptation of her inherited wealth and sovereignty, stimulated the love and ambition of Gloucester so far, that, without even waiting the result of an application to Rome, he made a contract of marriage with her, and commenced an attempt to wrest her territories from the duke of Brabant.

The duke of Burgundy was doubly annoyed and disgusted by this proceeding of Gloucester; for while it very seriously trenched upon his family power and wealth, it gave but an unpromising earnest of the conduct to be expected from the English, when, having fully established themselves in France, they should no longer, from not needing the duke's alliance and support, have any interested motive for putting any limits to their personal ambition or cupidity. Actuated by these feelings, he not only counselled his cousin to resistance, but exerted himself to induce the more powerful of Jacqueline's subjects to oppose her, and marched himself with a considerable body of his troops to support them in doing so.

Too exclusively engaged with his personal designs to give their due weight to political considerations, Gloucester would not be diverted from his purpose; and a quarrel at once political and personal thus engaged him and the duke of Burgundy in war in the Low Countries.

Gloucester, in the course of the angry correspondence which accompanied the warlike contest between him and the duke of Burgundy, imputed falsehood to Philip, in terms so insultingly direct, that Philip insisted upon a retractation, and personal challenges now passed between them.

The grave and politic Bedford was vexed to the soul at the consequences of Gloucester's imprudence; consequences as disastrous and threatening to the English power in France, as they were fortunate and hopeful to the cause of the rightful king of France. For, in the first place, Gloucester employed in his own quarrel the troops which Bedford had been so anxiously expecting from England, and, in the next place, this occurrence could not but weaken, if it did not wholly alienate, the friendship of the duke of Burgundy, to which the English cause was so much indebted. Having endeavoured, but in vain, to mediate between the angry dukes, Bedford now saw himself obliged to abstain from following up his signal victory at Verneuil, and to hasten to England, to endeavour by his presence there to repair the already very mischievous consequences of his brother's headstrong temper and personal ambition.

Nor was it on account of Gloucester's folly alone that the presence of Bedford was at this juncture much needed in England. The bishop of Winchester, as we

mentioned before, had been selected by parliament as custos of the young king's person, not only on account of his great abilities, but also because his family had no claim to the throne that could induce him to behave unfairly to his young charge. But this prelate had great personal ambition. He was of an arbitrary and peremptory temper, and required from the council a far greater share of authority in the state than his office of custos of the king's person could warrant him in demanding, or the council in granting.

Between the prelate, thus peremptory and ambitious, and the equally ambitious and fiery Gloucester, it was inevitable that an open quarrel should take place under such circumstances; and as each of them had his partisans in the ministry, it was not without some difficulty that even the great authority of Bedford composed the existing differences; nor did he wholly succeed in so doing until he had invoked the authority of parliament, before which assembly the two disputants were compelled to come to an apparent reconciliation, and to promise that thenceforth all their differences should be buried in oblivion.

While Bedford had been busy in adjusting this untoward and unseemly quarrel, the duke of Burgundy had so well employed his credit at Rome, as to have procured a bull which not only annulled the marriage contract between the countess Jacqueline and the duke of Gloucester, but also forbade their marriage even in the event of the duke of Brabant being removed by death. The duke of Gloucester, who had all along been actuated in his adventurous suit far more by ambition and cupidity than by love, finding so insuperable an obstacle interposed between him and even his future success, very soon consoled himself for his disappointment by giving his hand to a lady who had for a considerable time been known as his mistress.

Soon after, the duke of Brabant died; and his widow, in order to recover her territory, was obliged to declare the duke of Burgundy her heir should she die without issue, and to engage not to take a second husband unless with the duke's consent.

This termination of the affair prevented the immediate hostility upon the part of Burgundy, of which Bedford at first had been very justly apprehensive; but all the circumstances of the quarrel were calculated greatly to weaken the duke of Burgundy in his attachment to the English, from whom he could no longer expect, in the event of their complete success, to receive much better treatment than that which on the part of king Charles had aroused the duke to such fierce enmity; and ultimately this quarrel did alienate the duke from his unnatural and, on the whole, very impolitic alliance with the English.

The duke of Brittany, whose alliance Bedford valued only second to that of Burgundy, was very effectually detached from the English side by the gift to his brother, the count of Richemont, of the office of constable of France, vacant by the death of Buchan; and this loss must have been the more mortifying to Bedford, because he could not be unaware that it was mainly owing to the impolitic pertinacity with which he had refused to gratify the passion of the count of Richemont for military command.

The cooled zeal of one ally and the total loss of another, and the favourable moral effect which these things and eight months of comparative quiet had produced upon the partisans of king Charles, were sufficient to cause anxiety to the sagacious duke of Bedford when he returned to France.

The French garrison of Montargis was besieged by the earl of Warwick and an army of three thousand men, and was so reduced as to be on the very point of surrendering, when the Bastard of Orleans, afterwards so famous under his title of duke of Dunois, marched with only sixteen hundred men to Montargis, and compelled Warwick, in spite of his superior numbers, to raise the siege.

The first aim of the duke of Bedford was to bring back to his alliance the duke of Brittany. Sensible that that prince had chiefly been guided in his change of alliance by the count of Richemont, and would, therefore, most probably allow his own obvious interest to induce him to change sides once more, Bedford secretly concentrated several detachments of English upon the frontiers of Brittany, and invaded that province so suddenly, that the duke had no chance of resistance, but saw himself obliged to consent to give up the French alliance and adhere to the treaty of Troyes, to acknowledge the duke of Bedford as regent of France, and to pledge himself to do homage to the young king Henry for his duchy.

Having thus freed himself from a dangerous enemy in his rear, Bedford prepared for an enterprise, the success of which would pretty completely insure the entire success of the English cause—the siege of the city of Orleans, which was so situated between the northern and southern provinces as to open a way to the entrance of either by its possessor. As Bedford, having been so successful in expelling Charles from the northern provinces, was about to attack him in the south, the possession of Orleans was evidently of the greatest importance to him.

The conduct of the attack upon Orleans was intrusted to the earl of Salisbury, a distinguished soldier, who had just brought a reinforcement of six thousand men from England. The earl, quite rightly, no doubt, confined himself to the task of taking several places in the vicinity of Orleans, which, though they were but small, might prove of very serious inconvenience to him when engaged in the contemplated siege. These preliminary measures of the earl, however conformable to the rules of war, and however indispensable under the particular circumstances, were at the least

thus far unfortunate, that they at once disclosed to king Charles the main design of the English, and gave him time and opportunity to throw in such stores of provisions and reinforcements of men as might enable the garrison to make an effectual resistance.

The lord of Gaucour, an officer of equal conduct, valour, and experience, was made governor, and many other veteran officers threw themselves into the place to aid him in its defence; the troops they had to command were veterans in every sense of the word, and even the very citizens, instead of being likely to disturb their defenders by idle fears, were now so accustomed to war that they promised to be of very important service.

Having completed his preliminary operations, the earl of Salisbury approached Orleans with an army of ten thousand men; and all Europe looked with anxiety for the result of a siege which was likely to be so completely decisive as to the future fate of France, and where, consequently, it behoved Charles to make his utmost and final effort.

Having too small a force for the complete investment of a city which, apart from its great extent, had the advantage of a bridge over the Loire, the earl of Salisbury proceeded to attack the southern side, towards Sologne; but as he was attacking the fortificationswhich defended the bridge, he was killed by a cannon-shot while in the very act of reconnoitring the enemy. The command of the English now fell upon the earl of Suffolk, and he, receiving at the same time a large reinforcement of both English and Burgundians, departed from Salisbury's plan of partial operations, led his main force across the river, and thus invested the city on the other side. The winter having now commenced, the severity of the weather rendered it impracticable to throw up entrenchments completely around; but by constructing redoubts at convenient distances, Suffolk was at once able to lodge his soldiers safely, and to distress the enemy by preventing any supplies being conveyed to them; leaving the task of connecting the redoubts by a series of trenches until the arrival of spring. It thus appears that Suffolk trusted rather to famine than to force; to confining the enemy strictly within their walls, than to hazarding his cause by splendid storming feats, which were certain to cost him many of his bravest men, and were not likely to be soon successful; for though he had a train of artillery, the engineering art was as yet far too imperfect to allow of its making any speedy impression upon so strong a fortress. The attempts of the friends of the besieged to throw in supplies, and of the English to prevent them, gave rise to many splendid but partial engagements, in which both parties displayed great gallantry and enterprise. So enterprising, indeed, were the French, that upon some occasions they succeeded in throwing in supplies, in defiance of all the vigilance and courage by which they were opposed; but the convoys that were thus fortunate could but in a very inconsiderable degree assist a garrison so numerous, and it was evident to all military observers that Suffolk's cautious policy bade fair to be successful, and that, however slowly, the English were steadily and constantly advancing nearer to the accomplishment of their important design.

A.D. 1429.—While Suffolk was thus engaged in starving the enemy within the walls, he was himself in no small danger of being placed in the same predicament. There were, it is true, neither entrenchments nor redoubts behind him, but there were numerous and indefatigable parties of French ravagers, who completely denuded of provisions all the neighbouring districts from which he might otherwise have procured supplies; and from his small force he could not, without great danger to his main design, detach any considerable number to keep the French ravagers in check. Just as Suffolk's men began to be seriously distressed for provisions, a very great convoy of stores of every description arrived to their relief under the command of sir John Fastolffe, with an escort of two thousand five hundred men, but before it could reach Suffolk's camp, it was suddenly attacked by nearly double that number of French and Scotch, under the command of Dunois and the count of Clermont. Fastolffe endeavoured to counterbalance his inferiority in men, by drawing them up behind the waggons, but the enemy brought a small battery of cannon to bear upon him, which very effectually dislodged and disordered the English. The affair now seemed to be secure on the French side, as a steady perseverance but for a few minutes in their first proceeding would have made it. But the fierce and undisciplined impetuosity of a part of the Scotch troops caused them to break their line and rush in upon the English; a general action ensued, and ended in the retreat of the French, who lost five hundred in killed, besides a great number of wounded, and among the latter was Dunois himself. The convoy that was thus saved to the English was of immense importance, and owing to a part of it being herrings for the food of the soldiers during Lent, the affair commonly went by the name of the 'battle of the herrings.'

The relief thus afforded to the English enabled them daily to press more closely upon the important city; and Charles, now wholly despairing of rescuing it by force of arms, caused the duke of Orleans, who was still a prisoner in England, to propose to Gloucester and the council, that this city and all his territory should be allowed to remain neutral during the whole remainder of the war, and, as the best security for neutrality, be placed in the keeping of the duke of Burgundy. That prince readily grasped at the proposal, and went to Paris to urge it upon the duke of Bedford, who, however, replied that he had no notion of beating the bushes that others might secure the game; and Burgundy, deeply offended both at the refusal and the manner in which it was made, immediately departed and withdrew all those of his men

who were concerned in the investment of Orleans. Foiled as well in negotiation as in arms, Charles now wholly despaired of saving Orleans, when an incident occurred to save it, and to give new hopes to his cause, so marvellous, that it reads more like the invention of a romancer's fancy than the sober relation of the matter-of-fact historian.

Long as Orleans had been invested, and intimately connected as its fate seemed with that of the whole nation, it is not to be wondered at that the siege was talked of in all parts of France, and speculated upon even by minds usually but little cognizant of public affairs. Among the thousands whose minds were strongly agitated by the frequent and various news from Orleans was Joan of Arc, the maid servant of a country inn at Domremi, near Vaucouleurs. Though of the lowest order of menial servants, this young woman, now twenty-seven years of age, was of blameless life and manners. Well formed and active, her simple living and her hard work preserved her naturally healthy constitution; and as she was accustomed to ride her master's horses to their watering place, and to do work which in other households would fall to the share of men, she was unusually hardy and of a somewhat masculine habit, though, as has been said, unmarked by any eccentricity of manner of conduct.

This young woman paid so much attention to what she heard respecting the siege of Orleans, and the distress and perils of her rightful sovereign, that by degrees she accustomed herself to make them the sole subjects of her thoughts; and her sanguine and untutored mind at length became so much inflamed by sympathy with the king, and by a passionate desire to aid him, that her reveries and aspirations seemed to assume the aspect of actual visions from above, and she imagined herself audibly called upon by some supernatural power to exert herself on her sovereign's behalf. This delusion became daily stronger; and at length, naturally courageous, and rendered still more so by her imagined visions, she overlooked all the vast difficulties which must have been evident to even her inexperienced mind, and presented herself to Baudricourt, the governor of Vaucouleurs, related to him all her fancied experiences, and besought him to listen to the voice of Heaven, and to aid her in fulfilling its decrees. After some hesitation, the governor, whether really believing all that Joan affirmed of her visions, or only considering her a visionary of whose delusions a profitable use *might* be made by the king's friends, furnished her with some attendants and sent her to Chinon, where Charles and his scanty court then resided.

Where so much is undeniably true in a tale of which so much must of necessity be false, it is no easy matter to separate the true from the wholly false or the greatly exaggerated. We, therefore, shall simply relate what passed and is said to have passed, contenting ourselves with this single caution to the reader—to conceive that, from very many motives, even the best men then living about the French king's court were liable to be seduced into credulity on the one hand, and exaggeration on the other, and that, consequently, the wise plan in reading what follows will be to reject altogether all that assumes to be miraculous, and to credit only what, however extraordinary, is still perfectly natural, especially under the extraordinary state of affairs at that time.

When Joan was introduced to the king she at once singled him out from among the courtiers by whom he was surrounded, although an attempt was made to baffle her on this point by the king's assumption of a plain dress, totally destitute of all marks or ornaments that could discover his rank to her. Repeating to him what she had already told to Baudricourt, she assured him, in the name of Heaven, that she would compel the English to raise the siege of Orleans, and would safely conduct him to Rheims, that, like his ancestors, he might be crowned there. The king expressed some doubts as to the genuineness of her mission, and, very pertinently, demanded some unequivocal and convincing proof of her supernal inspiration; upon which, all the attendants except the king's confidential friends being withdrawn, she told him a secret which, from its very nature, he had every reason to believe that by natural means no one in the world could know; and she, at the same time, described and demanded to be armed with a certain sword which was deposited in the church of St. Catharine of Fierbois, and of which, though it was certain that she never could have seen it, she described the various marks with great exactness. Though greatly staggered, the king was even yet unconvinced; and a conclave of doctors and theologians was assembled, to inquire into and report upon Joan's alleged mission. The report of these learned persons was decidedly in favour of the damsel's truth, and she was then closely interrogated by the parliament which was sitting at Poictiers, and here again it was decided that her mission was genuine.

If the king and his advisers first simulated doubt and scrupulosity, only to increase the effect upon the vulgar of their subsequent and seemingly reluctant belief, the device had all the success they could have desired. Ever prone to belief in the marvellous, the people who had lately been in the deepest despair now spoke in accents not merely of hope but of conviction, that Heaven had miraculously inspired a maiden champion, by whose instructions the king would be enabled to triumph over all his difficulties and to expel all his enemies.

But it was not merely as an adviser that Joan believed herself instructed to aid her king. In her former servile occupation she had learned to manage a horse with ease, and she was now mounted on a war-steed, armed *cap à pie*, and paraded before the people. Her animated countenance, her youth, and, above all, her graceful and fearless equitation, which seemed so marvellous and yet might have been so easily accounted for, confirmed all the favourable impressions

which had been formed of her; and the multitude loudly averred that any enterprise headed by her must needs be successful. With these fond prepossessions in her favour she set out for Blois to head the escort of a convoy about to be sent to the relief of Orleans.

The escort in question consisted of an army of ten thousand men under the command of St. Severe, who now had orders to consider himself second in command to Joan of Arc;—though probably with a secret reservation not to allow her supernatural fancies to militate against any of the precautions commanded by the laws of mortal warfare. Joan ordered every man in the army to confess himself before marching, and all women of bad life and character to be prohibited from following the army, which last order had at least the recommendation of removing a nuisance which sadly militated against good discipline. At the head of the troops, carrying in her right hand a consecrated banner, upon which was embroidered a representation of the Supreme Being grasping the earth, Joan led the way to Orleans, and on approaching it she demanded that Orleans should be entered on the side of the Beausse; but Dunois, who well knew that the English were strongest there, so far interfered with her prophetic power as to cause the other side of the river to be taken where the English were weaker. The garrison made a sally on the side of the Beausse, and the convoy was safely taken across the river in boats, and was accompanied by the Maid of Orleans, whose appearance, under such circumstances, arrayed in knightly garb and solemnly waving her consecrated banner, caused the soldiers and citizens to welcome her as being indeed an inspired and glorious prophetess, under whose orders they could not fail of success; and as another convoy shortly afterwards arrived, even Dunois was so far converted to the general belief, as to allow it, in obedience to Joan's orders, to approach it by the side of the Beausse. This convoy, too, entered safely, together with its escort, not even an attempt being made on the part of the besiegers to cut it off.

Yet a few days before Joan's first arrival at Orleans, when she had sent a letter to Bedford, threatening him with the Divine anger should he venture to resist the cause which she was sent to aid, the veteran duke treated the matter as the ravings of a maniac, or as a most shallow trick, the mere resorting to which was sufficient to show the utter desperation to which Charles was driven. But the age was superstitious, and the *natural* success which had followed the pretensions of Joan was by the ignorant soldiers and by their (as to superstition) scarcely less ignorant officers, taken to have been caused by it, and to be, therefore, a sure proof of her supernatural mission and an infallible augury of its success. Gloom and terror were in the hearts and upon the countenances of the English soldiery, and Suffolk most unwisely allowed these feelings full leisure to exert themselves by leaving his men unemployed in any military attempt; their inactivity thus serving at once to increase their despondency, while it increased the confidence and exultation of the garrison.

Whether merely obeying the promptings of a naturally brave and active spirit, worked into a state of high enthusiasm by the events in which she had taken so conspicuous a part, or from the politic promptings of Dunois and the other French commanders, Joan now exclaimed that the garrison ought no longer to be kept merely on the defensive; that the brave men who had so long been compulsorily idle and pent up within their beleaguered walls should be led forth to attack the redoubts of the enemy, and that she was commissioned by Heaven to promise them certain success. An attack was accordingly made upon a redoubt and was completely successful, the defenders being killed or taken prisoners to a man. This success gave new animation to the French, and the forts on the other side of the river were next attacked. On one occasion the French were repulsed, and Joan received an arrow in her neck; but she led back the French to the charge, and they overcame the fort from which for a moment they had fled, and the heroine—for such she was, apart from her supernatural pretensions—plucked the arrow from the wound with her own hands, and scarcely staid to have the wound dressed ere she returned to the self-imposed duty into which she so zealously entered.

Such was the effect of Joan's deeds and pretensions, that the English lost redoubt after redoubt, besides having upwards of six thousand men either killed or wounded in these most desperate though only partial contests. It was in vain that the English commanders, finding it utterly useless to endeavour to convince their men that Joan's deeds were natural, laboured to persuade them that she was aided not by Heaven, but by the powers of darkness: for it was impossible to persuade the men that those powers were not, for the time at least, too strong to be combated with any possibility of success. Fearing, therefore, that the most extensive disaster, even a total destruction of his army, might result from his keeping men so thoroughly and incurably disheartened, before a place defended by men whose natural courage was indescribably heightened by their belief that they were supernaturally assisted, the earl of Suffolk prudently, but most reluctantly, resolved to raise the siege, and he commenced his retreat from before Orleans with all the deliberate calmness which the deep-seated terror of his men would allow him to exhibit. He himself with a principal part of his army retired to Jergeau, whither Joan followed him at the head of an army six thousand strong. For ten days the place was gallantly attacked and as gallantly defended. At the end of that time orders for the assault were given, and Joan herself descended into the fosse and led the attack. Here she was struck to the ground by a stone, but almost immediately recovered herself, and fought with her accustomed courage until the assault

was completely successful. Suffolk was himself taken prisoner by a French officer named Renaud, and on this occasion a singular specimen was given of the nice punctilios of chivalry. When Suffolk, completely overpowered, was about to give up his sword, he demanded whether his successful opponent were a knight. Renaud was obliged to confess that he had not yet attained to that distinction, though he could boast of being a gentleman. *Then I knight you*, said Suffolk; and he bestowed upon Renaud the knightly accolade with the very sword which an instant afterwards was delivered to him as the captor of the man to whom he owed his knighthood.

While these things were passing at Jergeau, the remainder of the English army, under Fastolffe, Talbot, and Scales, was making a somewhat disorderly retreat before a strong body of French; and the vanguard of the latter overtook the rear of the former near the village of Patay. So utterly dismayed were the English, and so confident the French, that the battle had no sooner commenced than it became converted into a mere rout, in which upwards of two thousand of the English were killed, and a vast number, including both Scales and Talbot, taken prisoners. So great and so universal was the panic of the English at this period, that Fastolffe, who had often been present in the most disastrous scenes of war, actually set the example of flight to his astounded troops, and was subsequently punished for it by being degraded from the order of the Garter, which had been bestowed upon him as the appropriate reward of a long life and gallant conduct. So blighting a power has superstition even upon minds accustomed to treat mortal and tangible dangers with even an excessive indifference!

During this period king Charles had kept remote from the actual theatre of war, though he had actively and efficiently busied himself in furnishing supplies and sending directions to the actual commanders of his troops in the field. But now that Joan had so completely redeemed her pledge as to the raising of the siege of Orleans, and now that the prestige of her supernatural mission had so completely gained the ascendency over the minds of all conditions of men, he felt neither surprise nor reluctance when she urgently solicited him to set out for Rheims, and confidently repeated her assurances that he should without delay be crowned in that city. True it was that Rheims could only be reached by a very long march through a country in which the enemy was in great force, and in which, of course, every advantageous position was carefully occupied by them. But the army was confident of success so long as Joan marched at its head; and Charles could not refuse to accompany the heroine, without tacitly confessing that he had less faith in her mission, or was himself possessed of less personal courage, than the lowest pikeman in his army. Either of these suppositions would necessarily be fatal to his cause; and he accordingly set out for Rheims, accompanied by Joan and an army of twelve thousand men.

Instead of meeting with the opposition he had anticipated, Charles marched as peacefully along as though no enemy had been in the neighbourhood. Troyes and Chalons successively opened their gates to him; and before he reached Rheims, where he might reasonably have expected that the English would muster their utmost force to prevent a coronation of which they could not but judge the probable influence on the minds of the French, he was met by a peaceable and humble deputation which presented him with the keys.

And in Rheims, the especial and ancient coronation place of his fathers, Charles was crowned, as the Maid of Orleans had prophesied that he would be; and he was anointed with the holy oil which was said to have been brought from Heaven by a pigeon at the coronation of Clovis; and the lately obscure menial of the village inn waved over his head the consecrated banner before which his foes had so often fled; and while the glad multitude shouted in triumphant joy, she to whom so much of this triumph was owing fell at his feet and bathed them with tears of joy.

CHAPTER XXXI.

The Reign of HENRY VI. (*continued*).

THE coronation of Charles in the city of Rheims was doubly calculated to raise the spirits and to quicken the loyal attachment of his subjects. For while, as the established coronation place of the kings of France, Rheims alone seemed to them to be capable of giving full sanctity and effect to the solemnity, the truly surprising difficulties that had been surmounted by him in obtaining possession of that city, under the auspices of the Maid of Orleans, seemed to all ranks of men in that superstitious age to be so many clear and undeniable evidences that the cause of Charles was indeed miraculously espoused by Heaven. On turning his attention to obtaining possession of the neighbouring garrisons, Charles reaped the full benefit of this popular judgement; Laon, Soissons, Chateau-Thiery, Provins, and numerous other towns opening their gates to him at the first summons. This feeling spread far and wide; and Charles, who so lately saw himself upon the very point of being wholly expelled from his country, had now the satisfaction of seeing the favour of the whole nation rapidly and warmly inclining to his cause.

Bedford in this difficult crisis showed himself calm, provident, and resolute as ever he had been during the greatest prosperity of the English arms. Perceiving that the French, and especially the fickle and turbulent population of Paris, were wavering, he judiciously mixed curbing and indulgence; at once impressing them with a painful sense of the danger of insurrection, and diminishing, as far as kindness could diminish, their evidently strong desire for one. Conscious, too, that Burgundy was deeply offended, and that no open enmity would just at this juncture be

absolutely fatal to the English cause, Bedford skilfully laid himself out to win him back to good humour and to confirm him in his alliance.

But there was in Bedford's situation another element of difficulty, against which he found it still more difficult to contend. The conquest of France had lost much of its popularity in the judgement of the English. As regarded the mere multitude, this probably arose simply from its having lost its novelty; but thinking men both in and out of parliament had begun to count the cost against the profit; and not a few of them had even begun to anticipate not profit but actual injury to England from the conquest of France. These feelings were so general and so strong, that while the parliament steadily refused supplies of money to Bedford, a corresponding disinclination was shown by men to enlist in the reinforcements which he so much needed. Brave as they were, the English soldiers of that day desired gold as well as glory; and they got a notion that neither the one nor the other was to be obtained by warring against the king of France, who, even by the statements of the English commanders themselves, owed far more of his recent and marvellous successes to the hellish arts of the Maid of Orleans than to mortal skill and prowess.

Just as the duke of Bedford was in the utmost want of reinforcements, it most opportunely chanced that the bishop (now cardinal) of Winchester landed at Calais on his way to Bohemia, whither he was leading an army of five thousand men to combat against the Hussites. This force the cardinal was induced to yield to the more pressing need of Bedford, who was thus enabled to follow the footsteps and thwart the designs of Charles, though not to hazard a general action. But in spite of this aid to Bedford, and in spite of all the skill and firmness of that general, Charles made himself master of Compeigne, Beauvais, Senlis, Sens, Laval, St. Denis, and numerous places in the neighbourhood of Paris. To this amount of success, however, the Fabian policy of Bedford confined the king of France, whose forces being chiefly volunteers, fighting at their own expense, were now obliged to be disbanded, and Charles himself retired to Bourges.

A.D. 1430.—Attributing the advantage which Charles had evidently derived from his coronation rather to the splendour of the ceremony than to the real cause of its loyalty, Bedford now determined that his own young prince should be crowned king of France; and he was accordingly brought to Paris, and crowned and anointed there with all the pomp and splendour that could be commanded. The splendid ceremony was much admired by the Parisian populace, and all the crown vassals who lived in the territory that was actually in the hands of the English duly appeared and did homage to the young king: but to an observant eye it was very evident that this ceremony created none of the passionate enthusiasm which had marked that of Charles at Rheims.

Hitherto we have seen the Maid of Orleans only in one long brilliant and unbroken career of prosperity; but the time now approached for that sad and total reverse which must, from the very first, have been anticipated by all men who had sense enough to discredit alike the representation of her miraculous support that was given by her friends, and of her diabolical commerce that was given by her enemies. It would seem that she herself began to have misgivings as to the nature of her inspiration, as the novelties of military splendour grew stale to her eye, and her judgement became more and more alive to the real difficulties of the military achievements which must be performed by her royal master, before he could become king of France in deed as well as by right. From such misgivings it probably arose that, having now performed her two great and at first discredited promises, of raising the siege of Orleans and of causing Charles to be crowned at Rheims, she now urgently desired to be allowed to return to her original obscurity, and to the occupations and apparel of her sex. But Dunois was too well aware of the influence of her supposed sanctity upon the soldiers, not to be very anxious to keep her among them; and he so strongly urged her to remain, and aid in the crowning of her prophetic and great career by the total expulsion of the enemies of her sovereign, that she, in a most evil hour for herself, was worked upon to consent. As the best service that it was at the instant in her power to do, she threw herself into Compeigne, which the duke of Burgundy and the earls of Arundel and Suffolk were at that time hotly besieging. Her appearance was hailed by the besieged with a perfect rapture of joy; she had proved her miraculous power by such splendid and unbroken success, that every man among them now believed himself invincible and the victory secure; and the news of her arrival undoubtedly imbued with very opposite feelings not a few of the brave hearts in the English camp. But the joy of the one party and the gloom of the other were alike short-lived and unfounded. On the very day after that on which she arrived in the garrison she led forth a sally, and twice drove the Burgundians, under John of Luxembourg, from their entrenchments. But the Burgundians were so quickly and so numerously reinforced, that Joan reluctantly ordered a retreat, and in the disorder she was separated from her party and taken prisoner, after having defended herself with a valour and address which would have done no discredit to the bravest knight among her Burgundian captors.

This event was so unexpected, that the popular humour of the times attributed it to the treachery of the French officers, who, said the rumour, were so weary of hearing themselves depreciated by the attributing of every success to Joan, that they purposely abandoned her to the enemy. But besides that there is not a shadow of proof of this charge of treachery, which several historians have somewhat too hastily adopt-

ed, the fair presumption is entirely against it. On the one hand, we cannot imagine that the private envy of the French officers would thus outweigh alike their ardour for the cause in which they fought and their sense of their own safety, which depended so mainly upon that triumph which the inspiring effect of Joan's presence among their men was more than anything else likely to insure. On the other hand, what more likely than that a woman, in spite of the best efforts of her friends, should be taken prisoner in such a scene of confusion? How many thousands of men had been, in that very war, taken prisoners in similar scenes, without any surmise of treachery?

A.D. 1431.—It is always painful to have to speak of some one enormous and indelible stain upon a character otherwise fair and admirable. The historian irresistibly and almost unconsciously finds his sympathies awakened on behalf of the great characters whose deeds he describes. It is impossible to write about the wise and valorous course of the great duke of Bedford without a feeling of intense admiration; proportionally painful it needs must be to have to describe him as being guilty of most sottish and brutal cruelty. Aware how much the success of Joan had tended to throw disaster and discredit upon his arms, Bedford imagined that to have her in his power was to secure his future success, and he paid a considerable sum for her to John of Luxembourg.

Joan, being delivered into the power of Bedford, was loaded with chains and thrown into a dungeon; and the bishop of Beauvais, on the plea that she was captured within his diocese, petitioned Bedford that she might be delivered over to the ecclesiastical power, to be tried on the charges of impiety, sorcery, idolatry, and magic; and his petition was seconded by the university of Paris. To the eternal infamy of Bedford, this petition was complied with; and, loaded with irons, the high-hearted and admirable, however deluded, woman was taken before her judges at Rouen, only one of them, the cardinal of Winchester, being an Englishman. She defended herself with courage and with a cogency of reply equal to what might be expected from a man who, to good early training, should add the practice and experience of a long life. She boldly avowed that the great aim and end of all her public acts had been to rid her country of its enemies, the English. When taunted with having endeavoured to escape by throwing herself from a tower, she frankly confessed that she would repeat that attempt if she had the opportunity; and when asked why she put trust in a standard which had been consecrated by magical incantations, and why she carried it at the coronation of Charles, she replied that she trusted not in the standard but in the Supreme Being whose image it bore, and that the person who had shared the danger of Charles's enterprise had a just right also to share its glory. The horrors of solitary confinement, and repeated exposure to the taunts and insults of her persecutors, at length broke down even the fine proud spirit of Joan; and in order to put an end to so much torture, she at length confessed that what she had been in the habit of mistaking for visions from heaven, must needs be mere illusions, as they were condemned by the church; and she promised that she would no longer allow them to influence her mind. This confession temporarily saved her just as she was about to be delivered over to the secular arm; and, instead of being forthwith sentenced to the stake, she was sentenced to the comparatively mild, though still shamefully unjust, punishment of perpetual imprisonment, with no other diet than bread and water.

Here, at all events, one might have supposed that the cruel rage of Joan's enemies would have stopped. But even now that she was a captive, and wholly powerless to injure them, her enemies were not satiated. Judging, with a malignant ingenuity, that the ordinary habiliments of her sex, to which since her capture she had constantly been confined, were less agreeable to her than the male and martial attire in which she had achieved so many wonders and extorted so much homage, they caused a suit of male attire and appropriate armour to be placed within her reach. As had been anticipated, so many associations were awakened in her mind by this dress, that the temptation to put it on was quite irresistible. As soon as she had donned the dress her enemies rushed in upon her; this mere and very harmless vanity was interpreted into a relapse into heresy, and she was delivered over to the flames in the market-place of Rouen, though the sole crime she had committed was that she had loved her country, and served it.

A. D. 1432.—The brutal injustice inflicted upon a woman whom the nobler delusions of Greece and Rome would have deified and worshipped, by no means produced the striking benefit to the English cause that had been anticipated. The cause of Charles was from rational reflection daily becoming more popular, and the cruelty of the English served rather to confirm than to diminish that tendency; while a series of successes on the part of the French followed as a matter of course.

The death of the duchess of Bedford very much weakened the attachment of her brother, the duke of Burgundy, both to Bedford personally and in general to the English cause; and the coolness which followed this event was still farther increased when Bedford very shortly afterwards espoused Jacqueline of Luxembourg. Philip, not without reason, complained that there was a want of decent regard to his sister's memory exhibited in so hasty a contract of a new marriage, and that a personal affront was offered to himself by this matrimonial alliance without any intimation of it being given to him.

Sensible how serious an injury the continued coolness between these princes must inflict upon the English cause, the cardinal of Winchester offered himself as a mediator between them, and a meeting was appointed at St. Omer's. Both Bedford and Burgundy went to that town, which was in the

dominions of the latter, and Bedford expected that, as he had thus far waved etiquette, the duke of Burgundy would pay him the first visit. Philip declined doing so; and upon this idle piece of mere ceremony they both, without a single interview, left a town to which they both professed to have gone with the sole intent of meeting and becoming reconciled. So great is the effect of idle custom upon even the wise and the powerful!

This new cause of discontent to the duke of Burgundy happened the more untowardly, because it greatly tended to confirm him in his inclination to a reconciliation with king Charles. That prince and his friends had made all possible apology to the duke on account of the murder of the late duke his father; and as a desire for the revenge of that murder had been Philip's chief reason for allying himself with England, the more that reason became diminished, the more Burgundy inclined to reflect upon the impolicy of his aiding to place foes and foreigners upon the throne which, failing in the elder French branches, might descend to his own posterity.

A.D. 1435.—These reflections, and the constant urging of the most eminent men in Europe, including his brothers-in-law, the duke of Bourbon and the count of Richemont, so far prevailed with Burgundy, that he consented to attend a congress appointed to meet at Arras, at which it was proposed that deputies from the pope and the council of Basle should mediate between king Charles and the English. The duke of Burgundy, the duke of Bourbon, the count of Richemont, the cardinal bishop of Winchester, the bishops of Norwich and St. David's, and the earls of Suffolk and Huntingdon, with several other eminent persons, met accordingly at Arras and had conferences in the abbey of St. Vaast. On the part of France the ambassadors offered the cession of Guienne and Normandy, not in free sovereignty, but only as feudal fiefs; on the part of England, whose prior claim was upon the whole of France as rightful possession and free sovereignty, this offer seemed so small as to be utterly unworthy of any detailed counter-offer; and though the mediators declared the original claim of England preposterously unjust, the bishop of Winchester and the other English authorities departed without any detailed explanation of their wishes, but obviously dissatisfied and inclined to persevere in their original design. The negotiation as between France and England being thus abruptly brought to an end, the reconciliation of Charles and the duke of Burgundy alone remained to be attempted by the mediators. As the provocation originally given to Burgundy was very great, and as the present importance of his friendship to Charles was confessedly of vast importance, so were his demands numerous and weighty. Besides several other considerable territories, Charles ceded all the towns of Picardy situated between the Low Countries and the Somme; all of which, as well as the proper dominions of the duke, were to be held by him during his life, without his either doing homage or swearing fealty to Charles, who, in pledge of his sincerity in the making of this treaty, solemnly released his subjects from all allegiance to him should he ever violate it.

Willing to break with England with all due regard to the externals of civility, the duke of Burgundy sent a herald to England to notify and apologise for this treaty, which was directly opposed to that of Troyes, of which he had so long been the zealous and powerful defender. His messenger was very coldly listened to by the English council, and pointedly insulted by having lodgings assigned to him in the house of a mean tradesman. The populace, too, were encouraged to insult the subjects of Philip who chanced to be visiting or resident in London; and, with the usual brutal willingness of the mob to show their hatred of foreigners, they in some cases carried their violence to the extent of murder.

This conduct was as impolitic as it was disgraceful, for it not only sharpened Philip's new zeal for France, but also furnished him with that plea which he needed, not only for the world but also for his own conscience, for his sudden and complete abandonment of his alliance with the English. Almost at the same time that England was deprived of the powerful support of Burgundy, she experienced two other very heavy losses, the duke of Bedford dying of disease a few days after he had tidings of the treaty of Arras, and the earl of Arundel dying of wounds received in a battle where he, with three thousand men, was utterly defeated by Xaintrailles at the head of only six hundred.

A.D. 1436.—As in private so in public affairs, misfortunes ever come in shoals. Just as England required the most active and disinterested exertions on the part of those to whom Bedford's death had left the direction of affairs, the dissensions which had long existed between the bishop of Winchester and the duke of Gloucester grew so violent, that in their personal quarrels the foreign interests of the king and kingdom seemed to be for the time, at least, entirely lost sight of. A regent of France was appointed, indeed, as successor to Bedford, in the person of the duke of York, son of that earl of Cambridge who was executed early in the preceding reign; but owing to the dissensions above mentioned, his commission was left unsealed for seven months after his appointment, and the English in France were, of course, during that long and critical period virtually left without a governor. The consequence, as might have been anticipated, was, that when he at length was enabled to proceed to his post, Paris was lost; the inhabitants, who had all along, even by Bedford, been only with difficulty prevented from rising in favour of Charles, having seized this favourable opportunity to do so; and lord Willoughby, with fifteen hundred men, after a brave attempt first to preserve the city and then to maintain themselves in the Bastille, was at length reduced to such distress, that he was glad to capitulate

on permission to withdraw his troops into Normandy.

Resolved that his enmity to England should not long be without outward demonstrations, the duke of Burgundy raised an immense but heterogeneous and ill-disciplined army in the Low Countries, and proceeded to invest Calais, which was now the most important territory the English had in France. The duke of Gloucester, as soon as the tidings reached England, raised an army and sent a personal defiance to the duke of Burgundy, whom he challenged to remain before Calais until the weather would permit the English to face him there.

Partly from the evident terror which Gloucester's high tone struck into the Flemings, and partly from the decided ill-success which attended two or three partial attempts which Burgundy had already made upon Calais, that prince, instead of waiting for Gloucester's arrival, raised the siege and retreated.

A.D. 1440.—For five years the war was confined to petty enterprises of surprising convoys and taking and re-taking towns. But though these enterprises had none of the brilliancy of more regular and sustained war, they were to the utmost degree mischievous to both the contending parties and the unfortunate inhabitants. More blood was shed in these nameless and indecisive rencontres than would have sufficed for a Cressy or an Agincourt; and the continual presence of numerous and ruthless spoilers rendered the husbandman both unable and unwilling to sow for that harvest which it was so improbable that he would ever be permitted to reap. To such a warfare both the contending parties at length showed themselves willing to put an end, and a treaty was commenced for that purpose. France, as before, offered to cede Normandy, Guienne, and Calais to England as feudal fiefs; England, on the other hand, demanded the cession of all the provinces which had once been annexed to England, including the final cession of Calais, without any feudal burthen or observances whatever. The treaty was consequently broken off, and the war was still carried on in the same petty but destructive manner; though a truce was made as between England and the duke of Burgundy.

For a long time after the battle of Agincourt, England had possessed a great advantage in all affairs with France, from the captivity of the royal princes, five in number, who were made prisoners at that battle. Death had now very materially diminished this advantage, only the duke of Orleans surviving out of the whole five. This prince now offered the large ransom of fifty-four thousand nobles, and his proposal—like all public questions at this period—was made matter of factious dispute between the partisans of the cardinal of Winchester and those of the duke of Gloucester. The latter urged the rejection of the proposal of Orleans, on the ground that the late king had on his death-bed advised that no one of the French princes should on any account be released, until his son should be of age to govern the kingdom in his own person. The cardinal, on the other hand, expatiated on the largeness of the offered ransom, and drew the attention of the council to the remarkable and unquestionable fact, that the sum offered was, in truth, very nearly equal to two-thirds of all the extraordinary supplies which the parliament had granted for the public service during the current seven years. To this solid argument of pecuniary matter-of-fact he added the plausible argument of speculation, that the liberation of Orleans, far from being advantageous to the French cause, would be of direct and signal injury to it, by giving to the French malcontents, whom Charles already had much difficulty in keeping down, an ambitious and prominent as well as capable leader.

The arguments of the cardinal certainly seem to deserve more weight than the wishes of a deceased king, who, however politic, could when giving his advice have formed no notion of the numerous changes of circumstances which had since taken place, and which, most probably, would have caused him very considerably to modify his opinion. It was, however, less to the superiority of his advice than to his superiority of influence, that the cardinal gained his point, and that the duke of Orleans was released after a captivity of five-and-twenty years, the duke of Burgundy generously assisting him in the payment of his very heavy ransom.

A.D. 1444.—However acquired, the influence of the cardinal was unquestionably well and wisely exerted in the affair above described; and he now, though with less perfect success, exerted it to a still more important end. He had long encouraged every attempt at peace-making between France and England, and he now urged upon the council the utter impossibility of a complete conquest of France, and the great difficulty of even maintaining the existing English power there while Normandy was in disorder, the French king daily gaining some advantage, and the English parliament so incurably reluctant to grant supplies. He urged that it would be far better to make peace now than when some new advantage should make the French king still more unyielding and exacting in his humour; and his arguments, based alike upon humane motives and facts which lay upon the very surface, prevailed with the council. The duke of Gloucester, indeed, accustomed to consider France the natural battle-ground and certain conquest of England, opposed the pacific views of the cardinal with all the violence arising from such haughty prepossessions increased by his fixed hatred of witnessing the triumph of any proposal made by the cardinal. The latter, however, was too completely in the ascendant to allow Gloucester's opposition to be of any avail, and the earl of Suffolk was sent to Tours with proposals for peace. The pretensions of the two parties were still too wide asunder to admit of a permanent peace being concluded; but as the earl of Suffolk was in earnest, and as the dreadful state to which most of Charles's territories

were reduced by the long continued war made some respite of great importance to his subjects, as well as to his more personal interests, it was easily agreed that a truce should take place for twenty-two months, each party as to territory remaining as it then was.

As Henry of England had now reached the mature age of twenty-three, this truce afforded the English ministers opportunity and leisure to look around among the neighbouring princesses for a suitable queen for him. To all the usual difficulties of such cases a serious one was added by the extremely simple, weak, and passive nature of Henry. Without talent and without energy, it was clear to everyone that this prince would reign well or ill, exactly as he fell under the influence of a princess of good or bad disposition. Easily attached, he was as easily governed through his attachments; and each faction was consequently possessed with the double anxiety of marrying him well, as to itself in the first place and as to the nation in the next. The first princess proposed was a daughter of the count of Armagnac; but as she was proposed by the duke of Gloucester, the predominant faction of the cardinal at once rejected her, and proposed Margaret of Anjou, daughter of Regnier, the titular king of Sicily, Naples, and Jerusalem, whose real wordly possessions, however, were in exactly inverse ratio to his magnificent and sounding titles.

Margaret of Anjou, notwithstanding her poverty, had personal qualities independent of her beauty, which made her indeed a promising queen for a prince who, like the weak and almost childish Henry, required not a burthen but a support in the person of his wife. She had great and, for that age, very highly cultivated talents, and her courage, sagacity, and love of enterprise were such as are seldom found even in the other sex. Her own high qualities and the strong advocacy of the cardinal caused Margaret to be selected, in spite of all opposition on the part of the duke of Gloucester; and Suffolk was entrusted with the business of negotiating the marriage. In this important negotiation Suffolk proved that his party had by no means overrated either his tact or his zeal. Notwithstanding the high personal qualities of Margaret, it could not be concealed that she was the daughter of a house far too poor to offer any dowry to such a monarch as the king of England; and yet Suffolk, desirous to prepossess the future queen to the utmost in favour of himself and his party, overlooking altogether the poverty from which the princess was to be raised by her marriage, consented to the insertion of a secret article in the treaty, by which the province of Maine was ceded to her uncle, Charles of Anjou, prime minister and favourite of the king of France, who had previously made Charles the grant of that province—only the grant was conditional upon the wresting of the province from the English who at present possessed it.

Had any member of the Gloucester faction been guilty of this impudently politic and dexterous sacrifice of his country's interest, he would undoubtedly have been impeached and ruined for his pains; but it is most probable that Suffolk had in secret the concurrence of the cardinal, for the treaty was received in England and ratified as though it had secured some vast territorial advantage; and Suffolk was not only created first a marquis and then a duke, but also honoured with the formal thanks of parliament for the ability he had displayed.

As the cardinal and his party had calculated, Margaret as soon as she came to England fell into close and cordial connection with them, and gave so much increase and solid support to the already overgrown, though hitherto well exerted, authority of Winchester himself, that he now deemed it safe to attempt what he had long desired, the utter ruin of the duke of Gloucester.

A.D. 1447.—The malignity with which the cardinal's party hated the duke of Gloucester abundantly shows itself in the treatment which, to wound him in his tenderest affections, they had already bestowed upon his duchess. She was accused of the impossible, but at that time universally credited, crime of witchcraft, and of having, in conjunction with sir Roger Bolingbroke and Margery Jordan, melted a figure of the king before a slow fire, with magical incantations intended to cause his natural body to consume away simultaneously with his waxen effigy. Upon this preposterous charge the duchess and her alleged confederates were found guilty; and she was condemned publicly to do penance, her less illustrious fellow-sufferers being executed.

The duke of Gloucester, though noted for his hasty temper and pride, was yet very popular on account of his candour and general humanity; and this shameful treatment of his duchess, though committed upon what we may term the popular charge of witchcraft, was very ill taken by the people, who plainly avowed their sympathy with the sufferer and their indignation against her persecutors.

The popular feeling for once was well founded as well as humane; but as the cardinal's party feared that this sympathy might soon shape itself into deeds, it was now resolved to put the unfortunate duke beyond the power of doing or causing mischief. A parliament was accordingly summoned to meet; and, lest the popularity of the duke in London should cause any obstruction to the designs of his enemies, the place of meeting was St. Edmund's Bury. The duke arrived there without any suspicion of the mischief that was in store for him, and was immediately accused before the parliament of high treason. Upon this charge he was committed to prison, and shortly afterwards was found there dead in his bed. It is true that his body was publicly exposed, and that no marks of violence could be detected; but the same thing had occurred in the cases of Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, Richard the Second, and Edward the Second, yet does any reader of sane mind doubt that they were murdered? Or can any such reader doubt that

this unfortunate prince was murdered, too, his enemies fearing that his public execution, though the servility of the parliament would have surely sanctioned it, might be dangerous to their own interests? The death of the duke did not prevent certain of his suite, who were accused of being accomplices of his alleged treasons, from being tried, condemned, and partially executed. We say partially executed, because these unhappy men, who were ordered to be hanged and quartered, were actually hanged, preparatory to the more brutal part of the sentence being executed; but just as they were cut down and the executioners preparing to perform their more revolting task, orders arrived for that part of the sentence to be remitted, and surgical means to be taken for the resuscitation of the victims. And this was actually done.

The unhappy prince who thus fell a victim to the raging ambition of the cardinal's party was a scholar and a man of intellect, far superior to the rude age in which he lived. Sir Thomas More gives a striking though whimsical instance of his acuteness of judgment. The duke while riding out one day chanced upon a crowd which had gathered round an impostor, who alleged that he, having been blind from his birth, had just then obtained his sight by touching the then famous shrine of St. Alban's. The duke, whose learning enabled him to see through and to despise the monkish impostures which found such ready acceptance with the multitude, high as well as low, condescended to ask this vagrant several questions, and, by way of testing his story, desired him to name the colours of the cloaks of the bystanders. Not perceiving the trap that was laid for him, the fellow answered with all the glib accuracy of a clothier commending his wares, when the duke replied, 'You are a very knave, man, had you been born blind, though a miracle had given you sight, it could not thus early have taught you accurately to distinguish between colours,' and, riding away, he gave orders that the flagrant impostor should be set in the nearest stocks as an example.

It was generally considered that the queen, whose masculine nature had already given her great weight in the dominant party, had at least tacitly consented to the murder of the unfortunate Gloucester. This probable supposition had caused her considerable unpopularity, and a circumstance now occurred by which the ill opinion of the people was much aggravated. It would seem that that article of Margaret's marriage settlement which ceded Maine to her uncle was kept secret during the life of the duke of Gloucester, to whose opposition to the cardinal's party it would of necessity have given additional weight. But the court of France now became so urgent for its immediate performance, that king Henry was induced by Margaret and the ministers to despatch an autograph order to the governor of Mans, the capital of that province, to give up that place to Charles of Anjou. The governor, Sir Francis Surienne, strongly interested in keeping his post, and probably forming a shrewd judgement of the manner in which the king had been induced to make such an order, flatly refused to obey it, and a French army was forthwith led to the siege of the place by the celebrated Dunois. Even then Surienne ventured to hold out, but being wholly left without succour from Normandy, where the duke of Somerset had forces, he was at length obliged to capitulate, and to give up not only Mans but the whole province, which thus ingloriously was transferred from England to Charles of Anjou.

A.D. 1448.—The ill effects of the disgraceful secret article did not stop here. Surienne, on being suffered to depart from Mans, had two thousand five hundred men with him, whom he led into Normandy, naturally expecting to be attached to the force of the duke of Somerset. But the duke, straitened in means, and therefore unwilling to have so large an addition to the multitude that already depended upon him, and being, besides, of the cardinal's faction, and therefore angry at the disobedience of Surienne to the orders of the king, would not receive him. Thus suddenly and entirely thrown on his own resources, Surienne, acting on the maxims common to the soldiery of his time, resolved to make war upon his own account; and as either the king of England or the king of France would be too potent and dangerous a foe, he resolved to attack the duke of Brittany. He accordingly marched his daring and destitute band into that country, ravaged it in every direction, possessed himself of the town of Fougeres, and repaired, for his defence, the dilapidated fortresses of Poutorson and St. Jacques de Beavron. The duke of Brittany naturally appealed for redress to his liege lord, the king of France; and Charles, glad of an opportunity to fasten a plausible quarrel upon England, paid no attention to Somerset's disavowal alike of connection with the adventurer Sourienne and control over his actions, but demanded compensation for the duke of Brittany, and put the granting of that compensation wholly out of the question by fixing it at the preposterously large amount of one million six hundred crowns.

A.D. 1449.—Payment of this sum was, in truth, the very last thing that Charles would have desired. He had most ably employed himself during the truce for a renewal of war at its expiration, as soon as fortune should favour him with an advantageous opening. While he had been thus employed, England had been daily growing weaker; faction dividing the court and government, and poverty and suffering rendering the people more and more indifferent to foreign wars and conquests, however brilliant. Under such circumstances Charles gladly seized upon the wrong done to the duke of Brittany by a private adventurer as an excuse for invading Normandy, which he suddenly entered on four different points with as many well-appointed armies, under the command, respectively, of Charles in person, the duke of Brittany, the duke of

Alençon, and the count of Dunois. So sudden was the irruption of Charles, and so completely unprepared were the Norman garrisons to resist him, that the French had only to appear before a place to cause its surrender; and they at once, and at the mere expense of marching, obtained possession of Verneuil, Noyent, Chateau Gaillard, Ponteau de Mer, Gisors, Nantes, Vernon, Argentau, Lisieux, Fecamp, Coutances, Belesine, and Pont de L'Arche, an extent of territory which had cost the English incalculable expense of both blood and treasure.

Thus suddenly and formidably beset, the duke of Somerset, governor of Normandy, found it utterly useless to endeavour to check the enemy in the field; so far from being able to raise even one numerous army for that purpose, his force was too scanty even to supply sufficient garrisons; and yet, scanty as it was, far too numerous for his still more limited means of subsisting it. He consequently threw himself with such force as he could immediately command into Rouen, hoping that he might maintain himself there until assistance could be sent to him from England. But Charles allowed no time for the arrival of such aid, but presented himself with an army of fifty thousand men at the very gates of Rouen. The inhabitants, already disaffected to the English, now became driven to desperation by their dread of the severities of the French, and tumultuously demanded that Somerset should instantly capitulate in order to save them. Thus assailed within as well as from without, Somerset led his troops into the castle, but finding it untenable he was at length obliged to yield it, and to purchase permission to retire to Harfleur by surrendering Arques, Tancarville, Honfleur, and several other places in higher Normandy; agreeing to pay the sum of fifty-six thousand crowns, and delivering hostages for his faithful performance of the articles. Among the hostages was the earl of Shrewsbury, the ablest English general in France; and he was now condemned to detention, and to inactivity at the very moment when his services were the most needed, by the positive refusal of the governor of Honfleur to give up that place at the order of Somerset. Honfleur also gave a refusal, but, after a smart defence by sir Thomas Curson, was at length compelled to open its gates to the French under Dunois.

Succour at length arrived from England, but only to the very insufficient number of four thousand men, who soon after they landed were completely defeated at Fourmigni by the count of Clermont. Somerset, who had retired to Caen in hope of aid, had now no choice but to surrender; Falaise was given up in exchange for the liberty of the earl of Shrewsbury; and just one year after Charles's first irruption into Normandy the very last possession of the English in that province, the important town of Cherbourg, was surrendered.

In Guienne the like rapid progress was made by the French under Dunois, who encountered but little difficulty even from the strongest towns, his artillery being of a very superior description. Bordeaux and Bayonne made a brave attempt at holding out, but no assistance being sent to them from England, they also were compelled to submit; and the whole province of Guienne was thus reunited to France after it had been held and battled for by the English for three hundred years. A faint effort was subsequently made, indeed, to recover Guienne, but it was so faint that it utterly failed, and war between England and France ceased as if by their mutual consent, and without any formal treaty of peace or even truce.

CHAPTER XXXII.

The Reign of HENRY VI. (*concluded*).

A.D. 1450.—THE affairs of England were as threatening at home as they were disastrous abroad. The court and the ministerial factions gave rise to a thousand disorders among the people, besides habituating them to the complacent anticipation of disorders still more extreme and general; and it was now only too well known that the king, by whom both factions might otherwise have been kept in awe, was the mere and unresisting tool of those by whom he chanced to be surrounded. To add to the general distress, the cessation of the war in France, or, to speak more plainly, the ignominious expulsion of the English from that country, had filled England with hordes of able and needy men, accustomed to war, and ready, for the mere sake of plunder, to follow any banner and support any cause. And a cause for the civil war which these needy desperadoes so ardently desired soon appeared in the pretensions to the crown put forward by Richard, duke of York. Descended by his mother from the only daughter of the duke of Clarence, *second* son of Edward III., the duke claimed to stand before king Henry, who was descended from the duke of Lancaster, the *third* son of Edward III.; and his claim being thus cogent, and he being a brave and capable man, immensely rich and connected with numerous noble families, including the most potent of them all, that of the earl of Westmoreland, whose daughter he had married, he could not fail to be a most formidable opponent to so weak and incapable a king as Henry; and the daily increasing disorders, sufferings, and discontents of the nation, promised ere long to afford him all the opportunity he could require of pressing his claim with advantage.

Though parliament and the people at large were unwilling to make any sacrifices for the defence of the foreign interests of the nation, and could not or would not understand that much more exertion and expense are often necessary to preserve than to make conquests, they were not a jot the less enraged at the losses in France, which, though they mainly originated in the cession of Maine to Charles of Anjou, were consummated through the rigid parsimony which withheld supplies and reinforcements when they were actually indispensable. The cession of Maine to Charles of

Anjou, coupled with his fast friendship with the king of France and his active exertions in that prince's interest, persuaded the English people that their queen was their enemy at heart, and that her influence in the English council was a chief cause of the English disgrace and loss. Already the partisans of the duke of York busied themselves in preparing to kindle a civil war; and already the murder of Gloucester began to be avenged upon its authors, not merely in the bitterness which it gave to the hatred of the people, but by the loss of the courageous authority of the murdered duke, now so much needed successfully to oppose York and his seditious partisans.

The clamour against the ministers and the queen daily grew louder, and the name that was pronounced with the extremest and most intense hate was that of Suffolk. However the people may, by the demagogues of their time and country, be misled to clamour against the great, it is a certain and an important truth that the feelings and affections of the people are decidedly aristocratic. As the favourite minister of the unpopular Margaret, as the dexterously unpatriotic ambassador who to oblige her had robbed England of Maine, and as the man most strongly suspected of having brought about the murder of Gloucester, Suffolk would under any circumstances have been detested; but this detestation was lashed into something very like insanity by the consideration which was constantly recurring, that this noble, so powerful that he could aid in murdering the nation's favourite ruler, and rob the nation to conciliate the favour of a princess who so lately was a stranger to it, was a mere noble of yesterday, the great grandson, merely, of a veritable trader! This consideration it was that added bitterness to every charge that was truly made against him, and this it was that caused not a few things to be charged against him of which he was wholly innocent.

Suffolk's wealth, continually increasing, as well managed wealth needs must be, was contrasted with the daily increasing penury of the crown, which caused the people to be subjected to a thousand extortions. While he was continually growing more and more dazzling in his prosperity, the crown, indebted to the enormous extent of 372,000*l.*, was virtually bankrupt; and the very provisions for the royal household were obtained by arbitrary purveyance—so arbitrary, that it fell little short of open robbery with violence.

Aware of the general detestation in which he was held, Suffolk, who, apart from all the mere exaggerations of the mob, was a 'bold bad man,' endeavoured to forestal any formal attack by the commons' house of parliament, by rising in his place in the lords and loudly complaining of the calumnies that were permitted to be uttered against him, after he had lost his father and three brothers in the public service, and had himself lived seventeen years wholly in service abroad, served the crown in just double that number of campaigns, been made prisoner, and paid his own heavy ransom to the enemy. It was scandalous, he contended, that any one should dare to charge him with treachery and collusion with foreign enemies after he had thus long and faithfully served the crown, and been rewarded by high honours and important offices.

Though Suffolk's apology for his conduct was professedly a reply only to the rumours that were current against him among the vulgar, the house of commons well understood his real object in making it to be a desire to prevent them from originating a formal charge against him; and feeling themselves now in some sort challenged and bound to do so, they sent up to the peers a charge of high treason against Suffolk. Of this charge, which was very long and divided into a great number of clauses, Hume thus gives a summary:—'They insisted that he had persuaded the French king to invade England with an armed force, in order to depose the king Henry, and to place on the throne his own son, whom he intended to marry to Margaret, the only daughter of the late duke of Somerset, and for whom he imagined he would by that means acquire a title to the crown; that he had contributed to the release of the duke of Orleans, in the hope that that prince would assist king Charles in expelling the English from France and recovering full possession of his kingdom; that he had afterwards encouraged that monarch to make open war on Normandy and Guienne, and had promoted his conquests by betraying the secrets of England, and obstructing the succours intended to be sent to those provinces; and that he had, without any powers or permission, promised by treaty to cede the province of Maine to Charles of Anjou, and had ceded it accordingly, which proved in the issue the chief cause of the loss of Normandy.'

These charges were easily refuted by a resolute and self-possessed man like Suffolk. As regards the cession of Maine, he justly enough said, that he had the concurrence of others of the council; but he took care not to add, that though that was an excellent reason why he should not be alone in bearing the punishment, it was no reason why he should escape punishment altogether. With respect to his alleged intentions as to his son and Margaret of Somerset, he more completely answered that charge by pointing out that no title to the throne could possibly be derived from Margaret, who was herself not included in the parliamentary act of succession, and by confidently appealing to many peers present to bear witness that he had intended to marry his son to one of the earl of Warwick's co-heiresses, and had only been prevented from doing so by the death of that lady. As if they were themselves conscious that the particulars of their first charge were too vague and wild to be successful, the commons sent up to the lords a second accusation, in which, among many other evil doings, Suffolk was charged with improperly obtaining excessive grants from

the crown, with embezzling the public money, and with conferring offices upon improper persons, and improperly using his influence to defeat the due execution of the laws.

The court now became alarmed at the evident determination of the commons to follow up the proceedings against Suffolk with rigour, and an extraordinary expedient was hit upon for the purpose of saving him from the worst. The peers, both spiritual and temporal, were summoned to the king's presence, and Suffolk being then produced denied the charges made against him, but submitted to the king's mercy; when the king pronounced that the first charge was untrue, and that as to the second, Suffolk, having submitted to mercy, should be banished for five years. This expedient was far too transparent to deceive the enemies of Suffolk, who clearly saw that it was merely intended to send him out of the way until the danger was past, and then to recall him and restore him to authority. But their hatred was too intense to allow of their being thus easily baffled in their purpose; and they hired the captain of a vessel and some of his fellows, who surprised Suffolk near Dover, as he was making for France, beheaded him, and threw his body into the sea.

Greatly as Suffolk had been favoured by queen Margaret, it was not deemed expedient to take any steps to bring his murderers to justice, lest in the enquiry more should be discovered than would consist with the possibility of the queen and the house of commons keeping up any longer even the simulation of civility and good feeling.

Though the duke of York was in Ireland during the whole of the proceedings against Suffolk, and therefore could not directly be connected with them, Margaret and her friends did not the less suspect him of evil designs against them, and were by no means blind to his aspiring views to the crown; nor did they fail to connect him with an insurrection which just now broke out under the direction of one Cade. This man, who was a native of Ireland, but whose crimes had obliged him for a considerable time to find shelter in France, possessed great resolution and no small share of a rude but showy ability, well calculated to impose upon the multitude. Returning to England just as the popular discontent was at its highest, he took the name of John Mortimer, wishing himself to be taken for a son of sir John Mortimer, who very early in the present reign had been sentenced to death by the parliament, upon an indictment of high treason, wholly unsupported by parliament, and most iniquitously, on the part of Gloucester and Bedford, allowed to be executed. Taking up the popular outcry against the queen and minister, this Cade set himself up as a redresser of grievances; and partly from his own plausible talents, but chiefly from the charm of the very popular name he had assumed, he speedily found himself at the head of upwards of twenty thousand men. Imagining that a very small force would suffice to put down what was considered but a vulgar riot, the court sent sir Humphrey Stafford with a mere handful of men upon that errand; but sir Humphrey was attacked by Cade near Sevenoaks, his little force cut up or scattered, and himself slain. Emboldened by this success, Cade now marched his disorderly band towards London and encamped upon Blackheath, whence he sent a list of obvious grievances of which he demanded the correction; but solemnly protested that he and his followers would lay down their arms and disperse, the moment these grievances should be remedied, and lord Say, the treasurer, and Cromer, the sheriff of Kent, against both of whom he had a malignant feeling, should be condignly punished for sundry malversations with which he strongly charged them. Confining his demands within these bounds, and taking care to prevent his fellows from plundering London, whence he regularly withdrew them at nightfall, he was looked upon with no animosity, at least, by the generality of men, who knew that many of the grievances he spoke of really existed. But when the council, seeing that there was at least a passive feeling in favour of Cade, withdrew with the king to Kenilworth, in Warwickshire, Cade so far lost sight of his professed moderation as to put lord Say and Cromer to death without even the form of a trial. As soon as he had thus set the example of illegal violence he lost all his previous controul over the mob, who now conducted themselves so infamously towards the citizens of London, that they aided by a party of soldiers sent by lord Scales, governor of the Tower, resisted them, and the rebels were completely defeated with very great slaughter. This severe repulse so far lowered the spirits of the Kentish mob, that they gladly retired to their homes on receiving a pardon from the archbishop of Canterbury, who also filled the office of chancellor. As soon as it could safely be done, this pardon was pronounced to be null and void, upon the ground that it had been extorted by violence; many of the rebels were seized and executed, and Cade himself, upon whose head a reward was set, was killed by a gentleman named Arden, while endeavouring to conceal himself in Sussex.

Many circumstances concurred to lead the court to suspect that this revolt had been privately set on foot by the duke of York, to facilitate his own designs upon the crown; and as he was now returning from Ireland, they imagined that he was about to follow up the experiment, and accordingly issued an order, in the name of the imbecile Henry, to oppose his return to England. But the duke, who was far too wary to hasten his measures in the way his enemies anticipated, converted all their fears and precautions into ridicule, by coolly landing with no other attendants than his ordinary retinue. But as the fears of his enemies had caused them to betray their real feelings towards him, he now resolved to proceed at least one step towards his ultimate designs. Hitherto his title had been spoken of by his friends only in whispers among themselves, but he now

authorised them openly to urge it at all times and in all places.

The partisans of the reigning king and of the aspiring duke of York, respectively, had each very plausible arguments; and though men's minds were pretty equally divided as to their respective claims, the superiority which York had as to the favour of powerful noblemen seemed to be more than counterbalanced by the possession, by the royal party, not only of all authority of the laws, but also of that 'tower of strength,' 'the king's name.' On the side of the crown, besides the advantages to which we have already alluded, there were ranged the earl of Northumberland and the earl of Westmoreland, and these two nobles carried with them all the power and influence of the northern counties of England; and besides these two great men, the crown could reckon upon the duke of Somerset and his brother the duke of Exeter, the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Shrewsbury, the lords Clifford, Scales, governor of the Tower, Audley, and a long list of nobles of less note.

A.D. 1451.—The party of the duke of York was scarcely less strong; but so far had arts and literature begun to show their civilising effects, that instead of instantly and fiercely flying to arms, the hostile parties seemed inclined to struggle rather by art than force. The duke of York was the more inclined to this plan, because he imagined he had power enough in the parliament to deprive the weak Henry of the presence and support of his friends; in which case he would have but little difficulty in causing the succession to be altered by law, or even in inducing Henry to abdicate a throne which he was obviously and lamentably unfit to fill.

Nor did the parliament which now met fail to confirm York's hopes; the first step taken by the house of commons was to petition the king to dismiss from about his person the duke of Somerset, the duchess of Suffolk, the bishop of Chester, lord Dudley, and sir John Sutton, and to forbid them on any pretence to approach within twelve miles of the court. The king agreed to banish all named, save the lords, for a whole year, unless, as the answer written for him very significantly said, he should need their services in the suppression of rebellion. Still farther to show his sense of the temper of the lower house, the king—or rather his friends—refused to consent to a bill of attainder against the late duke of Suffolk, though it had passed through all the parliamentary stages.

A.D. 1452—The mere demonstration thus made by the house of commons, even though it had proved but partially successful, was sufficient to encourage the duke to more open advances, and he issued a proclamation demanding a thorough reform of the government, and especially the removal of the duke of Somerset from all office and authority; and he then marched upon London with an army of ten thousand men. Greatly popular as he knew himself to be in London, where he counted upon an affectionate welcome and a considerable addition to his force, he was astounded to find the gates fast closed against him. Scarcely knowing how to act under such unexpected and untoward circumstances, he retreated into Kent, whither he was closely pursued by the king at the head of a far superior army. In the king's suite were Salisbury, Warwick, and many more fast friends of the duke of York, who probably thus attended the king in hope of serving York as mediators, or even, should an action take place, turning the fortune of the day by suddenly leading their forces to his side. A parley ensued, and Somerset was ordered into arrest to await a parliamentary trial, and York, whom the court did not as yet dare to assail, was ordered to confine himself to his secluded house at Wigmore in Herefordshire.

Cool and circumspect as he was resolute, the duke of York lived quietly in this retirement for some time, but was at length called from it by the torrent of popular indignation against the ministers, which followed a new and utterly abortive attempt to reconquer Gascony; in which attempt, besides a vast number of men, the English lost their deservedly beloved general, the earl of Shrewsbury, who fell in battle at the age of more than eighty years. This event, and the queen giving birth to a son, which did away with the hope great numbers had entertained that York might wait and succeed to Henry quietly and as next heir, urged the Yorkists beyond all farther power of their chief to control them; and Henry being, by an illness, now rendered too completely imbecile even to appear to rule, the queen and her council were obliged to yield to the torrent of popular feeling, and they consented to send Somerset to the Tower—he being now hated even more than Suffolk had formerly been—and to appoint the duke of York lieutenant of the kingdom. The friends of the duke of York might, naturally enough, desire to see him in a situation so favourable to his and their ultimate views; but the duke's conduct wholly disappointed any expectations they might have formed of decisive measures on his part, as he fairly and moderately exerted the proper authority of his office, and no more.

A.D. 1455.—Margaret and her friends, however well pleased to profit by the duke's moderation, showed no intention of imitating it. On the contrary, the king recovering sufficiently to be again put forward in public as if acting from his own free will, was made to annul the appointment of York, to release Somerset from the Tower, and give him back all his former power. Even the moderation of York was no longer able to avoid open extremities, as it was clear, from the hasty annulling of his commission, that he was not safe from being, by some artful device, brought into difficulty for having ever consented to accept it. But even now, though he called his forces about him and placed himself at their head, he made no claim to the crown, but limited his demands to a reformation of the government and dismissal of the obnoxious ministry.

The hostile forces met near St. Alban's, and in the battle which ensued the Yorkists gained the victory, their enemies losing 5,000 men, including the detested Somerset, the earl of Northumberland, the earl of Stafford, eldest son of the duke of Buckingham, the lord Clifford, and many other leading men of the party. The prisoners, too, were numerous, and, chief of all, the king was among them. His own utter imbecility and the mild temper of the duke of York saved the unfortunate Henry from all annoyance. The duke showed him every possible respect and tenderness; and though he availed himself of his good fortune to exert all the kingly authority, while still leaving unclaimed the empty title of king, Henry was little inclined to quarrel with an arrangement which saved him from what he most of all detested, exertion and trouble.

The moderate or timid policy of the duke of York, and the spirit and ability with which Margaret kept together her weakened party, prevented farther bloodshed for a time, even after this battle had commenced the dread war of 'the roses;' in which, besides innumerable skirmishes, twelve pitched battles were fought upon English ground, and which for thirty long years divided families, desolated the land, and caused a loss of life of which some notion may be formed from the simple fact that among the slain were no fewer than eighty princes of the blood! The parliament, seeing the disinclination of the duke of York to grasp the sceptre which seemed so nearly within his reach, shaped its proceedings accordingly; and while, by granting an indemnity to the Yorkists and restoring the duke to his office of lieutenant or protector of the kingdom, they renewed their oath of allegiance to the unconscious and imbecile king, they limited York's appointment to the time when the king's son, who was now made prince of Wales, should attain his majority. This parliament also did good service by revoking all the impolitic and extensive grants which had been made since the death of the late king, and which were so extensive that they had mainly caused the excessive poverty into which the crown had fallen.

A.D. 1456.—Margaret was of too stern and eager a nature to neglect any of the opportunities of strengthening her party which were afforded by the singular moderation or indecision of York. The king having a temporary lucid interval—for his real disease was a sort of idiotcy—she took advantage of the duke's absence to parade her unfortunate and passive husband before the parliament, and to make him declare his intention of resuming his authority. Unexpected as this proposal was, York's friends were wholly unprepared with any reasonable argument against it; and, indeed, many of them, being sufferers from the recent resumption of the crown grants, were greatly disgusted with their leader on that account. The king was accordingly pronounced in possession of his proper authority; and York, constant to his moderate or temporising polity, laid down his office without a struggle or even a complaint.

A.D. 1457.—The king, or rather Margaret, being thus again in full possession of power, the court went to pass a season at Coventry, where York and the earls of Warwick and Salisbury were invited to visit the king. They were so unsuspicious of the real motive of this invitation that they readily accepted it, and were actually on the road when they were informed of Margaret's intention certainly to seize upon their persons and, not improbably, to put them to death. On receiving this startling intelligence the friends separated, to prepare for an open defence against the open violence which, it seemed probable, Margaret would resort to on finding her treachery discovered and disappointed; York retiring to Wigmore, Salisbury to his noble place at Middleham in Yorkshire, and Warwick to Calais, of which he had been made governor after the battle of St. Alban's, and which was especially valuable to the Yorkist cause, inasmuch as it contained the only regular military body which England then supported. Even now York was not inclined to proceed to extremities; and as Margaret on her part was doubtful as to the sufficiency of her military strength, and well aware of the very great extent to which the popular sympathies were enlisted on the side or York, a pause ensued, of which Bourchier, archbishop of York and some other sincere lovers of their country, availed themselves, to attempt a mediation by which the people might be spared the ruinous and revolting horrors of civil war.

A.D. 1458.—The humane endeavour of these personages so far succeeded, that the leaders of both parties agreed to meet in London for a solemn and public reconciliation: but the very manner of their meeting, notwithstanding the avowed purpose of it, was sufficient to have convinced all accurate observers of the little reliance that could be placed upon the friendly feelings of either party. Both came numerously attended, and both kept their attendants near them, and in the same close watch and serried distribution as would be observed in hostile armies encamped upon the same ground at evening, preparatory for the bloodshed and the struggle of the morrow.

Though this mutual jealousy and dread augured but ill for the permanence of a friendship declared under such circumstances, the terms between the opposing parties were arranged without much difficulty and wholly without strife; and the hollow peace having been fully arranged, the parties went in solemn procession to St. Paul's, that their union might be evident to the people; York gallantly leading by the hand his truculent and implacable enemy Margaret, and each of the couples who followed them in the procession being composed of a leading man of the opposing parties respectively.

A.D. 1459.—The peace thus patched up was of exactly the frail tenure that might have been anticipated. The trivial accident of a retainer of the earl of Warwick being

insulted led to a general brawl, swords were drawn, the fight became serious, and the royal party being the more numerous, Warwick only saved his own life by flying to Calais. This originally petty affair put an end to peace; both parties took off their masks; everywhere the din of preparation was heard, and it became evident even to those who most desired peace for their country, that a civil war was now wholly inevitable.

The earl of Salisbury having raised a considerable force, was making hasty marches to form a junction with the duke of York, when he was overtaken at Blore heath, in Staffordshire, by a much larger party of the royalists under the lord Audley. Salisbury's numerical inferiority was fully compensated by his superiority of judgement. To reach him the royalists had to descend a steep bank and cross a stream. Salisbury caused his men to retreat as if alarmed at their enemies' numbers; and Audley, falling into the snare, gave his vanguard the word to charge and led them in full pursuit. As the vanguard reached the side of the rivulet, Salisbury suddenly faced about, and having only to deal with a body inferior to his own, put it completely to the rout, the remaining body of the royalists, instead of hastening over to support their comrades, betaking themselves to flight in good earnest.

York's post was at Ludlow, in Shropshire, and thither Salisbury now marched his troops, whose spirits were heightened and confirmed by their victory. Soon after his arrival York received a new accession to his numbers, the earl of Warwick joining him with a body of veterans from the garrison at Calais. York was naturally delighted with this accession of disciplined men, who, under ordinary circumstances, must necessarily have been of immense importance; but their commander, sir Andrew Trollope, turned their presence into a calamity instead of an advantage to the duke's cause. The royal army arrived in sight of the Yorkists, and a general action was to take place on the morrow, when sir Andrew, under cover of the night, basely led his veterans over to the king. The mere loss of a large and disciplined body of men was the least mischief this treachery did to York. It spread a perfect panic of suspicion and dismay through the camp; the very leaders could no longer rely upon each other's good faith; hope and confidence fled, and the Yorkists determined to separate and await some more favourable state of things before putting their cause to the hazard of a pitched battle. The duke of York retired to Ireland, where he was universally beloved, and Warwick returned to Calais, where he was from time to time joined by large reinforcements; York's friends who remained in England continuing to recruit for him as zealously as though his cause had sustained no check from the recent treason.

A.D. 1460.—Having completed his own preparations, and being satisfied from the advices of his friends in England that he might rely upon a considerable rising of the people in his favour, Warwick now sailed from Calais with a large and well-equipped army, and, after capturing some of the royal vessels at sea, landed in safety on the coast of Kent, accompanied by the earl of March, the eldest son of the duke of York, and the earl of Salisbury; and on his road to London he was joined by the archbishop of Canterbury, lord Cobham, and other powerful nobles and gentlemen.

The city of London eagerly opened its gates to Warwick, whose numbers daily increased so much, that he was able with confidence to advance to Northampton to meet the royal army. The battle commenced furiously on both sides, but was speedily decided. The royalists who had lately been benefited by treason were now sufferers from it; the lord Grey of Ruthin, who had the command of its vanguard, leading the whole of his troops over to the Yorkists. A universal panic spread through the royalists by this base treachery, and the battle became a rout. The slaughter among the nobility was tremendous, and included the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Shrewsbury, lord Egremont, sir William Lucie, and many other gallant officers. The loss of the common soldiery on the royal side was comparatively trifling; the earl of Warwick and his colleagues directing the Yorkists, both in the battle and in the chase, to spare the soldiery, but to give no quarter among the leaders.

The unhappy Henry, who was far more fit for the quiet seclusion of some well-ordered country abode, was by the compulsion of his imperious wife a spectator of this battle, and was taken prisoner; but both policy and good feeling led the Yorkist leaders to show every respect and kindness to one whose greatest misfortune was his being a king, and whose greatest fault was a disease of the brain; whose patient and simple bearing, moreover, had won him the tender pity of his people.

Warwick marched with his royal captive to London, where the duke of York shortly afterwards arrived from Ireland, and a parliament was summoned in the king's name to meet at Westminster on the 7th of October. The real or affected scruples of York were now wholly at an end, and he had determined to bring forward for the first time an open and positive claim to the throne. But even now he would only do so through the medium of a farce which one cannot read of without feeling something like contempt for him, in spite of the remarkable ability of his general conduct. Though the archbishop of Canterbury knew the intentions of York fully as well as the duke himself knew them, that prelate on seeing him enter the house of lords and advance towards the throne, asked him in a low tone, whether he had as yet paid his respects to the king; and York answered—as the prelate well knew that he was to answer—that he knew of no one to whom he owed the respect due to that title. How two grave men could unblushingly perform this scene of needless mockery, or how they could perform it unchecked by the indignant and contemptuous laughter

of their fellow peers, it really is not easy to imagine.

Having by this ridiculous scene made all the preparation that he could desire, the duke placed himself close to the throne, and addressed a long speech to the peers in advocacy of his own right to the throne, and in comment upon the treason and cruelty by which the house of Lancaster had usurped and kept possession of it. So unnecessary was the farce with which the duke had thought fit to preface this statement, so well prepared were at least the majority of the peers present to hear it, that they proceeded to take the subject into consideration as coolly as their descendants of the present day would resolve themselves into a committee for the consideration of a turnpike bill. The duke probably was not very well pleased with the excess of this coolness; for the spot upon which he had placed himself and his bearing throughout the scene go to show, that he expected that the peers would by acclamation place him upon the throne against which he leaned.

The lords having invited the leading members of the lower house to aid them in the investigation of the claim of the duke of York, objections were made to it, grounded on former parliamentary settlements of the succession, and upon the fact that the duke, who had always borne the arms of York, now claimed through the house of Clarence; but to both these objections the duke's friends replied by alleging the prevailing power and great tyranny of the Lancastrians; and the peers, whom this reply satisfied—as, no doubt, had been duly agreed upon long before they met in the house—proceeded to determine that the title of the duke of York was beyond doubt just and indefeasible, but that in consideration of Henry having worn the crown during thirty-eight years, he should continue to do so during the remainder of his life, the duke acting during that time as regent. The lords further determined that the duke should succeed to the throne at Henry's decease; that any attempts upon his life should be equally treason with attempts on the life of the king; and that this new settlement of the crown should be final, and utterly abrogate and annul the settlement made previously. The duke was well contented with this moderate settlement of the question; the weak-minded and captive king had of course no power to oppose it; and this transfer of the settlement was agreed to by the whole parliament with less excitement than a trivial party question has often caused since.

Invested with the regency, and also having the king's person in his power, York was now king in all but name: but he too well understood the audacious and able spirit of queen Margaret, to deem himself permanently in possession as long as she remained in the kingdom and at liberty. Anxious to get her into his power, that he might either imprison or banish her, he sent her, in the name of her husband, a summons to join him in London. But Margaret, who was busy raising forces in Scotland and the north of England, by promising to the bravest and most turbulent men in those parts the spoiling of all the country north of the Trent, instead of complying with this summons, unfurled the royal standard, and, showing herself at the head of twenty thousand men, prepared to fight yet another battle against York in despite of disadvantageous fortune. Whether from some unaccountable want of judgement on the part of the duke, or from the exceeding popularity of Margaret among the inhabitants of the north, causing him to be wantonly misled as to her resources, the duke with only five thousand men marched against Margaret's army, as though he had merely to put down an ordinary revolt of an undisciplined handful of men. A fatal error, from whatever cause it arose! The duke had already led his little army as far as Wakefield, in Yorkshire, before he discovered his error just in time to throw himself into Sandal castle, in that neighbourhood; and even now he might have been safe had he not been guilty of a second error, for which no one but himself could possibly be blamed. He was urged by the earl of Salisbury and the rest of the friends who accompanied him, to keep close within the castle until his son, the earl of March, could arrive from the borders of Wales, where he was levying troops, and thus, when he had something like an equality as to numbers, to descend into the plain and give the queen battle. This prudent council the duke with inconceivable folly rejected, upon the ridiculous plea that he should be for ever disgraced as a soldier were he to remain shut up within a fortress because threatened by a woman. Now the duke must full well have known, that, spirited and sanguinary as Margaret most undoubtedly was, she was in merely the nominal command of her army; that she was aided by commanders of whose talents it would be no disgrace to him to show his respect; and that, finally, her force outnumbered his in the overwhelming proportion of four to one. But the truth was, that the duke had more courage as a knight than judgement as a commander; and, in spite of all that could be said by his real and judicious friends, he obstinately persisted in descending to the neighbouring plain and giving battle to the queen. As might have been anticipated, the royalists availed themselves of their vast numerical superiority, and at the commencement of the action detached a considerable body to fall upon the rear of the duke's force. This manœuvre hastened the event, which was not doubtful even from the commencement; the Duke's army was totally routed, and he himself was among the number of the slain.

That Margaret should choose to resist the duke was natural, even apart from any doubt she might have felt as to the superiority of his claim to that of her husband; but her conduct after the battle showed a depraved and virulent feeling, which was at once unwomanly and of evil augury to the people in the event of her ever being

firmly fixed in power. The body of her illustrious opponent, whose triumph would have been secure some years before had he chosen to push his power to extremity, was found among the slain; and this disgustingly unfeminine queen had the head struck off and affixed to the gate of York castle, a paper crown being first placed upon the ghastly head, in bitter and brutal mockery of the duke's unsuccessful endeavours. Margaret's brutal temper seems to have influenced her friends. The young earl of Rutland, son of the duke of York, and then only seventeen years old, being taken prisoner and led into the presence of lord Clifford, was by that nobleman's own hand put to death. This dastardly butchery of a mere boy is accounted for by the historians on the ground of Clifford's own father having perished in the battle of St. Alban's! As though that could have been any justification of his present butchery of a young prince who at the time of that battle was barely twelve years old! Another illustrious victim was the earl of Salisbury, who being severely wounded was taken prisoner, carried to Pontefract, and there beheaded.

This battle was a terrible loss to the Yorkists, upwards of three thousand of whom perished, besides the duke. That prince was only fifty years of age when he fell, and was reasonably looked upon by his party as being likely to be their support and ornament for many years. He was succeeded in his title and pretensions by his eldest son, Edward; besides whom he left two other sons, George and Richard, and three daughters, Anne, Elizabeth, and Margaret.

A.D. 1461.—Immediately after this action the able and active, though cruel, Margaret marched with the main body of her army against the earl of Warwick, who was left in command of the main body of the Yorkists at London; while she sent a detachment under Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, and half brother to her unfortunate husband, against Edward the new duke of York, who was still on the Welsh border. The earl of Pembroke and the duke of York met at Mortimer's cross, in Herefordshire, when the earl was completely routed with the loss of nearly four thousand men; the remainder of his force being scattered in all directions, and he himself having no small difficulty in making good his retreat. His father, sir Owen Tudor, who accompanied him to this disastrous battle, was still less fortunate. He was taken prisoner and led into the presence of the duke of York, who instantly ordered him to be beheaded.

Margaret was more fortunate than Pembroke. She encountered Warwick at St. Alban's, whither he had marched from London to meet her. Warwick's own force was large, and he was strongly reinforced by volunteers, the Londoners being for the most part staunch Yorkists. At the commencement of the battle Warwick even had the advantage, but he was suddenly deserted by Lovelace, who commanded under him, and who led the whole of his men over to the enemy. The consequence was the complete rout of the Yorkists, two thousand three hundred of whom perished on the field. Many Yorkists also were taken prisoners, as was the unhappy king, who had been taken to the battle by Warwick, and who, in falling again into the power of his queen, could scarcely so properly be said to be rescued as to be taken prisoner. Unhappy prince! Into whose hands soever he might pass, the weakness of his mind rendered him but the mere tool and pretext of his possessors, who hurried him hither and thither, now vexing his dull intellect with the subtle schemes of party, and now startling his tame and timorous spirit with the bloody scenes and rude alarms of war.

Margaret here gave a new proof of her sanguinary temper. Lord Bonville, who had been entrusted with the care of the king's person during the battle, was rather agreeable to the weak prince, who, on the defeat of the Yorkists, begged this nobleman to remain, and assured him of pardon and protection. But Margaret, as soon as the confusion of battle allowed her to interfere, ordered him to be beheaded; and a similar doom was inflicted upon sir Thomas Kyriel, who had greatly distinguished himself during the wars in France.

Before Margaret could turn the victory she thus abused to any practical advantage, the young duke of York rapidly approached her; and as she was sensible of her disadvantages in being between his army and London, where he was so popular, she hastily retreated northward; while Edward, whom she but narrowly avoided, and whose army was far more numerous than hers, entered London in triumph, to the great delight of his party. Finding his cause so numerously supported by the Londoners, and greatly elated by the cordial gratulations which they bestowed upon him, which he doubtless owed fully as much to his youth, the elegance of his person, and his kindly though courtly address, he determined to cast aside all the hesitation and delay which had proved so fatal to his father, to assume the throne in despite of Henry's existence, and to maintain his assumption by treating as traitors and rebels all who should venture to oppose it. As, however, he was desirous of having at least the appearance of the national consent to his claims, and as the appealing to parliament would be infinitely too tedious for his impatience, and might even give time for some fatal bar to arise to his success, he assembled his army and a great multitude of the Londoners in St. John's Fields, where an artful and yet passionate harangue was pronounced in vituperation of the other faction, and in support of the claims and in praise of the high qualities of Edward himself. Such an harangue as this, delivered before a meeting composed exclusively of the friends and partisans of Edward, could not but elicit applause; and when it was followed up by the question 'which king they would have, Henry of Lancaster or Edward of York,' who can be in doubt as to the reply with which the multitude made the very welkin ring? Edward

duke of York having thus been hailed by 'the people' as their king under the style of Edward IV., certain peers, prelates, and other influential personages were next assembled at Baynard's castle, who confirmed what they obstinately affected to call 'the people's decision;' and Edward IV. was duly proclaimed king on the 5th of March, thus putting a formal end to the reign of the unfortunate Henry, whose infancy was graced with two crowns, and hailed by the loyal shouts of two nations, and whose manhood had been only one long series of servitude in the hands of avowed enemies, or of friends whose yoke was quite as heavy, and perhaps even more painful.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

The Reign of EDWARD IV.

THOUGH Edward was now only in his twentieth year, he had already given proofs of activity, courage, and a very determined purpose; to which we must add, that almost the very first act of his reign showed that if he were more prompt and resolute than his father, he was also by far more violent and sanguinary. A citizen of London had the sign of the crown above his shop, and jocularly said that his son should be 'heir to the crown.' Anything more harmless than this jocular speech, or more obvious than the tradesman's real meaning, it would not be easy to imagine. But Edward, jealous of his title and feeling himself insecure upon the throne, gave a treasonable interpretation to a merry joke, insisted that it had a derisive allusion to himself, and actually had the unfortunate man condemned for treason — and executed!

This brutal murder was a fitting prelude to the scenes of slaughter with which the kingdom was soon filled; and plainly proclaimed that Margaret had now to deal with an opponent to the full as truculent and unsparing as herself. The nation was divided into Lancastrians and Yorkists, the former bearing the symbol of the red, the latter of the white rose; and as though the blood shed in actual fight were insufficient to allay the tiger-like desire of the principal opponents, the scaffolds were dyed deeply with the blood of the prisoners taken by either party.

Margaret's popularity in the northern counties had enabled her to get together an army of sixty thousand men, with which she took post in Yorkshire, whither Edward and the earl of Warwick hastened to meet her. On arriving at Pontefract, Edward dispatched Lord Fitzwalter with a detachment to secure the passage over the river Ayre, at Ferrybridge. Fitzwalter obtained possession of the important post in question, but was speedily attacked there by very superior numbers of the Lancastrians under lord Clifford, who drove the Yorkists from their position with great slaughter, Fitzwalter himself being among the slain. When the remains of the beaten detachment carried these disastrous tidings to the earl of Warwick, that nobleman, fearing that the misfortune would destroy the spirits of his troops, had his horse brought to him, stabbed it to the heart in presence of the whole army, and solemnly swore that he would share the fatigues and the fate of the meanest of his soldiers. He at the same time caused public proclamation to be made, giving permission to any soldier who feared the approaching struggle immediately to depart from the army; and in a similar spirit denounced the most severe punishment upon any who on the actual day of battle should show any symptoms of cowardice while before the enemy. As the post which had been so disastrously lost by Fitzwalter was of great importance, lord Falconberg was sent with a new detachment to recover it; and, crossing the river at some miles above Ferrybridge, he fell suddenly upon lord Clifford's detachment and routed it, Clifford himself being among the very considerable number of the killed.

The opposing armies at length met at Towton. The Yorkists charged under faveur of a severe snow storm which the wind drove into the faces of the enemy, whose half blinded condition was still further turned to advantage by lord Falconberg, who caused a party of his archers, while yet at more than ordinary arrow-shot from the opposite army, to discharge a volley of the light, far flying, but nearly harmless arrows called *flight* arrows, and immediately to shift their position. The Lancastrians, quite unsuspicious of the stratagem, and prevented by the snow from noticing their oppouents' change of position, sent volley after volley of their arrows in that direction whence they had been assailed, and when they had thus bootlessly emptied their quivers the main body of the Yorkists, led on by Edward himself, made a grand and terribly destructive charge; the bow was laid aside on both sides for the sword and battle-axe, and the Lancastrians were routed and pursued all the way to Tadcaster by their enemy. The Lancastrian loss, in the battle and the scarcely less murderous pursuit, was calculated at six and thirty thousand men; among whom were the earl of Westmoreland and his brother sir John Nevil, the earl of Northumberland, the lords Dacres and Welles, and sir Andrew Trollope, whose treachery had formerly been so disastrous to the cause of the Yorkists. The earl of Devonshire, who was among the prisoners, was carried before Edward, who sternly ordered him to be beheaded and his head to be stuck upon the gate of York castle; whence the heads of the late duke of York and the earl of Salisbury were now taken down. Margaret and her unhappy husband were fortunate enough to escape to Scotland, whither they were accompanied by the duke of Somerset and by the duke of Exeter, who had sided against Edward, although he had married his sister. Scotland was so much torn by faction that the Scottish council afforded but little encouragement to Margaret to hope for assistance, until she promised to give up Berwick and to contract for a marriage of her son and the sister of king James. Even then the friendship of the Scots did not assume an aspect very threatening to Ed-

ward, who tranquilly returned to London and summoned a parliament.

Edward's success rendered this parliament very ready to recognise his title to the throne by descent from the family of Mortimer; it expressed the utmost detestation of what it now called the intrusion of Henry IV., annulled all grants made by the Lancastrians, and declared Edward's father rightly seized of the crown, and himself the rightful king from the very day that he was hailed so by acclamation of the soldiery and rabble, which it complacently termed 'the people.'

A.D. 1462.—Though Edward found his parliament thus accommodating, he soon perceived that he had very great difficulties to contend against before he could consider himself secure in his possession of the crown. Not only were there numerous disorders at home, the necessary result of civil war, but there were enemies abroad. France, especially, seemed to threaten Edward with annoyance and injury. The throne of that country was now filled by Louis XI., a wily, resolute and unsparing despot. Fortunately for Edward, however, the tortuous policy of Louis had placed him in circumstances which rendered his power to injure the reigning king of England very unequal indeed to his will to do so. He at first sent only a very small body to the assistance of Margaret, and even when that queen subsequently paid him a personal visit to solicit a more decided and efficient aid, his own quarrels with the independent vassals of France only allowed him to spare her two thousand men-at-arms, a considerable force, no doubt, but very unequal to the task of opposing such a prince as Edward.

With this force, augmented by numerous Scottish adventurers, Margaret made an irruption into the northern counties of England, but she was defeated by lord Montague, warder of the eastern marches between England and Scotland, first at Hedgeley Moor, and then at Hexham. In the latter action Margaret's force was completely destroyed. Among the prisoners were sir Humphrey Neville, the duke of Somerset, and the lords Hungerford and De Roos, all of whom, with many gentlemen of less note, were summarily executed as traitors. Henry, who had been, as usual, forced to the battle-field, was for a time concealed by some of his friends in Lancashire, but at the end of about a year was given up to Edward, who held him in too much contempt to injure him beyond committing him to close custody in the Tower of London.

Margaret after her escape from the fatal field of Hexham went through adventures which read almost like the inventions of romance. She was passing through a forest with her son when she was attacked by robbers, who, treating with contempt her royal rank, robbed her of her valuable jewels and also personally ill treated her. The division of their rich booty caused a general quarrel, which so much engaged their attention that Margaret and her son were enabled to escape. She was again stopped in the forest by a single robber, to whom—deriving fearlessness from the very desperation of her circumstances—she courageously said, 'Here, my friend, is the son of your king; to your honour I entrust his safety.' The bold demeanour of the queen chanced to chime in with the robber's humour; he vowed himself to her service, and protected her through the forest to the sea coast, whence she escaped to her father's court, where for several years she lived in a state of ease and quietude strangely in contrast with the stormy life which she had so long been accustomed to lead.

Margaret powerless, Henry imprisoned, and Louis of France fully engaged with quarrels nearer at home, Edward now thought himself sufficiently secured upon his throne to be warranted in indulging in the gaieties and amours which were so well suited to his youth and temperament. But though his gallantries were by no means ill taken by his good citizens of London, and perhaps even made him more popular than a prince of graver life would have been at that time, his susceptibility to the charms of the fair at length involved him in a serious quarrel.

The earl of Warwick and other powerful friends of Edward advised him to marry, and thus, by his matrimonial alliance, still farther strengthen his throne. The advice tallied well with Edward's own judgement, and the earl of Warwick was despatched to Paris to treat for the hand of Bona of Savoy, sister of the queen of France; and Warwick succeeded so well that he returned to England with the whole affair ready for formal ratification. But during Warwick's absence his fickle and amorous master had been engaged in rendering the earl's mission not merely useless, but as mischievous as anything could be that was calculated to excite the hatred and rage of such a prince as Louis XI.

The lady Elizabeth, widow of sir John Grey of Groby, who was killed at the second battle of St. Alban's, was by the confiscation of her husband's estates, for his siding with the Lancastrians, so reduced in her worldly circumstances, that she and her children were dependant on her father, in whose house, at Grafton in Northamptonshire, they all resided. She was still young, and her remarkable beauty was little impaired by the sorrows she had endured; and the king, while hunting, chancing to visit Grafton, the lady Elizabeth took the opportunity to throw herself at his feet and entreat the restoration of her husband's estates, for the sake of her unfortunate children. At sight of her beauty, heightened by her suppliant attitude, the inflammable king fell suddenly and deeply in love with her. He in his turn became a suitor, and as her prudence or her virtue would not allow her to listen to dishonourable proposals, the infatuated monarch privately married her.

When Warwick returned from France with the consent of Louis to the marriage with Bona of Savoy, the imprudent marriage of the king, hitherto kept quite secret, was of necessity divulged; and Warwick,

indignant and disgusted with the ridiculous part he had been made to play in wooing a bride for a prince who was already married, left the court with no amicable feelings towards his wayward master.

A.D. 1465.—The mischief of Edward's hasty and inconsiderate alliance did not end here. Like all persons who are raised much above their original rank, the queen was exceedingly presuming, and the chief business of her life was to use her influence over her still enamoured husband to heap titles and wealth upon her family and friends, and to ruin those who were, or were suspected to be, hostile to her grasping and ambitious views. Her father, a private gentleman, was created earl of Rivers, made treasurer in the room of the lord Mountjoy, and constable for life with succession to his son, who, marrying the daughter of lord Scales, had the title as well as the vast estates of that nobleman conferred upon him. The queen's sisters were provided with proportionally splendid marriages, and the queen's son by her first marriage, young sir Thomas Grey, was contracted to the heiress of the duke of Exeter, a niece of the king, whose hand had been promised to lord Montague, who, with the whole powerful Neville family, was consequently very deeply offended.

The exorbitant and insatiable craving of the queen's family disgusted every one; but to no one did it give such bitter feelings as to the earl of Warwick, who, though from his favour with the crown he had made up his fortune to the enormous amount of eighty thousand crowns per annum, as we learn from Philip de Comines, was himself of so grasping a nature, that he was still greedy for more gain, and perhaps still more disinclined to see others in possession of the favour and influence which formerly he had almost exclusively enjoyed. This powerful noble, having vexations of this kind to embitter his anger at the way in which he had been treated as regarded the marriage, was urged to wishes and projects most hostile to Edward's throne; and as many of the nobility were much disgusted with Edward on account of his resumption of grants, Warwick had no difficulty in finding sympathy in his anger and association in his designs.

Among all the high personages of the kingdom to whom Edward's imprudent marriage and uxorious folly gave offence, none felt more deeply, perhaps none more reasonably, offended than Edward's second brother, the duke of Clarence. From his near relationship to the king he had every right to expect the most liberal treatment at his hands; but so far was he from receiving it, that while the queen and her recently obscure relations were overwhelmed with favours of the most costly kind, his fortunes were still left precarious and scanty. Warwick, a shrewd judge of men's tempers, easily descried the wounded and indignant feelings of Clarence, and offered him the hand of his eldest daughter, who, being Warwick's co-heiress, could bring the duke a much larger fortune than the king could bestow upon him, even had the king been better inclined than he had hitherto appeared, to mend the slender fortunes of his brother. Having thus united the influence of the duke of Clarence to his own, and engaged him inextricably in his projects, Warwick had no difficulty in forming an extensive and very powerful confederacy against the king.

A.D. 1469.—The unsettled and turbulent temper of the kingdom, and the preparatory measures of such a confederacy so headed, could not fail to produce a state of things in which the merest accidental occurrence might lead to the most extensive and dangerous public disorders, especially as, in spite of all Edward's success and the stern severity with which he had used it, there was still existing throughout the country a strong though a concealed attachment to the ruined house of Lancaster. A grievance which at first sight appeared little connected with state quarrels, and of a nature to be easily settled by so arbitrary a monarch as Edward, caused the brooding discontents to burst forth into open violence.

St. Leonard's hospital, in Yorkshire, like many similar establishments, had from a very early age possessed the right of receiving a thrave of corn from every ploughland in the district; and the poor complained, most likely with great reason, that this tax, which was instituted for their relief, was altogether, or nearly so, perverted to the personal emolument of the managers of the charity. From complaints, wholly treated with contempt or neglect, the peasantry in the neighbourhood proceeded to refuse to pay the tax; and when their goods and persons were molested for their contumacy, they fairly took up arms, and having put to death the whole of the hospital officials, they marched, full fifteen thousand strong, to the gates of the city of York. Here they were opposed by some troops under the lord Montague, and he having taken prisoner their leader, by name Robert Hulderne, instantly caused him to be executed, after the common and disgraceful practice of those violent times.

The loss of their leader did not in the least intimidate the rebels; they still kept in arms, and were now joined and headed by friends of the earl of Warwick, who saw in this revolt of the peasantry a favourable opportunity for aiding their own more extensive and ambitious views.

Sir Henry Neville and sir John Conyers having placed themselves at the head of the rebels, drew them off from their merely local and loosely contrived plans, and marched them southward; their numbers increasing so greatly during their progress as to cause great and by no means ill-founded alarm to the government. Herbert, who had obtained the earldom of Pembroke on the forfeiture of Jasper Tudor, was ordered to march against the rebels at the head of a body of Welshmen, reinforced by five thousand well-appointed archers commanded by Stafford, earl of Devonshire, who had obtained that title on the forfeiture of the great Courtney family. Scarcely had these two noblemen, however,

joined their forces, when a quarrel broke out between them upon some trivial question about priority of right to quarters, and so utterly forgetful did the anger of Devonshire render him of the great and important object of his command, that he sullenly drew off his valuable force of archers, and left the earl of Pembroke to stand the brunt of the approaching encounter with the rebels with his own unaided and inferior force

Undismayed by this defection of his colleague, Pembroke continued to approach the rebels; and the hostile forces met near Banbury. At the first encounter Pembroke gained the advantage, and sir Henry Neville being among his prisoners, he had that popular gentleman immediately executed. If this severity was intended to strike terror into the rebels, it wholly failed of its purpose. The rebels, so far from being intimidated, were incited by their rage to a carnage more desperate than, probably, any other means could have inspired them with, and they attacked the Welsh so furiously that the latter were utterly routed and vast numbers perished in the pursuit, the Welsh sternly refusing quarter. Pembroke being unfortunately taken prisoner by the rebels, was by them consigned to the same fate which he had inflicted upon their leader. The king was very naturally excited to the utmost indignation by the fatal results of the obstinacy and insubordination of the earl of Devonshire, whom he caused to be executed.

Even here the cold butcheries which either party dignified with the name of executions did not terminate. Some of the rebels, despatched to Grafton by sir John Conyers, succeeded in capturing the queen's mother, the earl of Rivers, and his son, sir John Grey; and, their sole crime being that they were related to the queen and that they were not philosophers enough to refuse to profit by that relationship, they too were 'executed' by the rebels.

Though there is no reasonable ground for doubting that the earl of Warwick and his son-in-law the duke of Clarence were the real directors of the revolt, they deemed it politic to leave its public management to Neville and Conyers,—doubtless to be tolerably sure of the result ere they would too far commit their personal safety. And accordingly all the while that so much bloodshed had been going on in England, Warwick and Clarence lived in great apparent unconcern at Calais, of which the former was governor; and, still farther to conceal their ultimate intentions from the king, Warwick's brother, the lord Montague, was among the bravest and the most active of the opponents of the rebels. So confident was Warwick that the suspicions of the king could not light upon him (though the murder of the earl Rivers was surely a circumstance to have pointed to the guilt of that nobleman's bitterest rival), that he and Clarence, when the languid rate at which the rebellion progressed seemed to promise a disastrous issue to it, came over to England, and were entrusted by Edward with very considerable commands, which, probably from want of opportunity, they made no ill use of. The rebellion having been already very considerably quelled, Warwick, probably anxious to save as many malcontents as possible for a future and more favourable opportunity, persuaded Edward to grant a general pardon, which had the effect of completely dispersing the already wearied and discouraged rebels.

Though Warwick and Montague gave so much outward show of loyalty, and though the king heaped favours and honours upon the family, he yet seems to have been by no means unaware of the secret feelings of both these restless noblemen; for on one occasion when he accompanied them to a banquet given by their brother, the archbishop of York, he was so impressed with the feeling that they intended to take that opportunity of despatching him by poison or otherwise, that he suddenly rushed from the banqueting room and hastily returned to his palace.

A.D. 1470.—A new rebellion now broke out. At the outset there were no signs to connect either Clarence or the earl of Warwick with it; yet we know how inveterately disloyal both the duke and the earl were from the moment that Edward married, and also that as soon as they had an opportunity, and had reason to believe that the rebellion would be successful, they prepared, as will be seen, to add open revolt to the foulest treachery. This rebellion commenced in Lincolnshire, and in a very short time the leader of it, sir Robert Welles, was at the head of not fewer than thirty thousand men. Sir Robert's father, the lord Welles, not only took no part in the proceedings of his son, but showed his sense of both their danger and their impropriety by taking shelter in a sanctuary. But this prudent conduct did not save him from the vengeance of the king. The unfortunate nobleman was by plausible arguments allured from sanctuary, and, in company of sir Thomas Dymoke, beheaded by the king's orders. Edward soon after gave battle to the rebels and defeated them, and sir Robert Welles and sir Thomas Launde being taken prisoners, were immediately beheaded. So little did the king suspect Clarence and Warwick of any concealed influence in these disturbances, that he gave them commissions of array to raise troops to oppose the rebels. The opportunity thus afforded them of forwarding their treasonable views was too tempting to be resisted, and they at once removed all doubts as to their real feelings by levying forces against the king, and issuing remonstrances against the public measures and the king's ministers. The defeat of sir Robert Welles was a sad discouragement to them, but they had now proceeded too far to be able to withdraw, and they marched their array into Lancashire. Here they fully expected the countenance and aid of sir Thomas Stanley, who was the earl of Warwick's brother-in-law, but finding that neither that nobleman nor the lord Montague would join them, they dismissed their army and hastened to Calais (the government of Warwick) where

they confidently calculated upon finding a sure and safe refuge. Here again, however, they were doomed to be disappointed. On leaving Calais the last time, Warwick had left there, as his deputy governor, a Gascon named Vaucler. This gentleman, who was no stranger to Warwick's disloyalty, readily judged by the forlorn and ill-attended style in which that nobleman and the duke of Clarence now made their appearance before Calais, that they had been unsuccessfully engaged in some illegal proceeding; he therefore refused them admittance, and would not even allow the duchess of Clarence to land, though she had been delivered of a child while at sea, and was in a most pitiable state of ill health. As, however, he by no means wished to break irremediably with men whom some chance might speedily render as powerful as ever, Vaucler sent wine and other stores for the use of the duchess, and secretly assured Warwick that he only seemed to side against him, in order that he might, by gaining the confidence of the king, be able to give the fortress up to the earl at the first favourable opportunity; and he dilated upon those circumstances of the place which rendered it very improbable that the garrison and inhabitants would just at that time suffer it to be held by Warwick against the established government of England. Whatever might be Warwick's real opinion of the sincerity of Vaucler, he feigned to be quite satisfied with his conduct, and having seized some Flemish vessels which lay off the coast, he forthwith departed to try his fortune at the court of France. Here he was well received, for the French king had formerly held a close correspondence with the earl, and was just now exceedingly hostile to Edward on account of the friendship which existed between that monarch and the most turbulent as well as the most powerful vassal of France, the duke of Burgundy. Though the earl of Warwick had so much reason to hate the house of Lancaster, the king so urgently pressed him to a reconciliation, and to the attempt to restore that house to the throne of England, that at an interview with queen Margaret the earl consented to a reconciliation, and to doing his utmost to restore Henry to his throne on certain conditions. The chief of these conditions were, that the earl of Warwick and the duke of Clarence should administer in England during the whole minority of prince Edward, son and heir of Henry; that that young prince should marry the lady Anne, Warwick's second daughter, and that, failing issue to them, the crown should be entailed on the duke of Clarence, to the absolute exclusion of the issue of the reigning king. By way of showing the sincerity of this unnatural confederacy, prince Edward and the lady Anne were married immediately.

Edward, who well knew the innate and ineradicable hostility of Warwick's real feelings towards the house of Lancaster, caused a lady of great talent to avail herself of her situation about the person of the duke of Clarence, to influence the duke's mind, especially with a view to making him doubtful of the sincerity of Warwick, and of the probability of his long continuing faithful to this new alliance; and so well did the fair envoy exert her powers, that the duke, on a solemn assurance of Edward's forgiveness and future favour, consented to take the earliest favourable opportunity to desert his father-in-law. But while Edward was intent upon detaching the duke of Clarence from Warwick, this latter nobleman was no less successful in gaining over to his side his brother the marquis of Montague, whose adhesion to Warwick was the more dangerous to Edward because Montague was entirely in his confidence.

When Warwick had completed his preparations, Louis supplied him with men, money, and a fleet; while the duke of Burgundy, on the other had, closely united with Edward, and having a personal quarrel with Warwick, cruised in the channel in the hope of intercepting that nobleman on his way to England. The duke of Burgundy, while thus actively exerting himself for Edward's safety, also sent him the most urgent and wise advice; but Edward was so over confident in his own strength, that he professed to wish that Warwick might make good his landing.

In this respect his wish was soon granted. A violent storm dispersed the duke of Burgundy's fleet, and Warwick was thus enabled to land without opposition on the coast of Devon, accompanied by the duke of Clarence and the earls of Oxford and Pembroke. The king was at this time in the north of England, engaged in putting down a revolt caused by Warwick's brother-in-law, the lord Fitzhugh; and Warwick's popularity being thus left unopposed, he, who had landed with a force far too small for his designs, saw himself in a very few days at the head of upwards of sixty thousand men.

The king on hearing of Warwick's landing hastened southward to meet him, and the two armies came in sight of each other at Nottingham. An action was almost hourly expected, and Edward was still confident in his good fortune; but he was now to feel the ill effects of the overweening trust he had put in the marquis of Montague. That nobleman suddenly got his adherents under arms during the darkness of the night hours, and made their way to the quarter occupied by the king, shouting the war-cry of the hostile army. Edward, who was awakened by this sudden tumult, was informed by lord Hastings of the real cause of it, and urged to save himself by flight while there was still time for him to do so. So well had the marquis of Montague timed his treacherous measure, that Edward had barely time to make his escape on horseback to Lynn, in Norfolk, where he got on board ship and sailed from England, leaving Warwick so suddenly and rapidly master of the kingdom, that the fickle and hesitating Clarence had not had time for the change of sides he had contemplated and which would now have been fatal to him.

So sudden had been Edward's forced departure from his kingdom, that he had not

time to take money, jewels, or any valuables with him; and when, after narrowly escaping from the Hanse towns, then at war with both England and France, he landed at Alcmaer, in Holland, he had nothing with which to recompense the master of the ship save a robe richly lined with sable fur, which he accompanied with assurances of a more substantial recompense should more prosperous times return.

The duke of Burgundy was greatly annoyed at the misfortune of Edward. Personally and in sincerity the duke really preferred the Lancastrian to the Yorkist house; he had allied himself with the latter solely from the politic motive of being allied to the reigning house of England; and now that the Lancastrians were so triumphant that even the cautious Vaucler, who had been confirmed by Edward in his government of Calais, did not scruple to give that important place up to Warwick—a pretty certain proof that the Lancastrians were secure for some time at least—the duke was greatly perplexed by the necessity he was under of invidiously giving a cold reception to a near connection who was suffering from misfortune, or of being at the expense and discredit of supporting a penniless fugitive whose very misfortunes were in no slight degree attributable to his own want of judgement.

The flight of Edward from the kingdom was the signal for Warwick to give liberty to the unhappy Henry, whose confinement in the Tower had been chiefly the earl's own work. Henry was once more proclaimed king with all due solemnity, and a parliament was summoned to meet him at Westminster, whose votes were, of course, the mere echoes of the instructions of the now dominant faction of Warwick. As had formerly been agreed between Warwick and queen Margaret, it was now enacted by the parliament that Henry was the rightful and only king of England, but that his imbecility of mind rendered it requisite to have a regency, the powers of which were placed in the hands of the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick during the minority of prince Edward, and the duke of Clarence was declared heir to the throne failing the issue of that young prince. As usual, very much of the time of the parliament was occupied in reversing the attainders which had been passed against Lancastrians during the prosperity of the house of York. In one respect, however, this parliament and its dictator Warwick deserve considerable praise — their power was used without that wholesale and unsparing resort to bloodshed by which such triumphs are but too generally disgraced. Many of the leading Yorkists, it is true, fled beyond sea, but still more of them were allowed to remain undisturbed in the sanctuaries in which they took refuge; and among these was even Edward's queen, who was delivered of a son whom she had christened by the name of his absent father.

A.D. 1471.—Queen Margaret, who was, perhaps, somewhat less active than she had been in earlier life, was just preparing to return to England with prince Edward and the duke of Somerset, son to the duke of that title who was beheaded after the battle of Hexham, when their journey was rendered useless by a new turn in the affairs of England; a turn most lamentable to those Lancastrians who, as Philip de Comines tells us of the dukes of Somerset and Exeter, were reduced to absolute beggary. The turn of affairs to which we allude was mainly caused by the imprudence of the earl of Warwick, who acted towards the duke of Burgundy in such wise as to compel that prince in sheer self-defence to aid the exiled Edward. The duke's personal predilections being really on the side of the Lancastrians, it required only a timely and prudent policy on the part of the earl of Warwick to have secured, at the least, the duke's neutrality. But the earl, laying too much stress upon the relationship between Edward and Burgundy, took it for granted that the latter must be a determined enemy to the Lancastrians, and caused him to become so by sending a body of four thousand men to Calais, whence they made very mischievous irruptions into the Low Countries. Burgundy, fearing the consequences of being attacked at once by France and by England, determined to divert the attention and power of the latter by assisting his brother-in-law. But while determined so to aid Edward as to enable him to give Warwick's party abundant anxiety and trouble, the duke was not the less careful to do so with the utmost attention to the preservation of friendly appearances towards the English government. With this view he furnished Edward with eighteen vessels, large and small, together with a sum of money; but he hired the vessels in the name of some merchants, and still farther to mislead Warwick, or to give him a plausible reason for pretending to be misled, no sooner had Edward sailed than the duke publicly forbade his subjects from affording any aid or countenance to that prince either by land or water.

Edward in the meantime, with a force of two thousand men, attempted to land upon the coast of Norfolk, but was driven off, and he then landed at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire. Perceiving that here too, from the care which Warwick had taken to fill the magistracy with his own partisans, the Lancastrian party was far the most popular and powerful, Edward adopted the policy which had formerly so well served the duke of Lancaster, and issued a proclamation in which he solemnly averred that he had landed without any intention of challenging the crown or of disturbing the national peace, but had come solely for the purpose of demanding the family possessions of the house of York, to which he was incontestably entitled. This affected moderation caused great numbers to join his standard who would not have done so had he openly avowed his intention of endeavouring to recover the crown; and he speedily found himself possessed of the city of York, and at the head of an army sufficiently numerous to promise him success in all his designs; while his chance of

success was still further increased by the unaccountable apathy of the marquis of Montague, who, though he had the command of all the forces in the north, took no steps to check the movements of Edward, though he surely could not have been unaware how important and dangerous they were. Warwick was more alert, and having assembled a force at Leicester, he prepared to give battle to Edward, who, however, contrived to pass him and to make his way to London. Had Edward been refused admittance here, nothing could have saved his cause from utter ruin; but he had not taken so bold a step without carefully and, as it proved, correctly calculating all his chances. In the first place, the sanctuaries of London were filled with his friends, who he well knew would join him; in the next place, he was extremely popular with the ladies of London, and indebted to their husbands for sums of money which they could never hope to receive unless he should succeed in recovering the crown; and in the third place, Warwick's brother, the archbishop of York, to whom the government of the city was entrusted, gave a new instance of the facile and shameless treachery which disgraced that time by entering into a correspondence with Edward, and agreeing to betray and ruin his own brother.

Being admitted into the city of London, Edward made himself master of the person of the unfortunate Henry, who thus once more passed from the throne to the dungeon.

Though many circumstances gave advantage to Edward, the earl of Warwick was by no means inclined to yield without a fairly stricken field, and having collected all the force he could raise he stationed himself at Barnet. Here he was doomed to the deep mortification of fully experiencing the ingratitude and treachery of Clarence, who suddenly broke from his quarters during the night, and made his way over to Edward with twelve thousand of Warwick's best troops. Had Warwick listened to the dictates of prudence he would now have closed with the offers of a peaceful settlement which were made to him by both Edward and Clarence: but he was thoroughly aroused and enraged, and he resolved to put all consequences upon the issue of a general action. It commenced accordingly, and both leaders and soldiers on each side displayed extraordinary valour. A mere accident gave a decisive turn to the long uncertain fortune of the day. The cognizance of the king was a sun, that of Warwick a star with rays diverging from it; and in the dense mist which prevailed during the battle the earl of Oxford was mistaken for a Yorkish leader, and he and his troops were beaten from the field with very great slaughter by their own friends. This disaster was followed by the death of Warwick, who was slain while fighting on foot, as was his brother Montague. The Lancastrians were now completely routed, and Edward giving orders to deny quarter, a vast number were slain in the pursuit as well as in the battle. Nor was the victory wholly without cost to the conquerors, who lost upwards of fifteen hundred men of all ranks.

As Warwick had determined not to make terms with Edward, his best policy would have been to await the arrival of queen Margaret, who was daily expected from France, and whose influence would have united all Lancastrians and probably have ensured victory. But Warwick, unsuspicious of Clarence's treachery, felt so confident of victory, that he was above all things anxious that Margaret should not arrive in time to share his anticipated glory; but though he had on that account hurried on the action, Margaret and her son, attended by a small body of French, landed in Dorsetshire on the very day after the fatal fight of Barnet. Here as soon as she landed she learned Warwick's defeat and death, and the new captivity of her inveterately unfortunate husband; and she was so much depressed by the information that she took sanctuary at Beaulieu abbey. She was here visited and encouraged by Tudor, earl of Pembroke, Courtenay, earl of Devonshire, and other men of rank and influence, and induced to make a progress through Devon, Somerset, and Gloucestershire. In this neighbourhood her cause appeared to be exceedingly popular, for every day's march made a considerable addition to her force. She was at length overtaken at Tewkesbury, in Gloucestershire, by Edward's army; and in the battle which ensued she was completely defeated, with the loss of about three thousand men, among whom were the earl of Devonshire and lord Wenlock, who were killed in the field, and the duke of Somerset and about a score more persons of distinction, who, having taken sanctuary in a church, were dragged out and beheaded.

Among the prisoners were queen Margaret and her son. They were taken into the presence of Edward, who sternly demanded of the young prince on what ground he had ventured to invade England. The high, spirited boy, regarding rather the fortune to which he was born than the powerless and perilous situation in which the adverse fortune of war had placed him, boldly and imprudently replied that he had come to England for the rightful purpose of claiming his just inheritance. This answer so much enraged Edward, that he, forgetful alike of decency and mercy, struck the youth in the face with his gauntletted hand. As though this violent act had been a preconcerted signal, the dukes of Gloucester and Clarence, with lord Hastings and sir Thomas Gray, dragged the young prince into an adjoining room and there despatched him with their daggers. The unhappy Margaret was committed to close confinement in the Tower, in which sad prison Henry had expired a few days after the battle of Tewkesbury. As Henry's health had long been infirm, it seems quite likely that his death was natural, but as the temper of the times made violence at the least probable, Edward caused the body to be exposed to public view, and it certainly showed no signs of unfair means.

The cause of the Lancastrians was now extinguished. The princes of that house

were dead, the best and most devoted of its friends were either fugitive or dead, and Tudor, earl of Pembroke, who had been raising forces in Wales, now disbanded them in utter despair, and sought safety, with his nephew, the earl of Richmond, in Brittany. The last effort was made by the bastard of Falconberg, who levied forces and advanced to London; but he was deserted by his troops, taken prisoner, and executed.

Edward, now wholly triumphant, summoned a parliament, which compliantly sanctioned his deeds; and all dangers being now at an end, he resumed the jovial and dissipated life to which he owed no small portion of that popularity which would, most probably, have been refused to a prince of a higher cast of character and of more manly and dignified bearing.

Edward, however, was soon recalled from his indulgence in pleasure, by the necessity for attending to his foreign interests. He was by no means unconscious of the cold and constrained reception that had been given to him in his adversity by the duke of Burgundy; but considerations of interest now led Edward to make a league with the duke against the king of France. By this league it was provided that Edward should cross the sea with not fewer than ten thousand men for the invasion of France, in which he was to be joined by the duke of Burgundy with all the force he could command. The objects proposed by the allies were to acquire for England the provinces of Normandy and Guienne, at least, and if possible the crown of France, to which Edward was formally to challenge the right, while the duke of Burgundy was to obtain Champagne, with some farther territory, and the freedom for his hereditary territories from all feudal superiority on the part of France. Their league seemed the more likely to be successful, because they had good reason to hope for the cooperation of the duke of Brittany, and they had the secret assurance of the count of St. Pol, who was constable of France, and held St. Quentin and other important places on the Somme, that he would join them when they should enter France.

A French war was always sure to excite the pecuniary liberality of the English parliament, which now granted the king two shillings in the pound on all rents, and a fifteenth and three quarters of a fifteenth; but this money was to be kept in religious houses, and returned to the contributors in the event of the expedition against France not taking place. From this stringent care of the money we may perceive how much the commons of England had increased, both in power and in the knowledge how to make efficient and prudent use of it.

A.D. 1475.—So popular was the king's project against France, that all the powerful nobles of England offered him their aid and attendance; and instead of the stipulated ten thousand men, he was enabled to land at Calais with fifteen thousand archers and fifteen hundred men-at-arms. But to Edward's great annoyance, when he entered France he was disappointed by the count of St. Pol, who refused to open his gates to him, and by the duke of Burgundy, who, instead of joining Edward with all his forces, had employed them against the duke of Lorraine and on the frontiers of Germany. This circumstance, so fatal to Edward's views, arose out of the fiery temper of Burgundy, who personally apologised, but at the same time confessed that it would be impossible for him to make his troops available to Edward for that campaign. Louis XI., that profound politician who thought nothing mean or degrading which could aid him in his views, no sooner learned the disappointment which had befallen Edward, than he sent him proposals of peace; and a truce was easily concluded between them, Louis paying seventy-five thousand crowns down, and agreeing to pay two-thirds of that sum annually for their joint lives, and to marry the dauphin, when of age, to Edward's daughter. The two monarchs met at Pecquigin to ratify this treaty; and the precautions which were taken to prevent the possibility of assassination on either side give us but a low notion of the honour by which either prince was actuated himself or supposed the other to be.

There was one clause of this treaty—otherwise so disgraceful to Louis,—which was highly creditable to the French king. By it he stipulated for the safe release of the unfortunate Margaret, for whose ransom Louis consented to pay fifty thousand crowns. She was released accordingly, and until her death, which occurred in 1482, she lived in complete seclusion from that world in which she had formerly played so conspicuous and so unfortunate a part.

There was in the character of Edward a certain cold and stubborn severity which made it no easy matter to recover his favour after he had once been offended. His brother Clarence, much as he had done in the way of treachery towards his unfortunate father-in-law, was far enough from being really restored to Edward's confidence and favour. The brooding dislike of the king was the more fatal to Clarence from that unfortunate prince having imprudently given deep offence to the queen and to his brother the duke of Gloster, a prince who knew not much of truth or of remorse when he had any scheme of ambition or violence to carry. Well knowing the rash and open temper of Clarence, his formidable enemies determined to act upon it by attacking his friends, which they rightly judged would be sure to sting him into language that would ruin him with his already suspicious and offended king and brother.

It chanced that as the king was hunting at Arrow, in Warwickshire, he killed a white buck which was a great favourite of the owner, a wealthy gentleman named Burdett. Provoked by the loss of his favourite, the gentleman passionately exclaimed that he wished the buck's horns were stuck in the belly of whoever advised the king to kill it. In our settled and reasonable times it really is no easy matter to understand how—even had the speech related, as it did not,

to the king himself—such a speech could by the utmost torturing of language be called treason. But so it was. Burdett had the misfortune to be on terms of familiar friendship with the duke of Clarence; and he was tried, condemned, and beheaded at Tyburn for no alleged offence beyond these few idle and intemperate words. That Clarence might have no shadow of doubt that he was himself aimed at in the persons of his friends, this infamous murder was followed by that of another friend of the duke, a clergyman named Stacey. He was a learned man, and far more proficient than was common in that half barbarous age in astronomy and mathematical studies in general. The rabble got a notion that such learning must needs imply sorcery; the popular rumour was adopted by Clarence's enemies, and the unfortunate Stacey was tried, tortured, and executed, some of the most eminent peers not scrupling to sanction these atrocious proceedings by their presence. As the enemies of Clarence had anticipated, the persecution of his friends aroused him to an imprudent though generous indignation. Instead of endeavouring to secure himself by a close reserve, he loudly and boldly inveighed against the injustice of which his friends had been the victims, and bore testimony to their innocence and honour. This was precisely what the enemies of the duke desired; the king was insidiously urged to deem the complaints of Clarence insulting and injurious to him, as implying his participation in the alleged injustice done to the duke's friends.

A.D. 1478.—The unfortunate duke was now fairly in the toils which had been set for him by his enemies. He was committed to the Tower, and a parliament was specially summoned to try him for treason. The treasons alleged against him, even had they been proved by the most trustworthy evidence, were less treasons than mere petulant speeches. Not a single overt act was even alleged, far less proved against him. But the king in person prosecuted him, and the slavish parliament shamelessly pronounced him guilty; the commons adding to their vileness by both petitioning for the duke's execution, and passing a bill of attainder against him. The dreadfully severe temper of Edward required no such vile prompting. There was little danger of his showing mercy even to a brother whom he had once fairly learned to hate! The sole favour that he would grant the unhappy duke was that of being allowed to choose the mode of his death; and he made choice of the strange and unheard-of one of being drowned in a butt of Malmsey wine, which whimsically tragic death was accordingly inflicted upon him in the Tower of London.

A.D. 1482.—Louis XI. of France having broken his agreement to marry the dauphin to the daughter of Edward, this king contemplated the invasion of France for the purpose of avenging the affront. But while he was busily engaged with the necessary preparations he was suddenly seized with a mortal sickness, of which he expired in the twenty-third year of his reign and the forty-second of his age.

Though undoubtedly possessed of both abilities and courage, Edward was disgracefully sensual and hatefully cruel. His vigour and courage might earn him admiration in times of difficulty, but his love of effeminate pleasures must always preclude him from receiving the approbation of the wise, as his unsparing cruelty must always ensure him the abhorrence of the good.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

The Reign of EDWARD V.

A.D. 1483.—From the time of the marriage of Edward IV. with the lady Elizabeth Gray the court had been divided into two fierce factions, which were none the less dangerous now because during the life of Edward the stern character of that king had compelled the concealment of their enmities from him. The queen herself, with her brother the earl of Rivers and her son the marquis of Dorset, were at the head of the one faction, while the other included nearly the whole of the ancient and powerful nobility of the kingdom, who naturally were indignant at the sudden rise and exceeding ambition of the queen's family. The duke of Buckingham, though he had married the queen's sister, was at the head of the party opposed to her family influence, and he was zealously and strongly supported by the lords Hastings, Stanley, and Howard.

When Edward IV. felt that his end was approaching, he sent for these noblemen and entreated them to support the authority of his youthful son; but no sooner was Edward dead than the leaders of both factions endeavoured to secure the chief interest with the heartless and ambitious duke of Gloster, whom Edward IV. most fatally had named regent during the minority of Edward the Fifth.

Though Gloster was entrusted with the regency of the kingdom, the care of the young prince was confided to his uncle the earl of Rivers, a nobleman remarkable in that rude age for his literary taste and talents. The queen, who was very anxious to preserve over her son the same great influence she had exerted over his father, advised Rivers to levy troops to escort the king to London to be crowned, and to protect him from any undue coercion on the part of the enemies of his family. To this step, however, lord Hastings and his friends made the strongest and most open opposition; Hastings even going so far as to declare that if such a force were levied he should think it high time to depart for his government of Calais, and his friends adding that the levying such a force would be the actual recommencement of a civil war. Gloster, who had deeper motives than any of the other parties concerned, affected to think such force needless at least, and his artful professions of determination to afford the young king all needful protection so completely deceived the queen, that she altered her opinion and re-

quested her brother to accompany his nephew to London with only such equipage as was befitting his high rank.

When the young king was understood to be on his road, Gloster set out with a numerous retinue, under pretence of desiring to escort him honourably to London, and was joined at Northampton by lord Hastings, who also had a numerous retinue. Rivers, fancying that his own retinue added to the numerous company already assembled at Northampton would cause a want of accommodation, sent young Edward on to Stony Stratford, and went himself to pay his respects to the regent Gloster at Northampton. Rivers was cordially received by the duke of Gloster, with whom and Buckingham he spent the whole evening. Not a word passed whence he could infer enmity or danger, yet on the following morning as he was entering Stony Stratford to join his royal ward, he was arrested by order of the duke of Gloster. Sir Richard Gray, a son of the queen by her first marriage, and sir Thomas Vaughan, were at the same time arrested, and all three were immediately sent under a strong escort to Pontefract castle.

Having thus deprived the young king of his wisest and most zealous protector, Gloster waited upon him with every outward show of kindness and respect, but could not with all his art quiet the regrets and fears excited in the prince's mind by the sudden and ominous arrest of his kind and good relative. The queen was still more alarmed. In the arrest of her brother she saw but the first step made towards the ruin of herself and her whole family; and she immediately retired to the sanctuary of Westminster, together with the young duke of York and the five princesses, trusting that Gloster would scarcely dare to violate the sanctuary which had proved her efficient defence against the worst fury of the Lancastrian faction during the worst times of her husband's misfortunes. Her confidence in the shelter she had chosen was naturally increased by the consideration, that whereas formerly even a family opposed to hers by the most deadly and immitigable hostility was not tempted to violate the sanctuary, she had now to dread only her own brother-in-law, while her son, fast approaching the years which would enable him to terminate his uncle's protectorate, was the king.

But in reasoning thus the queen wholly overlooked the deep and dangerous nature of her brother-in-law, whose dark mind was daring enough for the most desperate deeds, and subtle enough to suggest excuses fit to impose even upon the shrewdest and most cautious. Gloster saw that the continuance of his nephew in sanctuary would oppose an insurmountable obstacle to his abominable designs; and he at once devoted his powers of subtlety to the task of getting the young prince from that secure shelter without allowing the true motive to appear. Making full allowance for the power of the church, he represented to the archbishops of Canterbury and York, that the queen in some sort insulted the church by abusing, to the protection of herself and children against the dangers which existed only in her imagination, a privilege which was intended only for persons of mature years having reason to fear grievous injury on account of either crime or debt. Now, he argued, could a mere child like the brother of their young king be in anywise obnoxious to the king, from any cause for which the right of sanctuary was instituted? Was not the church as well as the government concerned in putting a stop, even by force if necessary, to a course of conduct on the part of the queen which was calculated to possess mankind with the most horrible suspicions of those persons who were the most concerned in the king's happiness and safety? The prelates, ignorant of the dark designs of Gloster, and even of his real nature, which hitherto he had carefully and most dexterously disguised, could scarcely fail to agree with him as to the folly of the queen's conduct, and its utter needlessness for securing her son's safety. But, careful of the privileges of the church, they would not hear of the sanctuary being forcibly assailed, but readily agreed to use their personal influence with the queen to induce her voluntarily to abandon alike her retreat and her fears.

The prelates had much difficulty in inducing the queen to allow the young duke of York to leave her and the protection of the sanctuary. His continuance there she again and again affirmed to be important, not only to his own safety, but to that of the young king, against whose life it would appear to be both useless and unsafe to strike while his brother and successor remained in safety. In reply to this the prelates, sincerely though most mistakenly, assured her that she did but deceive herself in her fears for either of the royal brothers. But perhaps their strongest argument was their frank declaration that the seclusion of the young prince was so offensive both to the duke of York and the council, that it was more than possible that even force might be resorted to, should the queen refuse to yield the point. Dreading lest further opposition should but accelerate the evil that she wished to avert, the unhappy queen at length, with abundance of tears and with lamentations which were but too prophetic, delivered the young prince up, bidding him, as she did so, farewell for ever.

Possessed of the protectorate, which the council, on account of his near relation to the throne, had at once conferred upon him without waiting for the consent of parliament, and now possessed of the persons of the young princes, Gloster seems to have deemed all obstacles removed to his bloody and treacherous purpose; though to any less uncompromising and daring schemer there might have seemed to be a formidable one in the existence of numerous other children of Edward, and two of the duke of Clarence.

The first step of Gloster in his infamous course was to cause sir Richard Ratcliffe, a tool well worthy of so heartless and unsparing an employer, to put to death the

earl of Rivers and the other prisoners whom he had sent to Pontefract castle, as before named; and to this measure the tyrant had the art to obtain the sanction of the duke of Buckingham and lord Hastings; whom subsequently he most fittingly repaid for their participation in this monstrous guilt.

Gloster now quite literally imitated the great enemy of mankind—he made this first crime of Buckingham's, this participation in one murder, the cause and the justification of farther crime. He pointed out to Buckingham that the death—however justifiably inflicted, as he affected to consider it—at their suggestion and command, of the queen's brother and son was an offence which a woman of her temper would by no means forget; and that, however impotent she might be during the minority of her son, the years would soon pass by which would bring his majority; she would then have access to him and influence over him; and would not that influence be most surely used to their destruction? Would it not be safer for Buckingham, aye, and better for all the real and ancient nobility of the kingdom, that the offspring of the comparatively plebeian Elizabeth Gray should be excluded from the throne; and that the sceptre should pass into the hands of Gloster himself—Gloster, who was so indissolubly the friend of Buckingham, and so well affected to the true nobility of the kingdom? Safety from the consequences of a crime already committed and irrevocable, with great and glowing prospect of rich benefits to arise from being the personal friend, the very right hand of the king, albeit a usurping king, were arguments precisely adapted to the comprehension and favour of Buckingham, who with but small hesitation agreed to lend his aid and sanction to the measures necessary to convert the duke of Gloster into king Richard III.

Having thus secured Buckingham, Gloster now turned his attention to lord Hastings whose influence was so extensive as to be of vast importance. Through the medium of Catesby, a lawyer much employed by Gloster when chicane seemed the preferable weapon to actual violence, Gloster sounded Hastings; but that nobleman, weak and wicked as he had proved himself, was far too sincerely attached to the children of his late sovereign and friend to consent to their injury. He not only refused to aid in the transfer of the crown from them, but so refused as to leave but little room for doubt that he would be active in his opposition. The mere suspicion was sufficient to produce his ruin, which Gloster set about instantly and almost without the trouble of disguise.

A council was summoned to meet Gloster at the Tower; and Hastings attended with as little fear or suspicion as any other member. Gloster, whose mood seems ever to have been the most dangerous when his bearing was the most jocund, chatted familiarly with the members of the council as they assembled. Not a frown darkened his terrible brow, not a word fell from his lips that could excite doubt or fear: who could have supposed that he was about to commit a foul murder who was sufficiently at ease to compliment bishop Morton upon the size and earliness of the strawberries in his garden at Holborn, and to beg that a dish of them might be sent to him? Yet it was in the midst of such light talk that he left the council-board to ascertain that all his villanous arrangements were exactly made. This done, he entered the room again with a disturbed and angry countenance, and startled all present by sternly and abruptly demanding what punishment was deserved by those who should dare to plot against the life of the uncle of the king and the appointed protector of the realm. Hastings, really attached to Gloster, though still more so to the royal children, warmly replied that whoever should do so would merit the punishment of traitors.

'Traitors, aye traitors!' said the duke, 'and those traitors are the sorceress my brother's widow, and his mistress Jane Shore, and others who are associated with them.' And then laying bare his arm, which all present knew to have been shrivelled and deformed from his earliest years, he continued, 'See to what a condition they have reduced me by their abominable witchcraft and incantations!'

The mention of Jane Shore excited the first suspicion or fear in the mind of Hastings, who, subsequent to the death of the late king, had been intimate with the beautiful though guilty woman of that name.

'If,' said Hastings, doubtfully, 'they have done this, my lord, they deserve the severest punishment.'

'If!' shouted Gloster; 'and do you prate to me of your *ifs* and *ands*? You are the chief abettor of the sorceress Shore; you are a traitor, and by St. Paul I swear that I will not dine until your head shall be brought to me.'

Thus speaking, he struck the table with his hand, and in an instant the room was filled with armed men who had already received his orders how to act: Hastings was dragged from the room, and beheaded on a log of wood which chanced to be lying in the court-yard of the Tower. In two hours after this savage murder, a proclamation was made to the citizens of London, apologising for the sudden execution of Hastings on the score of the equally sudden discovery of numerous offences which the proclamation charged upon him. Though Gloster had but little reason to fear any actual outbreak in the city, the lord Hastings was very popular there; and not a few of the citizens, even including those who were the most favourable to Gloster, seemed to agree with a merchant who, noticing the elaborate composition of the fairly written proclamation, and contrasting it with the shortness of the time which had elapsed from Hastings's murder, shrewdly remarked that 'the proclamation might safely be relied on, *for it was quite plain that it had been drawn by the spirit of prophecy.*'

Though the extreme violence of Gloster was for the present confined to Hastings

as if in retributive justice upon his crime towards the victims of Pontefract, the other councillors were by no means allowed to escape scot free. Lord Stanley was actually wounded by the poll-axe of one of the soldiers summoned by the treacherous protector, and only, perhaps, escaped being murdered in the very presence of that tyrant by the more dexterous than dignified expedient of falling under the table, and remaining there till the confusion attendant upon the arrest of Hastings had subsided. He was then, together with the archbishop of York, the bishop of Ely, and some other councillors, whom Gloster hated for their sincere attachment to the family of the late king, conveyed from the council room of the Tower to its too ominous dungeons.

A new and a meaner victim was now essential to the dark and unsparing purposes of the protector. His connection of the murdered Hastings with the alleged sorceries of the late king's mistress, Jane Shore, rendered it necessary that he should appear to be fully convinced that she was guilty of the crimes which he had laid to her charge. The charge of witchcraft, that upon which he laid the most stress, was so utterly unsupported by evidence, that even the ignorance of the age and the power of Gloster could not get her convicted upon it; but as it was notorious that she, a married woman, had lived in a doubly adulterous intercourse with the late king, the spiritual court was easily induced to sentence her to do penance publicly, and attired in a white sheet, at St. Paul's. Her subsequent fate was just what might be expected from her former life. Though in her guilty prosperity she showed many signs of a humane and kindly temper, liberally succouring the distressed and disinterestedly using her influence with the king for the benefit of deserving but friendly court suitors, she passed unheeded and unaided from her public degradation to a privacy of miserable indigence.

Gloster's impunity thus far very naturally increased both his propension to crime and his audacity in its commission, and he now no longer made a secret of his desire to exclude the present king and his brother from the throne. Reckless of woman's fame as of man's life, Gloster took advantage of the known luxuriousness of the late king's life to affirm that, previous to that prince marrying the lady Elizabeth Gray he had been married to the lady Eleanor, Talbot, the daughter of the earl of Shrewsbury; that this marriage, though secret, was legal and binding, and had been solemnized by Millington, bishop of Bath; and that, consequently and necessarily, Edward's children by the lady Elizabeth Gray were illegitimate. The children of Edward being thus pronounced illegitimate, Gloster, by his partisans, maintained that the attainder of the duke of Clarence necessarily dispossessed *his* children of all right. But as assertion in the former case could hardly pass for proof, and as attaint had never been ruled to exclude from the crown as from mere private succession, Gloster soared to a higher and more damning pitch of infamy; hitherto he had impugned the chastity of his sister-in-law—now he passed beyond all the ordinary villany of the world, and imputed frequent and familiar harlotry to his own mother! To make his right to the throne wholly independent either of the alleged secret marriage of the late king to the lady Eleanor, or of the effect upon Clarence's children of the attainder of their father, Gloster now taught his numerous and zealous tools to maintain that his mother, the duchess of York, who was still alive, had been repeatedly false to her marriage vows, that both Edward IV. and the duke of Clarence had been illegitimate and the sons of different fathers, and that the duke of Gloster was alone the legitimate son of the duke and duchess of York.

As if this horrible charge of a son against his mother, who had lived and was still living in the highest credit of the most irreproachable virtue, were not sufficiently revolting to all good and manly feeling, the horrible charge was first brought forward *in church; on the occasion of Dr. Shaw preaching a sermon* before the protector. The preacher, well worthy of the patron, took the significant text, '*Bastard slips shall not thrive;*' upon which the preacher enlarged with great zeal in the endeavour to throw the stain of bastardy upon Edward IV. and his brother Clarence. Though Gloster was far too free from shamefacedness, as well as from every thing in the shape of 'compunctious visiting,' to have any objection to being present during the delivery of the whole of the tirade against his own mother's chastity, yet from a politic motive it was arranged that he should not enter the church until the preacher should finish pronouncing the following passage. Contrasting the duke of Gloster with the alleged illegitimate sons of his mother, the preacher exclaimed, 'Behold this excellent prince, the express image of his noble father, the genuine descendant of the house of York; bearing, no less in the virtues of his mind than in the features of his countenance, the character of the gallant Richard, once your hero and favourite. He alone is entitled to your allegiance; he must deliver you from the dominion of all intruders; he alone can restore the lost glory and honour of the nation.'

It was intended that this glowing panegyric on the duke of Gloster should be pronounced at the very moment of the object of it making his appearance in the church, in the hope that, taken by surprise and urged into enthusiastic feeling, the congregation might be induced to hail the wily and heartless tyrant with the cry of 'God save king Richard!' But by one of those mistakes which very often occur to throw ridicule upon the deepest schemes, the duke did not make his appearance until the whole of this precious passage had already been delivered. Rather than his eloquence and the chance of its success should be lost by this accident, the preacher actually repeated it; but the audience, either from the repetition seeming ridiculous, or its impressing them the more strongly

with the falsehood and villany of the charges insinuated against the duchess of York, witnessed the performance of the disgusting farce with an indifference which probably was more severely felt by Gloster than any other punishment would have been.

The preaching of Dr. Shaw having thus failed to effect the purpose of Gloster, recourse was now had to the management of Dr. Shaw's brother, who at this time was mayor of London. He called a meeting of the citizens, to whom he introduced the duke of Buckingham, who exerted to the utmost his powers of eloquence upon the subject of Gloster's great and numerous virtues, and upon the superiority of his unquestionable claim to the throne. Though Buckingham was as earnest as he was eloquent, he could by no means communicate his own feelings to the bosoms of the good citizens, who with most unmoved countenances and lack-lustre eyes heard him in all gravity, and heard the very conclusion of his address with all silence. At once annoyed by this repulsive silence, and as much abashed by it as so experienced a courtier well could be by any thing, the duke angrily demanded of the mayor what the silence of the citizens might mean. The mayor replied, that probably the citizens had not fully understood the duke, who then repeated the former speech, but still failed to elicit any reply from his auditors. The mayor, in his desire to gratify the duke, pretended that the citizens, who were always accustomed to be harangued by their own recorder, could only comprehend the duke's speech if delivered to them through the medium of that officer.

The recorder, Fitzwilliam, was accordingly desired to repeat the duke's speech, which, being no friend to Gloster's projects, he took care to do in such wise that the people could by no means take the words, though delivered by him, as in any way expressing his wishes; and he, like the duke, was heard to the very last word without anyone giving him a word of reply.

The duke now became too much enraged to refrain from speaking out, and he said, 'This is wonderful obstinacy; express your meaning, my friends, in one way or the other. When we apply to you on this occasion, it is merely from the regard which we bear to you. The lords and commons have sufficient authority without your consent to appoint a king; but I require you here to declare, in plain terms, whether or not you will have the duke of Gloster for your sovereign?' The earnestness and anger of the duke, and the example set by some of his and the duke of Gloster's servants, caused this address, more fortunate than the former ones, to be received with a cry of *God save king Richard!* The cry was feeble, and raised by people few in number and of the humblest rank; but it served the purpose of Buckingham, who now, as had been concerted, hurried off to Baynard's castle to inform Gloster that the voice of 'the people' called him to the throne!

Buckingham was attended to Baynard's castle by the mayor and a considerable number of citizens; and though the wily protector was most anxiously expecting this visit, he affected to be surprised and even alarmed at so many persons in company demanding to speak to him; which pretended surprise and alarm of the protector, Buckingham took care to point out to the especial notice of the thick-witted citizens. When the protector at length suffered himself to be persuaded to speak to the duke of Buckingham and the citizens, he affected astonishment on hearing that he was desired to be king, and roundly declared his own intention of remaining loyal to Edward V., a course of conduct which he also recommended to Buckingham and his other auditors. Buckingham now affected to take a higher tone with the protector. That prince, argued Buckingham, could undoubtedly refuse to accept the crown, but he could not compel the people to endure their present sovereign. A new one they would have; and if the duke of Gloster would not comply with their loving wishes on his behalf, it would only behove them to offer the crown elsewhere. Having now sufficiently kept up the disgusting farce of refusing that crown for the sake of which he had already waded through so much innocent blood, and was so perfectly prepared and determined to commit even more startling crimes still, Gloster now gave a seemingly reluctant consent to accept it; and without waiting for farther repetition of this offer from 'the people,' he thenceforth threw aside even the affectation of acting on behalf of any other sovereign than his own will and pleasure.

The farcical portion of the usurpation, however, was but too soon afterward followed by a most tragical completion of Richard's vile crime. Tortured by the true bane of tyrants, suspicion and fear, Richard felt that so long as his young nephews survived, his usurped crown would ever be insecure; as an opponent would always be at hand to be set up against him by any noble to whom he might chance to give offence. This consideration was quite enough to ensure the death of the unfortunate young princes, and Richard sent orders for their murder to the constable of the Tower, sir Robert Brackenbury. But this gentleman was a man of honour, and he refused to have anything to do with a design so atrocious. The tyrant was, however, not to be baffled by the refusal of one good man to bend to his infamous designs, and having found a more compliant tool in the person of sir James Tyrrel, it was ordered that for one night Brackenbury should surrender to that person the keys of the Tower. On that fatal night three wretches, named Slater, Dighton, and Forrest, were introduced to the chamber in which the two young princes were buried in sinless and peaceful sleep. In that sleep the young victims were smothered by the three assassins just named, Tyrrel waiting outside the door while the horrid deed was being perpetrated, and, on its completion, ordering the burial of the bodies at the foot of the staircase leading to the chamber.

It may not be quite unnecessary to men-

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tion here that doubts, from which man's ingenuity allows few truths, however plain, wholly to escape, have been thrown upon this portion of Richard's guilt; but the most ingenious reasoning and the utmost felicity at guessing are but idle when opposed to plain fact, as in the present case; something more is requisite in opposition to the actual confession made by the murderers themselves in the following reign.

CHAPTER XXXV.

The Reign of RICHARD III.

A.D. 1483.—HAVING not only grasped the crown, but also put to death the two claimants from whom he had the most reason to fear future annoyance, Richard now turned his attention to securing as strong a body of supporters as he could, by the distribution of favours. And so anxious was he upon this point, so ready to forget all other considerations in the present usefulness of those of whose services he stood in need, that he cast his shrewd eye upon powerful enemies to be conciliated as well as devoted friends to be rewarded for the past and retained for the future.

Among those whom Richard the most carefully sought to keep firm to his interests was the duke of Buckingham. Descended from Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, and uncle of Richard II., this nobleman was allied to the royal family, and from the same cause he had a claim upon a moiety of the vast property of Bohun, earl of Hereford, which moiety had long been held by the crown under escheat. Buckingham, though his wealth and honours were already enormous, deemed that the services he had recently rendered to Richard gave him good ground to claim this property, and also the office of constable of England, which had long been hereditary in the Hereford family. In the first exultation caused by his own success, so much of which was owing to Buckingham, Richard granted all that nobleman asked. But on cooler reflection Richard seems to have imagined that Buckingham was already as wealthy and powerful as a subject could be consistently with the safety of the crown, and though he virtually made a formal grant of the Hereford property, he took care to oppose insuperable difficulties to its actual fulfilment. Buckingham was far too shrewd to fail to perceive the real cause of the property being withheld from him; and he who had so unscrupulously exerted himself to set up the usurper, now felt fully as anxious and resolute to aid in pulling him down. The flagrancy of Richard's usurpation was such as to promise every facility to an attempt to dethrone him, if that attempt were but headed by a man of adequate power and consequence. In truth, the very success of his usurpation was scarcely more attributable to his own daring and unprincipled wickedness than to the absence of any powerful opponent. Even the lowest and meanest citizens of London had rather been coerced into a passive admission of his right to the crown than into an active support of it; and now that the duke of Buckingham was converted into an enemy of the usurper, the long dormant claims of the Lancastrians were pressed upon his attention, and not unfavourably looked upon by him. Morton, bishop of Ely, whom Richard committed to the Tower on the day of lord Hastings's murder, had recently been committed to the less rigorous custody of the duke of Buckingham, and, perceiving the duke's discontent, turned his attention to a fitting rival to oppose to the tyrant, in the person of Henry, the young earl of Richmond. Through his mother the young earl was heir of the elder branch of the house of Somerset; and though that claim to the crown would formerly have been looked upon as very slight, the failure of the legitimate branches of the house of Lancaster now gave it considerable importance in the eyes of the adherents of that house. Even Edward IV. had been so jealous of the earl of Richmond's claim upon the throne, that after vainly endeavouring to get him into his power, he had agreed to pay a considerable yearly sum to the duke of Brittany to keep the dangerous young noble at his court, nominally as a guest, but really as a prisoner. The very jealousy thus shown towards the young earl naturally increased the attention and favour of the Lancastrians; and it now occurred to the bishop Morton, and, from his reasonings, to the duke of Buckingham, that Richard might be dethroned in favour of young Henry. But as the long depression of the house of Lancaster had diminished both the zeal and the number of its adherents, Morton with profound policy suggested the wisdom of strengthening the bonds of Henry, and at the same time weakening those of Richard, by the marriage of the former to king Edward's eldest daughter, the princess Elizabeth, and thus uniting the party claims of both families against the mere personal usurpation of Richard, who was deeply detested by the nation for his cruelty, and would consequently meet with no hearty support, if he should be openly opposed with even a probability of success.

Young Henry's mother, the countess of Richmond, was informed by Morton and Buckingham of their views in favour of her son; and the honour intended for him was too great to allow of any hesitation on her part. Dr. Lewis, a physician who had, professionally, the means of communicating with the queen dowager, who still found shelter in the sanctuary of Westminster, knew that, whatever might have been her former prejudices against the Lancastrians, they instantly yielded to the hate and disgust with which she thought of the successful usurper who had murdered her brother and three sons. She not only gave her consent to the proposed marriage, but also borrowed a sum of money which she sent to aid Henry in raising troops, and she at the same time required him to swear to marry her daughter as soon as he could safely reach England.

Morton and Buckingham having thus far met with success, began to exert themselves among their influential friends in the va-

rious counties, to prepare them for a general and simultaneous rising in favour of the earl of Richmond when he should land; and in this respect, too, their efforts met with an uncommon success, the tyranny of Richard becoming every day more hateful to all orders of his trampled subjects.

But guilt such as that of Richard is ever suspicious, even where there is no real cause for suspicion; and the sudden activity of various men of influence could neither escape the sharpened observation of the tyrant, nor seem inexplicable to him on any other ground than that of treason against him. Well knowing that Buckingham was greatly addicted to political plotting, Richard with many friendly expressions invited the duke to court, where for some time he had been a stranger. Whether the king really sought a reconciliation with the duke, or merely wished to obtain possession of his person, does not clearly appear. The duke, however, who well knew with whom he had to deal, interpreted the king's message in the latter sense, and only replied to it by unfurling the standard of revolt in Wales at the moment when Richard was levying troops in the north.

It happened most unfortunately for Buckingham, that just as he had marched his troops to the Severn, that river was so swollen in consequence of rains of almost unexampled copiousness and duration, as to be quite impassable. This unlooked-for check cast a damp upon the spirits of Buckingham's followers, who were still farther dispirited by great distress from want of provisions. Desertions among them daily became more numerous, and Buckingham, at length finding himself wholly abandoned, disguised himself in a mean habit and made his way to the house of an old servant of his family. Even in this obscure retreat, however, he was discovered, and carried as a prisoner to the king, who was then posted at Salisbury. All the former services rendered by the duke were forgotten in the fact of his more recent appearance in arms as the avowed enemy of the king, and he was immediately sent to execution. Several other though less eminent prisoners fell into the hands of Richard, and were by him transferred to the executioner; and one of these, a gentleman named Collingbourne, is said to have suffered not for his direct and open opposition to Richard, but for some miserable doggrel in which he made it a complaint that

> The cat, the rat, and Lovel the dog,
> Rule all England under the hog.

Stupid as this doggrel production was, its stupidity and the heinous offence of playing upon the names of Catesby and Ratcliffe, upon that of Lovel and upon the cognisance of the king, seem to have merited a somewhat less severe punishment than death! The bishop of Ely and the marquis of Dorset, to neither of whom would Richard have shown any mercy, were fortunate enough to escape from the kingdom. In the meantime the young earl of Richmond with a levy of five thousand men had sailed from St. Maloes, in ignorance of the misfortune that had occurred to his cause in England; and on arriving there he found that, for the present at least, all hope was at an end, and he sailed back to Brittany.

A.D. 1484.—The politic Richard easily saw that the recent attempt to dethrone him had by its ill success, and the severity with which he had punished some of the chief actors in it, very considerably tended to strengthen his cause not in the affections, indeed, but in the terrors of the people. Hitherto, being sensible of the flagrant impudence as well as deep guilt of his usurpation, he had been well content to rest his right to the throne upon the tyrant's right, superior strength. But he judged that he now might safely call a parliament without any doubt of its recognising his title. His anticipation proved to be quite correct; the parliament acted just as he wished, echoed his words, granted him the usual tonnage and poundage for life, and passed a few popular laws. With the same purpose in view he now addressed himself to the seemingly difficult task of converting the queen dowager from a foe into a friend. He saw that the chief source of Richmond's popularity was his projected espousal of the princess Elizabeth, and he knew enough of human nature to feel sure that a woman of the queen dowager's temper would be far from unlikely to prefer the union of her daughter with a king in fact, to her union with an earl who might never be a king at all. True it was that the princess Elizabeth was solemnly betrothed to his rival and foe, the earl of Richmond, and was related to Richard within the prohibited degrees; but then Rome could grant a dispensation, and Rome was venal. Thus reasoning, Richard applied himself to the queen dowager, and met with all the success he had anticipated. Wearied with her long seclusion from all pleasure and all authority, she at once consented to give her daughter to the wretch who had deprived her of three sons and a brother, and was so completely converted to his interests that she wrote to her son, the marquis of Dorset, and all the rest of her connections to withdraw from supporting Richmond, a piece of complaisance for which she paid full dearly in the next reign.

Flattering himself that no material danger could assail his throne during the interval necessary for procuring the dispensation from Rome, Richard now began to consider himself securely settled on the throne. But danger accrued to him even out of the very measure on which he mainly rested for safety. The friends of the earl of Richmond now more than ever pressed him again to try his fortune in invading England, lest the dispensation from Rome should enable Richard to complete his project of marrying the princess Elizabeth, which marriage would do so much to injure all the future hopes of the earl, as far as the sympathies of the people were concerned, in a union of the houses of York and Lancaster. Henry accordingly escaped from Brittany, where he deemed himself in danger from the treachery of the duke's

confidential minister, and proceeded to the court of France. Here he was greatly aided by Charles VIII., who had succeeded the tyrant Louis XI.; and here too, he was joined by the earl of Oxford, who had escaped from the gaol into which Richard's suspicions had thrown him, and who now brought Henry most flattering accounts of the excellent chance he had from the popular disposition in England.

Richard in the meantime, unconscious or careless of the effect produced on the conduct of Richmond by the expectation of the dispensation which was to allow Richard to deprive him of his promised bride, triumphed in his fortune of having become a widower at only a short time before by the sudden death—so sudden that poison was suspected, but rather from the suddenness and from the general character of Richard than from anything like proof—of his wife Anne, widow of that Edward, prince of Wales, of whom Richard was the murderer. His actual and his proximate marriage must, in truth, have led him to believe that the murder of a lady's male relatives was anything rather than a bar to her favour!

A.D. 1485.—But while Richard was exulting in triumph as to the past and in hope as to the future, Richmond with an army of two thousand men had sailed from the Norman port of Harfleur, and landed, without experiencing opposition, at Milford Haven, in Wales. Here, as he expected, the zealous though unfortunate exertions of the duke of Buckingham had greatly prepossessed the people in his favour, and his little army was increased by volunteers at every mile he marched. Among those who joined him was sir Rice ap Thomas with a force with which he had been entrusted by Richard; and even the other commander of the tyrant, sir Walter Herbert, made but a faint and inefficient show of defence for Richard. Thus strengthened by actual volunteers, and encouraged by the evident lukewarmness of Richard's partisans, Richmond marched to Shrewsbury, where he was joined by the whole strength of the great Shrewsbury family under sir Gilbert Talbot, and by another numerous reinforcement under sir Thomas Bourchier and sir Walter Hungerford.

Richard, who had taken post at Nottingham, as being so central as to admit of his hastening to whichever part of the kingdom might earliest need his aid, was not nearly so much annoyed by the utmost force of his known enemies as he was perplexed about the real extent to which he could depend upon the good faith of his seeming friends. The duke of Norfolk Richard had reason to believe that he could securely rely upon; but lord Stanley and sir William Stanley, who had vast power and influence in the north, were closely connected with Richmond's family. Yet while the usurper felt the danger of trusting to their professions of friendship, he dared not break with them. Compelled by his situation to authorise them to raise forces on his behalf in Cheshire and Lancashire, he endeavoured to deter them from arraying those forces against him, by detaining as a hostage lord Stanley's son, lord Strange.

Though in his heart lord Stanley was devoted to the cause of Richmond, the peril in which his son lord Strange was placed induced him to forbear from declaring himself, and he posted his numerous levies at Atherstone, so situated that he could at will join either party. Richard in this conduct of lord Stanley saw a convincing proof that the hostility of that nobleman was only kept in check by the situation of his son; and judging that the destruction of the young man would be a spell of very different effect from his continued peril, the politic tyrant for once refused to shed blood when advised to do so by those of his friends who discerned the meaning of lord Stanley's delay. Trusting that lord Stanley's hesitation would last long enough to allow of the royal troops dealing only with the earl of Richmond, Richard approached the army of the latter nobleman at Bosworth, in Leicestershire. The army of Richmond was only six thousand, that of Richard double the number. Both Richard and the earl fought in the main guards of their respective armies, which had scarcely charged each other when lord Stanley led up his forces to the aid of Richmond. The effect of this demonstration was tremendous, both in encouraging the soldiers of the earl and in striking dismay into the already dispirited troops of Richard. Murderous and tyrannous usurper as he was, Richard was brave as a lion in the field. Perceiving that, since such powerful aid had declared for his rival, nothing but the death of that rival could give him any hope of safety for either life or throne, Richard intrepidly rushed toward the spot where Richmond was ordering his troops, and endeavoured to engage with him in personal combat; but while fighting with murderous vigour he was slain, after having dismounted sir John Cheyné, and killed sir William Brandon, Richmond's standard bearer.

The battle ended with the life of Richard, of whom it may with the utmost truth be said, that 'nothing in his life became him like the leaving of it.' Even while under his dreaded eye his soldiers had fought with no good will; and when he fell they immediately took to flight. On the side of Richard, besides the tyrant himself, there fell about four thousand, including the duke of Norfolk, the lord Ferrars of Chartley, sir Richard Ratcliffe, sir Robert Piercy, and sir Robert Brackenbury; and Catesby, the chief confidant and most willing tool of Richard's crimes, being taken prisoner, was, with some minor accomplices, beheaded at Leicester.

The body of Richard being found upon the field, was thrown across a miserable horse, and carried, amid the hooting and jeers of the people who so lately trembled at him, to the Grey Friar's church at Leicester, where it was interred.

The courage and ability of this prince were unquestionable; but all his courage and ability, misdirected as they were, served only to render him a new proof, if such were needed, of the inferiority of the most

brilliant gifts of intellect *without* honour and religion, to comparatively inferior talents *with* them. Low in stature, deformed, and of a harsh countenance, Richard might yet have commanded admiration by his talents, but for his excessive and ineradicable propension to the wicked as regards projects, and the bloody as regards action.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

The Reign of HENRY VII.

A.D. 1485.—THE joy of Richmond's troops at the defeat of Richard was proportioned to the hatred with which that tyrant had contrived to inspire every bosom. *Long live king Henry the Seventh!* was the exulting cry which now everywhere saluted the lately exiled and distressed earl of Richmond; and his victorious brow was bound with a plain gold coronal which had been worn by Richard, and had been torn from the tyrant's forehead by sir William Stanley in personal combat with him when he fell.

Though Henry, late earl of Richmond, and now, by possession, king Henry VII., had more than one ground upon which to rest his claim, there was not one of those grounds which was not open to objection. The Lancastrian claim had never been clearly established by Henry IV., and if the parliament had often supported the house of Lancaster, so the parliament had not less frequently—and with just as much apparent sincerity—paid a like compliment to the house of York. Then, again, allowing the Lancastrian claim to be good *ex fonte*, yet Richmond claimed only from the illegitimate branch of Somerset; and again, allowing that claim to be ever so good, it in reality was now vested not in him but in his still living mother, the countess of Richmond.

On the other hand, it was open to Henry to fix upon himself, by virtue of his marriage with the princess Elizabeth, the superior and more popular title of the house of York; but in this, so far as the York title was concerned, Henry could look upon himself only as a king consort, with the loss of his authority should his queen die without issue.

The right of conquest he could scarcely claim, seeing that that conquest was achieved by Englishmen. On the whole review of his case, therefore, Henry's obvious policy was to set forward no one of his grounds of claim with such distinctiveness as to challenge scrutiny and provoke opposition, but to rely chiefly upon the strongest of all rights, that of possession, strengthened still farther by his concurrent circumstances of right, and maintained by a judicious policy at once firm and popular, watchful yet seemingly undoubting. In heart Henry was not the less a Lancastrian from his determination to link himself to the house of York, and strengthen himself by its means in the popular love. Of the Yorkish support he was sure while connected with the house of York by marriage, but this far-sighted and suspicious temper taught him to provide against his possible disconnection from that house, and to give every 'coign of 'vantage' to the Lancastrians, whose friendship was, so to speak, more germane to his identity.

Only two days after the victory of Bosworth field Henry gave a proof of the feelings we have thus attributed to him, by sending sir Robert Willoughby to convey the young earl of Warwick from Sheriff Watton, in Yorkshire, where Richard had detained him in honourable and easy captivity, to the close custody of the Tower of London. Yet this unfortunate son of the duke of Clarence, inasmuch as his title, however superior to that of Richard, was not hostile to the succession of either Henry or his destined bride, might have reasonably expected a more indulgent treatment.

Having thus made every arrangement, present and prospective, which even his jealous policy could suggest, Henry gave orders for the princess Elizabeth being conveyed to London preparatory to her marriage. He himself at the same time approached the metropolis by easy journeys. Everywhere he was received with the most rapturous applause; which was the more sincere and hearty, because, while his personal triumph was shared by the Lancastrians, his approaching marriage with Elizabeth gave a share of that triumph to the Yorkists, and seemed to put an end for ever to those contests between the rival houses which had cost them both so much suffering during so long a time. But even amidst all the excitement attendant upon the joy with which men of all ranks hailed their new sovereign, the cold, stern, and suspicious temper of Henry displayed itself at once offensively and unnecessarily. On his arrival at London the mayor and the civic companies met him in public procession; but as though he disdained their gratulations, or suspected their sincerity, he passed through them in a close carriage, and without showing the slightest sympathy with their evident joy.

Though Henry well knew the importance which a great portion of his people attached to his union with the princess Elizabeth, and, with his customary politic carefulness, hastened to assure them of his unaltered determination to complete that marriage, and to contradict a report—founded upon an artful hint dropped by himself while he was yet uncertain of the issue of his contest with Richard—of his having promised to espouse the princess Anne, the heiress of Brittany, yet he delayed his marriage for the present; being anxious, tacitly at the least, to affirm his own claim to the crown by having his coronation performed previous to his marriage. Even the former ceremony, however, was for a time deferred by the raging of an awful plague, long afterwards spoken of with shuddering, under the name of the sweating sickness. The sickness in question was endemic, and so swift in its operation, that the person attacked almost invariably died or became convalescent within four-and-twenty hours. Either by the skill of the medical men or by some sanatory alteration in the condition of the atmo-

sphere, this very terrible visitation at length ceased, and Henry was crowned with the utmost pomp. Twelve knights banneret were made on occasion of this ceremony; the king's uncle, Jasper earl of Pembroke, was created duke of Bedford; lord Stanley, the king's father-in-law, earl of Derby; and Edward Courtenay, earl of Devonshire. The ceremony was performed by cardinal Bourchier, archbishop of Canterbury, who had contributed so much to Henry's good fortune.

Even in the matter of his coronation Henry could not refrain from showing that constant and haunting suspicion which contrasted so strangely with his unquestionable personal courage, by creating a body guard of fifty-five men, under the title of yeomen of the guard. But lest the duty of this guard, that of personal watch and ward over the sovereign, should imply the suspicion he really felt, Henry affected to contradict any such motive by publicly and pointedly declaring this guard a permanent and not a personal or temporary appointment.

Henry now summoned a parliament, and his partisans so well exerted themselves that a majority of the members were decided Lancastrians. Some of them, indeed, had been outlawed and attainted while the house of York was in the ascendant, and a question was raised whether persons who had been thus situated could rightfully claim to sit in parliament. The judges who were consulted upon this point had but little difficulty; it was easily to be dealt with as a simple matter of expediency. Accordingly they recommended that the elected members who were thus situated should not be allowed to take their seats until their former sentences should be reversed by parliament, and there was of course neither difficulty nor delay experienced in passing a short act to that especial effect.

This doubt as to the members of parliament, however, led to a still more important one. Henry had been himself attainted. But the judges very soon solved this difficulty by a decision, evidently founded upon a limitation of the power of a court of judicature from interfering with the succession; a power which, if such court possessed it, might so often be shamefully perverted by a bad king to the injury of an obnoxious heir to the throne. The judges, therefore put an end to this question by deciding 'that the crown takes away all defects and stops in blood; and that from the time that the king assumed the royal authority, the fountain was cleared, and all attaints and corruptions of blood did cease.' A decision, be it remarked, far more remarkable for its particular justice than for its logical correctness.

Finding the parliament so dutifully inclined to obey his will, the king in his opening speech insisted upon both his hereditary right and upon his 'victory over his enemies.' The entail of the crown was drawn in equal accordance with the king's anxiety to avoid such special assertion on any one of his grounds of claim as should be calculated to breed disputation; no mention was made of the princess Elizabeth, and the crown was settled absolutely and in general terms upon the king and the heirs of his body.

It forms rather a remarkable contrast to the general reserve and astuteness of the king, that he, as if not content with all the sanctions by which he had already fortified his possession of the crown, now applied to the pope for a confirming bull. This application, besides being liable to objection as an impolitic concession to the mischievous and undying anxiety of Rome to interfere in the temporal affairs of nations, and still farther impolitic as showing what Henry ought of all things the most cautiously to have concealed — his own misgivings as to his title. Innocent VIII., the then pope, was delighted to gratify Henry and to interfere in his temporal concerns, and he immediately obliged him with a bull in which all Henry's titles to the crown were enumerated and sanctioned, and in which excommunication was denounced against all who should disturb Henry in his possession, or his heirs in their succession.

It consisted at once with justice and with sound policy that Henry should reverse the numerous attainders which had been passed against the Lancastrians. But he went still farther, and caused his obsequious parliament to pass attainders against the deceased Richard, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Surrey, the viscount Lovel, the lords Ferrard of Chartles, and upwards of twenty other gentlemen of note. There was a something of the absurd added to very much of the tyrannical in these sweeping attainders. Richard, usurper though he was, nevertheless was king *de facto*, and those against whom these attainders were passed thus fought *for the king*, and against the earl of Richmond, who had not then even assumed the title of king. The attainders were farther impolitic, because they greatly tended to weaken the confidence of the people in the *total* oblivion of the quarrels of the *roses*; to which confidence Henry ought to have been mindful that he owed no small portion of security and popularity.

Though Henry did not deem it expedient to add to the numerous demands he had so successfully made upon this obsequious parliament, it voluntarily conferred upon him the perpetuity of tonnage and poundage, which had been just as complacently conferred upon the deceased Richard. By way of compensation for the spiritual severity with which he had treated the leading friends of the deceased king, Henry now proclaimed grace and pardon to all who should by a certain day take the oaths of fealty and allegiance to him. But when the earl of Surrey, among the multitude whom this proclamation drew from their sanctuaries, presented himself to the king, he was, instead of being received to grace, immediately committed to the Tower. Besides rewarding his immediate supporters by creating Chandos of Brittany, earl of Bath; sir Giles Daubeny, lord Daubeny; and sir Robert Willoughby, lord Broke;

the king bestowed upon the duke of Buckingham, who so fatally to himself had embraced Henry's cause, a sort of posthumous reward in making restitution of the family honours and great wealth to Edward Stafford, the duke's eldest son.

Morton, who had so ably and under such perilous circumstances proved his friendship to Henry, was restored to the bishopric of Ely, and he and another clergyman, Fox, now made bishop of Exeter, were the ministers to whom Henry gave his chief confidence. Hume thinks that Henry's preference of clerics to laics, as his confidential advisers, arose from his narrow and calculating turn, their promotion from poorer to richer bishoprics affording him the means of stimulating and rewarding their zeal less onerously to himself than could have been the case with laymen of rank. But Hume seems here to have laid a somewhat undue weight upon Henry's general character, and so to have mistaken his motives to a particular transaction: Henry, though personally brave, was emphatically a lover of peace; he preferred the conquest of the intellect to the conquest of the sword. He was himself, so to speak, intellectually of a clerical mould. The learning and the intellectual mastery of the day were chiefly in possession of the clergy; and we need look no deeper than that fact to account for his preference of them, that fact sufficiently proving that they were best adapted to the cautious, tortuous, thoughtful, and deep polity which he from the first determined to follow.

A.D. 1486. — Henry's emphatic declaration of his unaltered intention to espouse the princess Elizabeth did not wholly quiet the apprehensions of the people upon that head. The parliament, even when showing its trustfulness of him and its zeal for his pleasure in granting him the tonnage and poundage, expressed strong wishes upon the subject; and though they concealed their real motives under a general declaration of their desire that they should have heirs to succeed him, his own comparative youth must have sufficed to convince so astute a person that the parliament had other and stronger reasons for its anxiety. This very conviction, however, was but an additional reason for his hastening to comply; and the nuptials were now celebrated with a poup and luxury surpassing even those which had marked his coronation. The joy of the people was conspicuously greater in the former than it had been in the latter case; and to the brooding and anxiously suspicious mind of Henry this new and plain indication of the warmth of affection with which the house of York was still looked upon by a great portion of his subjects, was to the highest degree painful and offensive. Publicly his policy prevented this from appearing, but in his domestic life it caused him to treat the queen with a harshness and coolness which her amiable temper and the extreme submissiveness of her bearing towards her husband by no means appear to have deserved.

Soon after his marriage Henry determined to make a progress through the northern counties, in the view of awing some and conciliating the rest of the partisans of the late king and his house, who were more numerous in that part of the kingdom than elsewhere. He had already reached Nottingham when he received information that sir Humphrey Stafford, his brother, and the viscount Lovel had left the sanctuary at Colchester, in which they had found shelter since the battle of Bosworth field. Unheeding, or at any rate not fearing the consequences of this movement, he continued his progress to York, where he learned that viscount Lovel, with a force three or four thousand strong, was marching to York, while another army, under sir Humphrey Stafford and his brother, was hastening to besiege Worcester. The uprising of such enemies at the very moment when he was in the centre of precisely that part of England which was the most disaffected to him might have paralysed an ordinary mind; but the resources of Henry's intellect and courage rose in accordance with the demands on them. The mere retinue with which he travelled formed no mean nucleus of an army, and he actively and successfully engaged himself in adding to their numbers. The force thus raised was of necessity but ill found in either arms or the munitions of war; and Henry therefore charged the duke of Bedford, to whom he entrusted the chief command, to avoid any instant general engagement, and to devote his chief exertions to weakening Lovel by seducing his adherents by promises of pardon. This policy was even more successful than Henry could have anticipated. Conscious of the great effect which the king's offers were likely to produce upon rude minds, already by no means zealous in the cause which they had embraced, Lovel was so terrified with the thought of being abandoned, and perhaps even made prisoner by his motley levy, that he fairly ran away from his troops, and after some difficulty escaped to Flanders, where he was sheltered by the duchess of Burgundy. Abandoned by their leader, Lovel's troops gladly submitted to the king in accordance with his offers of mercy; and the utter failure of this branch of the revolt so terrified the rebels who were before Worcester, that they hastily raised the siege of that place and dispersed. The Staffords, thus deserted by their troops, and unable to find instant means of escaping beyond sea, took shelter in the church of Colnham, near Abingdon. It turned out, however, that this church was one which did not possess right of sanctuary, and the unfortunate Staffords were dragged forth. The elder was executed as a traitor and rebel at Tyburn; the younger was pardoned on the ground of his having been misled by his elder brother, who was presumed to have a *quasi* paternal influence over his mind.

To the joy which the dissipation of this threatening revolt diffused among the friends of Henry was now added that excited by the delivery of the queen of a son and heir, on whom was conferred the name of Arthur, both in compliment to the in-

fant's principality of Wales, and in allusion to the pretended descent of the Tudors from the far-famed prince Arthur.

The success of the king in putting an end to the late revolt had arisen chiefly from the incapacity of Lovel for the task he had ventured to undertake; and there was still a strong under-current of ill-feeling towards the king, to which he was daily, though, perhaps, unconsciously, adding strength. To the vexation caused by Henry's evident Lancastrian feeling, as manifested by his severities to men of the opposite party, and especially by his stern and harsh treatment of the queen, much more vexation was caused by the sufferings of many principal Yorkists from the resumption by the crown of all grants made by princes of the house of York. This resumption was made by Henry upon what appears really to have been the just plea that it was absolutely necessary for the remedy of the great and mischievous impoverishment of the crown. This plea has all the more appearance of sincerity from the fact that by the very same law all the grants made during the later years of Henry VI. were resumed; a resumption which injured not Yorkists, but Lancastrians. But losing men are rarely reasonable men; and as the balance of injury was heaviest on the side of the Yorkists, they saw in this a new proof of the Lancastrian prejudice of Henry, which had caused him to imprison in 'Julius' bloody tower,' in the very place where his unfortunate cousins had been butchered, the young earl of Warwick. Faction is deprived of none of its virulence or activity by an admixture of pecuniary interests; and those who were injured by the resumption of grants were not ill disposed, as events soon proved, to countenance, at the least, aught that promised to injure the gaoler of the earl of Warwick and the harsh spouse of the princess of the house of York, who, merely because she was such, was still uncrowned, though the mother of a prince of Wales, and wholly irreproachable whether as queen, wife, or mother.

The great and growing unpopularity of Henry's government combined with other circumstances to suggest to a priest of Oxford one of the most remarkable and audacious impostures recorded in our history. The priest in question, Richard Simon, well knowing how strong the Yorkist feeling among the people was rendered by the king's unpopular manners and measures, formed a plan for disturbing Henry by bringing forward, as a pretender to the crown, a very handsome and graceful youth named Lambert Simnel. This youth, though he was only the son of a baker, added great shrewdness and address to his external advantages; and Simon doubted not, by careful instruction, of being able to form this youth to personate Richard, duke of York, the younger of the murdered princes, whose escape from the Tower and from the fate of his elder brother had become a matter of rather extensive belief. But while Simon was carefully giving young Simnel the necessary instructions and information to enable him to support the part of the duke of York, a new rumour prevailed that the earl of Warwick had escaped from the Tower. 'On this hint spake the priest; the name of the earl of Warwick would be as good to conjure with as that of Richard, duke of York; and Simnel was now instructed in all such particulars of the life and family of young Warwick as would be necessary to enable him to bear the questioning of the friends of that family. So excellently was the young impostor 'crammed' for his task, so well informed did he afterwards appear to be upon certain points of the private history of the royal family which could by no means have come within the observation of an obscure priest like his instructor, that shrewd suspicions were entertained that certain of the royal family of York must themselves have aided in preparing the youth for his mission of imposture. The queen dowager was among the personages thus suspected. She and her daughter were both very unkindly treated by Henry, and the dowager was precisely of that busy and aspiring turn of mind which would render neglect and forced inaction sufficiently offensive to prompt the utmost anger and injury; and she might safely promote the views of the impostor in the first place, in the full confidence of being able to crush him whensoever he should have sufficiently served the views of herself and of her party.

Aware that, after all the pains he had taken to prepare the apt mind of his promising young pupil, many chances of discovery would exist in England which would be avoided by commencing their nefarious proceedings at a distance, Simon determined to lay the opening scene of his fraudulent drama in Ireland. In that island Warwick's father, the late duke of Clarence, was remembered with the utmost affection on account of his personal character, as well as of his many public acts of justice and wisdom while he had been governor. The same public officers now held their situations there who had done so under Clarence, and under so many favourable circumstances Simon, probably, could not better have chosen the scene of the first act of his elaborate and very impudent imposture.

Henry, on getting the alarming intelligence from Dublin, consulted with his ministers, and among the first measures taken was that of seizing upon all the property of the queen dowager, and closely confining her in the nunnery of Bermondsey. This rigorous treatment of the queen dowager, occurring, too, at this particular time, seems to leave no doubt that she had been discovered to have materially aided the imposture of Simon and Simnel. The alleged reason of the king for thus severely dealing with one with whom he was so closely connected, was her having shown so much favour to the deceased tyrant Richard, as to place herself and her daughters in his power when she was safe within her sanctuary, and to consent to his marriage with the princess Elizabeth. But it was quite clear to every man of discernment, that the king's subsequent

marriage to the princess was a complete condonation of all that had previously passed between him and the dowager which could materially offend him; nor was he of a temper so long to have suffered his avarice and his vengeance to remain in abeyance, had that really been the ground of his offence. That he disliked, not to say hated, his mother-in-law, had long been certain; and it seems no less so, from his present proceeding with respect to her, that he now had discovered reason to fear her, as having importantly aided in an imposture, which had been eminently successful in Ireland, and which he was by no means sure would not be equally so in England. Having securely guarded against any future mischief from the queen dowager, by thus consigning her to a poverty and seclusion which terminated only with her life, the king now gave his English subjects the very best possible proof of the impudence and falsehood of Simnel's assumption of the title and character of the earl of Warwick, by producing that unfortunate young nobleman himself at St. Paul's, and causing many persons of rank who had intimately known him to have free conversation with him; and thus not only showed that the pretensions of Simnel were false, but also that they were even founded upon a false report, the earl's escape from the Tower, which Simon and his abettors had too hastily believed on the strength of popular rumour, never having actually taken place.

In London and in England generally this judicious measure was completely decisive of the popular belief; and all who were acquainted with the king's tortuous mind, easily understood that he himself had caused the rumour of the young earl's escape, for the purpose of saving himself from being importuned to release him, and also to prevent any plots being formed for that purpose.

Henry's bold temper would probably have prompted him to go over to Ireland, carrying with him the real Warwick. But, in the first place, he knew that the consummate assurance of Simon and his friends had led them, even after their imposture had become a mere mockery in England, to protest that the real Warwick was the youth in their company, and that the Warwick whom Henry had so ostentatiously produced was the only impostor. And, in the next place, Henry from day to day had information which made it quite certain that too many powerful people in England were his enemies, and inclined to aid the impostor, to render it safe for him to be absent from the kingdom for even a brief space of time. He therefore resolved to await the farther proceedings of the impostor, and contented himself with levying troops, which he placed under the command of the duke of Bedford and the earl of Oxford, and throwing into confinement the marquis of Dorset, not on account of any actual overt act, but lest he should be inclined to treason by the hard measure which had been dealt out to his mother, the queen dowager.

Having pretty nearly worn out their welcome in Ireland, and having, besides numerous Irish adventurers, been supplied by the dowager duchess of Burgundy with about two thousand veteran Germans headed by a veteran commander, Martin Schwartz, Simon and Simnel made a landing at Foudrey, in Lancashire, not doubting that the Yorkists, whom they knew to be so numerous in the northern counties, would join them in great numbers. In this respect they were grievously disappointed. The well-known courage and conduct of the king, the general impression even among the Yorkists of England that Simnel was a mere impostor, and the excellent military arrangements and large military force of the king, caused the inhabitants of the northern counties either to look on passively, or to manifest their loyalty by joining or supplying the royal army.

John, earl of Lincoln, son of John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, and of Elizabeth, eldest sister of Edward IV., had for some time past been residing with the king's bitter enemy, the dowager duchess of Burgundy; and he now appeared at the head of the mingled crew of impostors, rebels, and their foreign and hireling mercenaries. This nobleman perceiving that nothing was to be hoped from any general rising of the people in favour of the pseudo earl of Warwick, resolved to put the fate of the cause upon the issue of a general action. The king was equally ready to give battle, and the hostile forces at length met at Stoke, in Nottinghamshire. The rebels, conscious that they fought with halters around their necks, fought with proportionate desperation. The action was long and sanguinary; and though it at length terminated in favour of the king, his loss was far more extensive than could have been expected, considering his advantage of numbers and the ability of his officers. The loss on the side of the rebels, also, was very great. The earl of Lincoln, Broughton, and the German, Schwartz, were among four thousand slain on that side; and as the viscount Lovel, the runaway of the former and less sanguinary revolt, who also took a part in this, was missing and never afterwards heard of, it was supposed that he, too, was among the slain. Both the impostor Simnel and his tutor Simon fell into the hands of the king. The priest owed his life to his clerical character, but was sentenced to pass the whole remainder of it in confinement; and Henry, both mercifully and wisely, signified his contempt of the boy Simnel, by making him a scullion in the royal kitchen. In this capacity, better suited to his origin than the part the priest had so uselessly taught him to play, Simnel conducted himself so humbly and satisfactorily, that he was afterwards advanced to the rank of falconer, a rank at that time very far higher than could ordinarily be attained by one so humbly born.

Having freed himself from a danger which had at one time been not a little alarming, Henry now turned his attention towards

making it, as he loved to make everything, a source of profit. Few perished on the scaffold for this revolt, but vast numbers were heavily fined for their having taken part in it. And lest the fining of actual combatants should not sufficiently enrich the royal treasury, Henry caused all to be fined who were proved to have given circulation to a rumour, which had somehow got into circulation before the battle of Stoke, that the rebels were victorious, and that Henry himself, after seeing his friends cut to pieces, had only secured his safety by flight. To our modern notions, the mere crediting and reporting of such a statement seems to be somewhat severely punished by heavy pecuniary fine; but Henry, perhaps, thought that in most of the cases 'the wish was father to the thought,' and that many who had given circulation to the report would not have been violently grieved had it turned out to be 'prophetic, though not true.'

Warned by much that had reached his ears during the absurd but mischievous career of Simnel, Henry now determined to remove at least one cause of dissatisfaction, by having the queen crowned. This was accordingly done; and to render the ceremony the more acceptable to the people in general, but especially to the Yorkists, Henry graced it by giving liberty to the young marquis of Dorset, son of the queen dowager.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

The Reign of HENRY VII. (*continued*).

A.D. 1488.—HENRY'S steadfast style of administering the affairs of his kingdom, and the courage, conduct, and facility with which he had delivered himself from the dangerous plots and revolts by which he had been threatened, acquired him much consideration, out of his own dominions as well as in them. Of this fact he was well aware, and internal peace now seeming to be permanently secured to him, he prepared to exert his influence abroad.

The geographical circumstances of Scotland rendered it inevitable, that so long as that kingdom remained politically independent of England, the former must always remain either an open and troublesome enemy, or an unsafe, because insincere, friend to the latter. The character of James III., who now filled the Scottish throne, was precisely of that easy and indolent cast which, while it encouraged a turbulent nobility to waste the country and vex the people, would have encouraged a king of England, addicted to war and conquest merely for their own sake, to prosecute war with Scotland in the assured trust of making a final and complete conquest. But Henry, though he could look with unblenched cheek upon the most sanguinary battle-field, was profoundly sensible of the blessings of peace. He therefore now sent ambassadors to Scotland to propose a permanent and honourable peace between the two countries. James on his part would have well liked to conclude such a peace, but his nobility had other views, and all that came of this embassy was a somewhat sullen agreement for a seven years' truce, but it must have been evident to a far less keen observer than Henry, that even that truce would be very likely to be broken should the breach be invited by any peculiarly unfavourable circumstances in the situation of England. With this truce, however, sullen and insincere as the Scottish temper very evidently was, Henry determined to content himself; and from Scotland he now turned his attention to France.

Louis XI. was some time dead, and his son and heir was too young for rule, especially in a kingdom more than any other in Europe liable to disturbance from the turbulence and ambition of powerful vassals. But Louis, a profound judge of human dispositions and talents, had well provided for the juvenile incapacity of his son, by committing the care of the kingdom, during his minority, to his daughter Anne, lady of Beaujeu, a princess of masculine talents and courage. This lady became involved in many and serious disputes with Brittany, which disputes were greatly fomented by the duke of Orleans, and so far involved France with other provinces, that at this time the lady of Beaujeu felt that the issue of the struggle in which she was engaged depended almost entirely upon the part which might be taken by the powerful, prosperous, and sagacious king of England. The subjection of Brittany by France seemed quite certain, if England should not interfere; and Anne of Beaujeu sent ambassadors to England, ostensibly with the chief purpose of congratulating Henry on his success over Simnel and the partisans of that misguided youth. The real purpose of this embassy was, in fact, to engage Henry to look on without interfering while his benefactor, the duke of Brittany, should be plundered of his territory. Henry, who well understood that, and who really wished to serve the duke of Brittany, but who mortally hated the expense of war, endeavoured by polity and mediation to put an end to the strife. As will be seen in the History of France, both mediation and warfare were tried in vain until the year 1491, when the young duchess of Rennes being besieged in Rennes by the French, was compelled to surrender, and restored the duchy to peace by giving her hand to the French monarch.

This termination of an affair in which he had lost the benefit of much thought and money, by not being more liberal both of money and vigour, vexed Henry exceedingly; but, with a most philosophic greed, he resolved to turn even his failure to profit. The loss of independence to Brittany really affected Henry very deeply, and the more so as he had been in some sort out-generalled by Charles VIII. of France. But it was Henry's care to appear more deeply hurt than he really was, and he loudly and passionately declared his intention of going to war. He well knew that the acquisition of Brittany to France was to the last degree offensive to the people of England, and a war with France proportionally popular;

and he took his measures accordingly. He issued a commission for the raising of a benevolence, which species of tax had, however, been formally and positively abolished by a law of the tyrant Richard, though now so coolly laid on by a king who would have deemed it strange had he been called a tyrant. Of the extent of the extortion—for it was no better—practised upon this occasion, some notion may be formed from the fact, that London alone contributed upwards of 10,000*l*. Morton, the chancellor, and now archbishop of Canterbury, was disgracefully pleasant upon the occasion, directing the commissioners to take no excuse; if men lived handsomely and at expense, it was only fair to conclude that they must be wealthy, and if they lived after a mean and miserly fashion, it was equally sure that their means must be hoarded! The dilemma is not always a figure of logic even for a chancellor; the archbishop's dilemma had one horn very faulty, for it is quite certain that badness of trade and oppressiveness of taxation might make many a man live meanly, from sheer necessity, who, nevertheless, would far rather have furnished his table with viands than his strong box with gold. Having raised all that he could by way of benevolence, that is to say, by a violence expressly forbidden by a law made even during the reign of a bad king, Henry now proceeded to summon his parliament together, for the purpose of seeing how much more money could be extracted in a more regular way. Still keeping in view the warlike character of his people, and their recent and deep vexation with France, Henry now appealed to the national feelings in a speech to parliament, which is so curious a specimen of the art of being eloquently insincere, that we transcribe Hume's summary. He told them that 'France, elated with her late successes, had even proceeded to a contempt to England, and had refused to pay the tribute which Louis XI. had stipulated to Edward IV.: that it became so warlike a nation as the English to be roused by this indignity, and not to limit their pretensions merely to repelling the present injury. That, for his part, he was determined to lay claim to the crown itself of France, and to maintain by force of arms so just a title transmitted to him by his gallant ancestors. That Cressy, Poitiers, and Agincourt were sufficient to instruct them in their superiority over the enemy, nor did he despair of adding new names to the glorious catalogue. That a king of France had been prisoner in London, and a king of England had been crowned in Paris; events which should animate them to an emulation of like glory with that which had been enjoyed by their forefathers. That the domestic dissensions of England had been the sole cause of her losing these foreign dominions, and that her present internal union would be the effectual means of recovering them; that where such lasting honour was in view, and such an important acquisition, it became not brave men to repine at the advance of a little treasure; and that, for his part, he was determined to make the war maintain itself, and hoped by the invasion of so opulent a kingdom as France, to increase rather than to diminish the riches of the nation.

If all men were gifted with the far sight of La Rochefoucault into the human heart, perhaps such a speech as this of Henry would defeat itself by the very excess and exquisiteness of its art. But all men are not so gifted, and never was man better aware of that fact than Henry was. He knew the instruments he had to work with, and he worked accordingly. Though there were many circumstances in the state of Europe which ought to have made the parliament chary of advancing hard cash for a war with France; though even on the very edge of England, to wit, in Scotland, a new and warlike monarch, James IV., had succeeded to the indolent James III., and was so much attached to the interest of France, that he was nearly sure to evince his attachment by making war on England whenever Henry should lead the flower of England's forces to the shores of France, the parliament hailed Henry's boastful promises with as light. Two fifteenths were readily voted to him, and an act was passed to enable the nobility to sell their estates; by which Henry accomplished the double purpose of having wealthy volunteers to defray many unavoidable expenses, and of greatly diminishing that baronial power which even yet trod closely upon the kibes of English royalty.

A.D. 1492.—As Henry had anticipated, many powerful nobles, inflamed with a desire of making in France rich territorial acquisitions, such as their Norman ancestors had made in England, availed themselves of his politic act, and sold or pawned their broad lands to raise troops for the invasion. So well, in short, were Henry's well-feigned desires seconded, that on the 6th of October in this year, he was enabled to land at Calais, with a splendidly equipped army of twenty-five thousand infantry and sixteen hundred cavalry, the whole commanded, under the king himself, by the earl of Oxford and the duke of Bedford, and officered by some of the very first men in England. Many a bright dream of avarice and of nobler ambition was dreamed among that mighty host; but like other splendid dreams, those dreams were as fallacious and short-lived as they were brilliant. The truth is, that, nobly as the king had denounced wrath to France and promised wealth to England, he had from the very first not the slightest intention of firing a gun or drawing a sword. His object was, simply, to obtain money; the only sincere part of his speech was that in which he professed his hope of making the war maintain itself; and he so managed the affair, with both friend and foe, that he really did make the war not only pay its own expenses, but contribute a very handsome surplus to the royal treasury.

It was whispered among shrewd men, that October was a singular season at

which to invade France, if a real war of conquest was intended. Henry heard or guessed this rumour, and he hastened to contradict it, by professing his conviction that to conquer the whole of France would not cost him a whole summer, and that as he had Calais for winter quarters, the season of his arrival was a matter of perfect indifference.

Yet at the very time that Henry made this boast, which would have been marvellously silly had it not been entirely insincere, and made only for an especial and temporary purpose, a secret correspondence for a peace had for some time been carried on by Henry and the king of France. The landing of Henry in France, with a numerous and well-appointed army, had, as he had foreseen, greatly strengthened the desire for peace on the part of the king of France, and commissioners were now very speedily appointed to settle the terms.

Any other man but Henry would have been much puzzled for even plausible reasons by which to account to his subjects for so early and suddenly agreeing to treat for peace, after making such magnificent promises of a war of actual conquest; promises, too, which had caused so many of his subjects very largely to invest their fortunes in his service. But to Henry this was no difficult matter. He had represented himself as sure of large aid from the Low Countries; he now caused Maximilian, king of the Romans, to send to inform him that such aid could not then be furnished. Spain, too, was at war with France, and Spain suddenly received the counties of Rousillon and Cordagne, and concluded peace with France! These alterations in the state of affairs would naturally suggest some alteration in the proceedings and hopes of Henry! He gave full time for the circulation of the news through his camp, and then he caused the marquis of Dorset, and numerous other nobles in his confidence, to petition him to do precisely what he had from the first intended to do —to make a treaty with France! Strangely enough, too, they were made to allege in their petition, that very lateness of the season which the king had so recently affirmed to be utterly without importance, and the difficulties attendant upon the siege of Boulogne, which he had only just commenced, and which no one with a particle of common-sense could ever have supposed to be an undertaking without its difficulties! Henry, with well-feigned reluctance, suffered himself to be persuaded; and France bought peace by the payment of seven hundred and forty-five thousand crowns down, and a pension of twenty-five thousand crowns yearly. Well indeed might the money-loving Henry consider now, that between the contributions of his subjects and those of France the war *had* indifferently well maintained itself.

Scarcely had Henry concluded this singularly cool and as singularly successful endeavour to convert a glaring political blunder into a means of raising a large sum of money, than he was once more called upon to defend his throne against a daring and impudent pretender.

The duchess of Burgundy, whose hatred of Henry was by no means decreased by the ease and perfect success by which he had baffled the designs of Simnel, once more endeavoured to disturb Henry's throne. She caused it to be given out, that Richard, the young duke of York, escaped from the Tower when his young brother and sovereign was murdered by Richard, duke of Gloster, who afterwards usurped the throne. Improbable as it was that the younger of the two brothers should have escaped from the monstrous and unsparing murderer of the elder, the tale was eagerly and credulously listened to by the people, who seem to have received no warning from the former impudent imposture of Simnel. Perceiving that the fund of public credulity was far from being exhausted, the duchess eagerly looked around her for some youth qualified to sustain the part of that young duke, of whose approaching reappearance emissaries were now instructed to hold out expectations. The youth she desired soon presented himself in the person of Perkin Warbeck, the son of a christianised Jew. Young Perkin was born during the reign of the amorous monarch Edward IV., who was a frequent visitor to the house of the wealthy Jew. This fact, and the singular likeness of young Perkin to the king, had occasioned not a little scandalous talk as to the actual parentage of the boy. The youth, who had removed with his father to Tournay, the native country of the latter, was subsequently thrown upon his own resources, and caused by the change of fortune to visit a variety of places; and travel had thus added its benefits to those of nature and the advantages of a good education. The youth was naturally very quick witted and of graceful manners, and the singular likeness he bore to Edward IV. was thus rendered the more remarkable, especially when, having been introduced to the duchess of Burgundy, and by her instructed in the part it was desired that he should play, he designedly made the utmost display of those qualities which hitherto he had enjoyed almost unconsciously. The rapidity and completeness with which he mastered all that it was deemed necessary to teach him delighted the duchess, who, however, in order to give time for the reports of her emissaries to spread among the populace in England, sent the pseudo duke of York to Portugal under the care of lady Brampton. From Portugal he was recalled on the breaking out of what Henry had called the 'war' with France; and, as his predecessor in imposture had formerly been, he was sent to make the first public essay of his powers of impudence in Ireland. His success there was sufficient to cause a great interest and curiosity not only in England but also in France, to which country he was invited by Charles VIII., who received him with all the honours due to distressed royalty, assigning him splendid apartments, and giving him a personal guard of honour.

The personal resemblance of young War

beck to Edward IV., his graceful exterior and really remarkable accomplishments, added to the air of entire sincerity which Charles—with the politic design of embarrassing Henry—affected in his treatment of the impostor as the genuine duke of York, rendered the imposition so far successful, that upwards of a hundred gentlemen, some of them (as sir George Nevil and sir John Taylor) of considerable eminence, actually travelled from England to Paris to offer their swords and purses to the duke of York.

In the midst of a tide of good success, which must have astonished himself more than any one, Warbeck met with an unexpected check in consequence of the peace that was so suddenly concluded between France and England. Henry, indeed, on this occasion tried to induce the king of France to give Warbeck up to him; but Charles, with a degree of spirit which did him great honour, replied, that no matter what was the real character of the young man, he ought to go free from France, to which Charles had himself invited him. Warbeck accordingly, to the great vexation of his friends, was dismissed from the court and kingdom of Charles; and he now made his first public appearance before the duchess of Burgundy, whose instructions he had hitherto so well obeyed. With a gravity which did infinite credit to her talents as an actress, the duchess, affecting to have been but too well instructed by Simnel's affair ever to give credit again to mere plausible stories, received Warbeck with a coolness which would speedily have terminated his suit had he been other than an impostor, and not quite as well aware as the duchess herself was of its motive. Well knowing that her ultimate countenance of his pretensions would be valuable precisely in proportion to her seeming unwillingness, at the outset, to grant it, the duchess publicly and with much seeming severity questioned Warbeck upon his pretensions to the title of York. As question after question was answered with a correctness far beyond the power of any mere impostor—of any impostor unless assisted, as Warbeck was, by the duchess or some other member of the royal family—the duchess, by admirably regulated gradations, passed from scornful doubt and indignation to wonder, and from wonder to conviction and a rapture of delight, as, all her doubts removed, she embraced him as the marvellously preserved son of Edward, the true scion of the Plantagenets, the only rightful heir to the throne of England, her own long lost and miraculously restored nephew! The scene, in short, was excellently performed, and was as pathetic to those who were not in the secret, as it assuredly must have been wearisome to those who were.

The duchess of Burgundy having thus with difficulty and reluctance satisfied herself of the truth of her *soi-disant* nephew's pretensions, assigned him a guard of honour, and not only intimated her desire that he should be treated with the utmost respect by all her court, but herself set the example, never mentioning him but with the honourable and endearing title of *the white rose of England*.

A.D. 1493.—The English of high rank were not behind the Flemish populace in giving credence to Warbeck's pretensions. Men easily believe that which they have learned to desire; and the firm rule of Henry, and the great and obvious pains he took to depress the nobility, and to elevate, at their expense, the middle and trading classes, disposed very many men of power and consequence to assist Warbeck in the struggle he meditated for the English throne. Even sir William Stanley, who had done so much to secure Henry's elevation, now began to look with complacency upon his possible dethronement by the pseudo duke of York; and sir Robert Clifford actually went to Flanders to join the pretender, and wrote thence that he could personally vouch that the youth in question was really that Richard, duke of York, who had so long been supposed to have been murdered by his uncle, the late king. The high rank and respectable character of Clifford made this assurance of his extensively and mischievously influential; causing many, who would have disdained to assail Henry's throne for the sake of an impostor, to join in the wide-spreading conspiracy in favour of the supposed duke of York.

In these circumstances the king's best safeguard was his own politic and vigilant temper. Well served by his numerous spies both in England and on the continent, he was thoroughly informed of every important step that was taken by his enemies. Being morally certain that the duke of York *had* been murdered by the late king, he took the necessary steps for making that fact appear from the statement of those who were still living who had personal cognisance of it. These persons were two in number: sir James Tyrrel, who had superintended the murder and seen the dead bodies of the murdered youths, and Dighton, who had been one of the actual murderers; both of whom stated the murder to have been committed on both the princes; and their separate statements agreed with the utmost accuracy in every particular.

The next point that Henry was anxious to clear up, was the identity of the pretended duke of York. That he was an impostor was beyond all doubt; but it was very important that Henry should be able to say, not only who he was not, but who he was and whence he had sprung, to aim, by a daring imposture, at the English throne. With this view he sent spies into Flanders, and instructed some of them to pretend the utmost zeal against him, and to join the opposite party. By this plan he became aware of the number and rank of Warbeck's adherents; and upon these new spies were set, until Henry, by slow degrees, and through the instrumentality of men against whom he feigned the most ungovernable indignation, possessed himself of every passage in the history of young Warbeck from his very childhood. The tidings thus obtained Henry took great pains to circulate throughout England; and

the clearness with which every step in the impostor's career was traced greatly tended to diminish the popularity of his cause, and to weaken the zeal of his partisans,—upon whom Henry determined to take ample vengeance at his own leisure and convenience.

A. D. 1494.—Having taken all prudent measures for disabusing the minds of his own subjects as to the real history of the pretended duke of York, Henry made a formal complaint to the archduke Philip of the encouragement and shelter which so notorious an impostor as Warbeck had met with in Flanders; and as Philip, at the instigation of the duchess dowager of Burgundy, coldly replied that he had no authority over the demesne of that princess, Henry banished all Flemings from England, and recalled all his own subjects from the Low Countries; feeling satisfied that the injury thus done to the trade of so commercial a people as the Flemings, would soon urge them into such revolt as would abundantly revenge him upon their sovereign.

In the meantime Henry suddenly and simultaneously seized upon those of his own subjects who had been the most zealous in conspiring against him, and some were speedily tried and executed. Others, among whom was William Worsely, the dean of St. Paul's, escaped with a short imprisonment. But a more important victim was yet to be sacrificed. Stanley, the lord chamberlain, was accused by Clifford, who was directed to come to England, kneel to the king for pardon, and accuse Stanley. The immense wealth of the latter, who had forty thousand marks in ready money and valuables, and a yearly revenue of three thousand pounds, by no means tended to diminish the king's desire to convict him. But Henry feigned the utmost astonishment and incredulity, expatiated upon the very great improbability that Stanley, connected with Henry and holding the important office of chamberlain, should be guilty of treason, and even solemnly exhorted Clifford to beware that he did not wrongfully accuse an innocent man. Clifford, in spite of all this pretended anxiety on the part of the king, persisted in his statements of Stanley's guilt, and the accused was confronted with him. Either from a high sense of honour, which deemed every suffering and danger preferable to the baseness of falsehood, or from a weak notion that his great services to the king in former days would prove his safeguard now, Stanley did not affect to deny his guilt.

A. D. 1495.—Even now, though Henry could not have a doubt of Stanley's guilt, and was fully resolved not to spare him, six weeks were suffered to elapse before the prisoner was brought to trial; a delay by which it probably was intended to give the public a notion that the king was unwilling to proceed to extremities against a man who had formerly been so serviceable to him. At length he was tried, and the part of his conduct which gave the most offence was his having said to Clifford, that if he were quite sure that the young man who claimed to be the duke of York really was so, he never would bear arms against him. This speech, as showing a preference to the house of York, was far more unpardonable, in the judgement of Henry, than the offence of siding with a mere nameless pretender, and probably was more conclusive against Stanley than the actual assistance which he gave to Warbeck in the way of money and advice. As he did not even attempt to show himself innocent, a verdict was of course returned against him; and the king, who previous to the trial had pretended so much reluctance to believe aught against him, did not allow much time to elapse between sentence and execution, being chiefly influenced, it would seem, by the large forfeiture which accrued to the crown.

The execution of Stanley, high in rank, holding an important office, and having until so late a date enjoyed so large a share of the king's favour and confidence, naturally struck terror into the confederates of Warbeck, as Henry intended that it should. And not only did this expectation warn them that mercy was out of the question, should any be convicted, but the mere appearance of Clifford as the king's informer was well calculated to strike terror into the guilty, who must now be aware that they had no longer any secrets from the cold-blooded and resolved king against whom they had plotted so much mischief. Each of the conspirators now learned to look with dread and suspicion upon his neighbour. Many were thus frightened into withdrawing from the support of the pretender while they still had an opportunity to do so; and though rumours and libels still continued to dismay the king, a very general and wholesome opinion was formed of the great extent of the king's secret information, and of his resolute determination to crush the guilty.

Even while punishing conspirators, the king seemed far more bent upon increasing his wealth, by whatever arts and schemes of extortion, than upon conciliating the affections of his people, and thus arraying them in defence of his throne against the arts and efforts of open pretenders or secret conspirators. His extortions were perpetual, shameless, and merciless; the very laws which ought to have been the safeguard of the people, were made the means of extorting money from the wealthy. Sir William Capel, a London alderman, had information laid against him which involved him in penalties to the enormous amount of two thousand seven hundred and forty-three pounds, and he actually had to pay near two thousand by way of composition. The lawyers were encouraged to lay informations against wealthy men, and the guilt or innocence of the parties seems to have been far less considered than their willingness and ability to enrich the king, by compounding with him for their offences, real or imaginary. Aided by his financial agents, Empson and Dudley, to whose unscrupulous misconduct we shall by and by have to recur, Henry in this way fleeced the great and the wealthy of enormous sums, and

thus forwarded his double design of depressing the somewhat dangerous power of the great, and of increasing his own vast treasure.

Though the king oppressed the wealthy beyond measure, the main body of the people had but little cause to complain of him, for it might most truly be said of him that he would allow no oppressor in his kingdom except himself. In spite, therefore, of numerous acts of particular oppression, the king's authority was daily more and more respected by the people at large; and Warbeck, fearing that a longer delay would but increase the difficulties of his design, at length determined to make a descent upon England. Having collected an army of somewhat less than a thousand men, consisting chiefly of men equally bankrupt in character and in means, Warbeck took advantage of the absence of the king, who was making a state progress through the north of England, and made his appearance off the coast of Kent. But the care with which the king had exposed the real character and connections of Warbeck, and the sad fate of sir William Stanley, caused the Kentish gentry to be on the alert, not to join the impostor, but to oppose him. Wishing, however, to make him prisoner, they told the messenger whom he sent ashore that they were actually in arms for him, and invited him to land and place himself at their head. Warbeck was too suspicious to fall into the snare; and the Kentish men, finding that they could not induce him to trust himself ashore, fell upon those of his retainers who had landed, and took a hundred and fifty prisoners, besides putting a considerable number to death. This action drove Warbeck from the coast; and the king, who was thoroughly determined to put down the revolt with a strong and unsparing hand, ordered the hundred and fifty prisoners to be put to death, without an exception!

A singular law was just now enacted by which it was provided that no man should be attainted for aiding the king *de facto*, whether by arms or otherwise. Henry probably initiated this law for the purpose of giving increased confidence and zeal to his own partisans, by making it impossible that even his fall could involve them in ruin. As the first and most important end of all laws is to secure the peace of the community, and as the defenders of the *de facto* king are usually such by their attachment to public order, the law was a very proper one in spirit; but it was one which in the case of any violent revolution was but little likely to be respected in practice, especially as nothing could be easier than for the dominant party to cause it to be repealed.

Of the invasion of Italy by France, and the league formed to check the French king's ambitious schemes, we need only barely make mention here; for though Henry was a member of that league, he was a mere honorary member of it, neither the expenses nor the trouble of warfare on so distant a scene suiting with his peace-loving and rigidly economical temper.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

The Reign of HENRY VII. (*concluded*).

A.D. 1495.—WARBECK, on perceiving the treatment that was bestowed by the Kentish people upon those of his adherents who had been so unfortunate as to land, sincerely congratulated himself upon the suspicion which had arisen in his mind at the regular and disciplined appearance of the men who had pretended to be newly levied, and with an especial view to his service. He had, however, gone too far to recede, and was, besides, without the funds necessary to support his numerous followers in idleness. Ireland had ever been ready to war against the king of England on any or on no pretext, and to Ireland he accordingly steered his course. But, as we have more particularly mentioned under the history of that country, Poyning's law and other good measures had so far strengthened the royal authority, that even in the usually turbulent Ireland the adventurer could obtain no support. Certain hospitalities, indeed, he experienced at the hands of some of the chieftains, but their coarse fare and rude habits were but little to his taste, and he left them to try his fortune in Scotland. The king of France, in revenge for the junction of Henry with the other opponents of the ambitious schemes of France, and the king of the Romans, in revenge for Henry's prohibition of all commerce with the Low Countries, secretly furnished Warbeck with strong recommendations to the then king of Scotland, James IV. That chivalric prince seems at first to have suspected the truth of Warbeck's story; for while he received him otherwise kindly, he somewhat pointedly told him that be he whoever or whatever he might he should never repent having trusted to a king of Scotland, a remark which he would scarcely have made had he felt any confidence that he was really the duke of York. But the king's suspicions did not long hold out against the fascinating manners and numerous accomplishments of the young adventurer. So completely did James become the dupe, and so far was that kind-hearted monarch interested in the welfare of the young impostor who practised upon his credulity, that he actually gave him in marriage the lady Catherine Gordon, daughter of the earl of Huntley, and not very distantly related to the king himself.

A.D. 1496.—That James of Scotland really did give credence to the elaborate falsehoods which were told to him by young Warbeck seems certain, or he would scarcely have given him, in marriage, a young and beautiful lady of a noble family and even related to the crown. But policy had, probably, still more to do in producing James's kindness to the adventurer, than any considerations of a merely humane and personal nature. Injury to England, at any rate and under any circumstances, seems to have been the invariable maxim of the Scottish kings and of the Scottish people; and James, deeming it probable that the people of the northern counties of England would rise in favour of Warbeck, led him thither at the head of a strong and well-ap-

pointed army. As soon as they had crossed the border, Warbeck issued a proclamation in which he formally stated himself to be that duke of York who had so long been supposed dead, claimed to be the rightful sovereign of England, and called upon all his good and loyal subjects to rise and aid him in expelling the usurper who laid heavy burthens upon them, and whose oppressions of men of all ranks, and especially his studied degradation of the nobility, had, said the proclamation, justly caused him to be odious to all men. But besides that the men of the north of England were but little likely to look upon a Scottish army as a recommendation of the new comer, there were two circumstances which prevented this proclamation from being much attended to; every day taught men to look with increased dread upon the unsparing and unfaltering temper of the king; and Warbeck's Scottish friends, by their taste for plunder, made it somewhat more than difficult for the English borderers to look upon them in any other light than that of plundering foemen. Warbeck was conscious how greatly this practice of the Scotch tended to injure his cause among the English, and he remonstrated with James upon the subject. But James, who now clearly saw the little chance there was of any rising in favour of Warbeck, plainly told him that all his sympathy was thrown away upon enemies, and all his anxiety for the preservation of the country equally wasted, inasmuch as it seemed but too certain that that country would never own his sway. In fact, but for their plundering, the Scots would literally have crossed the border to no earthly purpose, scarcely an Englishman being induced by their coming to join the standard of Warbeck. Henry was so confident that the marauding propensities of the Scots would make Warbeck's cause unpopular in the northern counties rather than the contrary, that he was by no means sorry for the Scottish irruption. Nevertheless, true to his constant maxim of making a profit of every thing, he affected to be very indignant at this violation of his territory, and he summoned a parliament to listen to his complaints on this head, and to aid him in obtaining redress for so great and affronting an injury. The pathetic style in which Henry so well knew how to couch his complaints, so far prevailed with the parliament as to induce them to vote him a subsidy of a hundred and twenty thousand pounds, and they were then dismissed.

A.D. 1497.—The people, always shrewd judges of character, had by this time learned to understand that of Henry. Comparing the frequency and the largeness of the grants made to him by the parliament with his own regal economy and personal stinginess, they easily calculated that he had by him a treasure of sufficient extent to enable him to spare his subjects this new imposition. It followed that, though the parliament had so willingly granted the subsidy in the mass, the people were by no means so willing to pay it to the tax collectors in detail. This was more especially the case in Cornwall. Far removed from any inroads of the Scots, the people of that part could not or would not understand why they should be taxed to repel an enemy whom they had never seen. The popular discontent in Cornwall was still farther increased by two demagogues, Joseph and Flammock. The latter especially, who was a lawyer, was much trusted by the populace, whom he assured that the tax that was laid upon them on this occasion was wholly illegal inasmuch as the nobility of the northern counties held their lands on the express condition of defending them against all inroads of the Scots; and that it behoved the people promptly and firmly, but peaceably, to petition against the system under which their burthens bade fair to become quite intolerable. It is scarcely worth while to enquire how far the demagogues were sincere in their exhortations to peaceable agitation; the event showed how much easier it is to set a multitude in motion than to control it afterwards. The country people, having their own opinions of the illegality and injustice of the tax confirmed by men of whose talents and information they had a very high opinion, gathered together in great numbers, most of them being armed with the implements of their rural labour. This numerous and tumultuous gathering chose Flammock and Joseph for their leaders, and passing from Cornwall through Devonshire, reached Taunton, in Somersetshire, where they killed one of the collectors of the subsidy, whose activity and, perhaps, severity had given them much offence. From Taunton they marched to Wells in the same county, where they got a distinguished leader in the person of the lord Audley, a nobleman of ancient family, but very prone to popularity hunting. Headed by this silly nobleman, the rebels marched towards London, breathing vengeance against the principal ministers of the king, though upon the whole tolerably innocent of actual wrong or violence during the latter part of their march. Though the Kentish-men had so lately shown by the course they had adopted towards Warbeck how little they were inclined to involve themselves in a quarrel with the king, Flammock had persuaded the rebels that they were sure to be joined by the Kentish people, *because* these latter had ever maintained their liberty even against the Norman invaders. The *non sequitur* was either not perceived by the multitude or not considered of much importance, for into Kent they marched in pursuance of Flammock's advice, and took up their position on a hill at Eltham, a very few miles from London. So far was the advice of Flammock from being well founded, that there probably was not at that moment a single spot in the whole kingdom where the rebels were less likely to meet with support than they were in Kent. Everywhere throughout the kingdom there was considerable discontent arising out of the extortionate measures of the king, but everywhere there was also a great respect for the king's power, to which was added in Kent considerable kindly feeling springing out of the favour and consideration

with which he had acknowledged the service done to him when Warbeck appeared off the coast. Of this feeling the earl of Kent, lord Abergavenny, and lord Cobham so well availed themselves, that, though the rebels made every peaceful endeavour to recruit their ranks, none of the Kentish men would join them.

On this, as indeed on all other emergencies, Henry showed himself equal to the occasion. He detached the earl of Surrey to hold in check or beat back the Scots; and having posted himself in St. George's fields at the head of one body of troops, he despatched the earls of Oxford, Suffolk, and Essex, at the head of another, to take the rebels in the rear; while a third under lord Daubeny charged them in front. The more completely to take the rebels by surprise, Henry had carefully spread a report that he should not attack them for several days; nor did he give the word to Daubeny's division to advance until so late an hour in the day that the rebels could have no idea of being attacked. They had a small advance at Deptford bridge, which Daubeny easily put to flight, and pursued them so closely that he charged upon their main body at the same time that they rejoined it. Daubeny charged the rebels gallantly, but his contempt of their want of discipline led him to undervalue their number, in which respect they were far from despicable, being above sixteen thousand. The rash gallantry of Daubeny actually caused him to be for a few moments taken prisoner, but he was speedily rescued by his troops, whose discipline soon prevailed over the raw numbers of the rebels, and the latter were put to flight with the loss of two thousand killed, and many thousands prisoners; the first division of the king's troops having aided Daubeny so that the rebels were completely surrounded, and but a comparatively small number of them succeeded in cutting their way through.

Among the numerous prisoners were the lord Audley, Flammock, and Joseph, all of whom the king sent to immediate execution, Joseph actually exulting in his fate, which, he said, would ensure him a place in the history of his country. To the other prisoners the king gave their liberty; partly, perhaps, because he deemed them to have been mere dupes in the hands of their leaders, and partly because, however much they had exclaimed against the oppressions of his ministers, they had in nowise throughout the whole revolt called in question his title, or showed any disposition to mix up with their own causes of complaint the pretensions of the pseudo duke of York. Lord Surrey and the king of Scotland, meanwhile, had made some few and inefficient demonstrations which led to no important result, and Henry took an early opportunity to get Hialas, the Spanish ambassador, to propose himself—as if without the knowledge of Henry—to mediate between the two kings. When Hialas was agreed to as a mediator, the first and most important demand of Henry was that Warbeck should be delivered up to him, a demand to which, to his eternal honour, James IV. replied that he could not pretend to decide upon the young man's pretensions; but that having received him and promised him his protection, no imaginable consideration should ever induce him to betray him. Subsequently, a truce of a few months having been agreed to between England and Scotland, James privately begged Warbeck to seek some safe asylum, as it was very evident that while he remained in Scotland Henry would never allow that country to have any permanent peace. The measures of Henry, meantime, as regarded the Flemings had produced exactly the result which he expected from them; the Flemish merchants and artificers had suffered so much from his system of non-intercourse, that they had in a manner forced their archduke to make a treaty by which all English rebels were excluded from the Low Countries, and the demesnes of the dowager duchess of Burgundy were especially and pointedly included in this treaty. Warbeck, therefore, on being requested to quit Scotland, found himself by this treaty completely shut out of the Low Countries too, and he was fain once more to take refuge among the bogs and mountains of Ireland.

Even here, such were the known vigilance, art, and power of Henry, the unfortunate impostor did not feel himself secure. His fear on that head, and his dislike of the rude ways and scanty fare of his entertainers, induced him to follow the advice of three needy and desperate adherents, Astley, Herne, and Skelton; and he landed in Cornwall, where he endeavoured to profit by the still prevalent disposition to discontent and riot in that neighbourhood of hardy, turbulent, and ignorant men. On his landing, at Bodmin, Warbeck was joined by upwards of three thousand men; and so much was he encouraged by even this equivocal appearance of popularity, that he now, for the first time, assumed the title of king of England by the name of Richard IV. He next marched his courageous but utterly undisciplined men to Exeter, where the inhabitants wisely, as well as loyally, shut their gates against him, despatched messengers to the king, and made all preparation for sustaining such a siege as Warbeck, destitute of artillery and even of ammunition, might be expected to carry on against them.

Henry rejoiced to hear that the pretender who had so long eluded and perplexed him, had, at length, resolved to take the field. The lords Daubeny and Broke, with the earl of Devonshire, the duke of Buckingham, and many other considerable nobles, hastily raised troops and marched against the rebels; the king, at the same time, actively preparing to follow with a numerous army.

Warbeck had shown himself unfit for rule, by the mere elation of spirit into which he was betrayed by the adhesion of three thousand ill-armed and undisciplined men; he now showed himself still further unfit by utter want of that desperate courage which, if it often betrays its possessor into situations of peril, no less frequently enables him, as if by miracle, to extricate

himself with advantage even where his ruin appears inevitable. The zeal of the king's friends was so far from destroying the hopes of Warbeck's supporters, that in a very few days their number increased from three to about seven thousand. But the encouragement afforded by this enthusiasm of his friends could not counterbalance in the mind of this unworthy pretender to empire the terror excited by the number and rapid approach of his foes. He hastily raised the siege of Exeter and retired to Taunton; and thence, while numbers were joining him from the surrounding neighbourhood, he made a stealthy and solitary flight to the sanctuary of Beaulieu, in Hampshire. Deserted by their leader the Cornish men submitted to the king, who used his triumph nobly. A few leading and particularly obnoxious offenders were executed, but the majority were dismissed uninjured. In the case of Warbeck's wife, Catherine Gordon, Henry behaved admirably. That lady being among his prisoners, he not only received and pardoned her, as being far more worthy of pity than of blame, but even gave her a highly reputable post at court.

A.D. 1498.—The long annoyance caused by Warbeck induced Henry's advisers to urge him to seize that impostor even in defiance of the church. But Henry, who ever loved the tortuous and the subtle better than the openly violent, caused his emissaries to persuade Warbeck voluntarily to leave his shelter and throw himself upon the king's mercy. This he accordingly did, and after having been led in a mockery of regal state to London, he was compelled to make a formal and detailed confession of the whole of his strange and hypocritical life, and was then committed to close custody.

A.D. 1499.—He might now have lived securely, if irksomely; but he had so long been accustomed to intrigue and the activity of imposture, that he speedily took an opportunity to elude the vigilance of his keepers and escape to sanctuary. Here the prior of the monastery mediated for him, and the king consented once more to spare his life; but set him in the stocks at Westminster and at Cheapside; compelled him in that disgraceful situation, to read aloud his confession, and then committed him, to close custody in the Tower of London. Even now, this restless person could not submit to his fate. He contrived to seduce some of the servants of the governor, and to associate with himself in the project of escape the unfortunate young earl of Warwick, whose long imprisonment had so weakened his mind, that no artifice was too gross to impose upon him. It would almost seem that this hopeless scheme must, indirectly, have been suggested to the adventurers by the king himself, that he might have a sufficiently plausible reason for putting Warbeck to death. Nor is it any answer to this opinion to say, that two of the conniving servants of the governor were put to death for their share in the project; for Henry was not of a character to allow his scheme to fail for want of even such a sacrifice as that. Both Warbeck and Warwick were executed; the latter on the ground of his intention, which he did not deny, to disturb the king's government.

The fate of the unfortunate Warwick excited universal indignation against Henry, who certainly sinned no less against policy than against humanity in this gratuitous violence upon so inoffensive a character.

A.D. 1501.—Henry had always been anxious for a friendly and close connection with Ferdinand of Arragon, whose profound and successful policy, in many respects, resembled his own. He now, accordingly, exerted himself, and with success, to unite Ferdinand's daughter, the princess Catherine, to his own eldest son, Arthur, prince of Wales, the former being eighteen, the latter sixteen years of age.

A.D. 1502.—Scarcely, however, had the king and people ceased their rejoicings at this marriage when it was fatally dissolved by the death of the young prince. The sordid monarch was much affected by the loss of his son, for it seemed to place him under the necessity of returning the large sum of two hundred thousand ducats which had been received as the dowry of the princess. Rather than part with so large a sum, Henry exerted himself to bring about a marriage between the princess and his second son, Henry, who was only twelve years of age, and whom he now created prince of Wales. The young prince was as averse to this match as so young a prince could be; but his father was resolute in the cause of his beloved ducats, and that marriage was celebrated which was afterwards the prime cause of so much crime and suffering.

The latter years of the king were chiefly spent in the indulgence of that detestable vice, avarice, which seems not only to increase by enjoyment, but also to grow more and more craving in exact proportion to the approach of that hour in which the wealth of the world is vain. His excellent but far from well-treated queen having died in child-bed in 1503, Henry, from that time, seems to have been haunted with a notion that no treasure could be too immense to guard him against the rivalship of his son, the prince of Wales. Conscious that the late queen's title was better than his own, Henry probably thought that if the prince were to aim at the crown in right of his mother he would not be without support, and that, in such case, the successful side would be that side which had the best supply of money. Upon no other principle can we account for the shameless and unceasing rapacity with which, by means of benevolences extorted from parliament, and oppressive fines wrung from individuals through the arts of the infamous Dudley and Empson, the now enormously wealthy monarch continued to add to his stores, which, in ready money alone, are said to have approached the large sum of two millions. Even when he was rapidly sinking under a consumption, he still upheld and employed his merciless satellites in their vile attacks upon the property of innocent men. The heaping up of gold, however,

could not stay the ravages of his fearful disease, and he expired at his palace at Richmond, at the comparatively early age of fifty-two years, and after a prosperous reign of twenty-three years and eight months, on the twenty-second of April, 1509.

Cold, cautious, resolute, and stern, Henry was an arbitrary and unjust monarch; yet for the mass of the people his reign was a good one. To the wealthy his avarice was a scourge; to the haughty and to the high-born his firm and vigilant rule must have been terrible. But he allowed no one to plunder but for him; no one to tyrannise but in obedience to his orders. The barbarous tyranny of the feudal nobles was for ever stricken down; the middle classes were raised to an importance and influence previously unheard of in England; and, apart from his arbitrary and really impolitic, because needless, extortions of money, the general strain of his laws tended to the making of a despotic monarch, but also of a regulated nobility and of an enterprising prosperous people, whose enterprise and whose prosperity, having no check except the despotic power of the monarch, could not fail sooner or later to curb that one despotism which had so far been useful that it had freed them from the many-headed despotism of the nobility.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

The Reign of HENRY VIII.

A.D. 1509.—IT is a sad but a certain truth that the mass of mankind have but a loose and deceptive morality; they look rather to the manner than to the extent of crime when forming their judgements. The splendid tyrannies of an Edward were rather admired than deplored; even the gifted ferocity of the usurping third Richard was thought to be in some sort redeemed by the very excess of subtlety in the plan, and of mere animal daring in the execution, by that nation which now scarcely endeavoured to conceal its joy at the decease of the cold, avaricious Henry.

The cautious policy of Henry VII., the severity of his punishments, and his incurable cupidity, gave no small advantage to the commencement of the reign of his successor, who ascended the throne with probably as many prepossessions in the hearts and minds of his people as any monarch in our history.

Young, handsome, gay, skilled in all manly exercises, and far better educated, scholastically speaking, than was usual even among princes at that time, Henry VIII. had the inestimable advantage of having never been in any degree associated in men's minds with the cruelties or the extortions of his father, whose jealousy had always kept the young prince unconnected with the management of public affairs. With all these advantages, and uniting in his own person the claims of both York and Lancaster, Henry VIII. may most truly be said to have commenced his reign with the universal love and admiration of his people. His grandmother, the dowager countess of Richmond and Derby, was still alive, and Henry had the good sense and the good fortune to be guided by her shrewdness and experience in the important matter of forming his first ministry. The ability of the ministers of the late king was beyond all cavil, and it was Henry's obvious policy to retain as much of the talent which had aided his father, with as little as possible of either the wickedness or the unpopularity. The numberless and severe sufferings which had been inflicted upon men of wealth during the last reign, caused a proportionately loud and general cry to be now raised against the informers, and principally the noted Dudley and Empson, who had so successfully and unscrupulously served the late king; and though the justice of Henry VIII. did not induce him to part with any portion of the treasure which his father had so iniquitously obtained, so neither did it prompt him to defend his father's tools. Both Dudley and Empson were seized and committed to the Tower, amid the joy and execrations of the people; although, as we shall, in a very few words, be able to show, the very criminality of which these men were accused, was not more flagrant or hateful than that which was now committed against them. When they were summoned before the council, and called upon to show why they should not be punished for their conduct during the late reign, Empson, who was a fluent speaker and a really able lawyer, made a defence of his own and his colleague's conduct, which, had the king been just and the people reasonable, would have led to such alterations in the laws as would for ever after have rendered it impossible for unprincipled informers to ruin the wealthy subject, while pandering to the greediness of a grasping and unjust king. He very truly argued that he and his colleague had acted in obedience to the king, and in accordance with laws which, however ancient, were unrepealed, and, therefore, as authoritative as ever; that it was not at all to be marvelled at if those who were punished by law should rail at those who put the law in force; that all well-regulated states always made the impartial and strict enforcement of the laws their chief boast, and that that state would, inevitably, fall into utter ruin, where a contrary practice should be allowed to obtain.

This defence, which clearly threw the blame upon the state of the laws and upon the evil inclinations of the late king, did not prevent Dudley and Empson from being sent to the Tower. They were soon afterwards convicted by a jury, and this conviction was followed up by an act of attainder, which was passed by parliament, and Empson and Dudley were executed amid the savage rejoicings of the people, whose demeanour on this occasion showed them to be truly unworthy of the liberty they so highly valued. We do not palliate the moral feelings of Empson and Dudley, but, *legally* speaking, they were *murdered*; they were put to death for doing that which the law directly authorised, and indirectly commanded them to do.

In compliance with the advice of his council, and of the countess of Richmond and Derby, Henry completed his marriage with the princess Catherine, the widow of his brother Arthur; though it seems certain, not only that Henry had himself no preference for that princess, who was plain in person, and his senior by six years, but also that his father on his death-bed conjured him to take the earliest possible opportunity to break the engagement.

Though Henry VIII. had received a good education, and might deserve the praise of learning and ability, even without reference to his high rank, he was far too impetuous, and too much the creature of impulse, to deserve the title of a great politician. At his coming to the throne, the state of Europe was such that *laissez aller* would have been the best maxim for all sovereigns; and England, blest with domestic peace, and little concerned in the affairs of the continent, ought especially to have kept aloof from interference. Italy was the theatre of strife between the powers of Spain and France: Henry's best policy clearly would have been to let these great powers waste their time and strength against each other; yet, at the very commencement of his reign, he allowed pope Julius II. to seduce him into the grossly impolitic step of allying himself with that pontiff, the emperor Maximilian, and Henry's father-in-law, Ferdinand, to crush and trample upon the commonwealth of Venice.

A. D. 1510.—Having succeeded in engaging Henry in this league, to which neither his own honour nor the interests of his people obliged him, Julius was encouraged to engage him in the more ambitious project of freeing Italy from foreigners. The pontiff, accordingly, sent a flattering message to Henry, with a perfumed and anointed rose, and he held out to Henry's ambassador at Rome, Bainbridge, archbishop of York, a cardinal's hat as the reward of his exertions in his interest. This done, he persuaded Ferdinand and the Swiss cantons to join him, and declared war against the duke of Ferrara, the ally and friend of the French.

A.D. 1511.—The emperor Maximilian still held to his alliance with Louis, and they, with some malcontent cardinals, now endeavoured to check the ambition of Julius, by calling a general council for the purpose of reforming the church. With the exception of some French bishops, the cardinals had scarcely any supporters, and they were so ill received at Pisa, where they first met, that they were obliged to adjourn to Milan. Even here, though under the dominion and protection of France, they were so much insulted, that they again adjourned to Lyons; and it was evident that they had but little chance of success against the pope, who, besides being extremely popular, did not fail to exercise his power of excommunicating the clerical attendants of the council, and absolving from their allegiance the subjects of the monarchs who protected them.

A.D. 1512.—Henry, who at this period of his life was far too impetuous to be otherwise than sincere, was really anxious to protect the sovereign pontiff from insult and oppression, and he was strengthened in this inclination by the interested counsel of his father-in-law, and by his own hope of being honoured with the title of *Most Christian King*, which heretofore had belonged to the king of France. He consequently allied himself with Spain, Venice, and the pope, against the king of France, and not merely sent an embassy to dehort Louis from warring against the pope, but also demanded the restoration to England of Anjou, Maine, Guienne, and Normandy. This demand was considered tantamount to a declaration of war, and was supported by parliament, which granted Henry a very liberal supply.

Ferdinand, who had his own ends to serve, affected to be extremely anxious to serve Henry, and sent a fleet to convey the English troops, to the number of ten thousand, to Fontarabia. The marquis of Dorset, accompanied by the lords Broke and Howard, and many other young noblemen ambitious of warlike fame, commanded this force, which was extremely well appointed, though it chiefly consisted of infantry. But Dorset very soon found that Henry's interests were not consulted by Ferdinand and his generals; and, after much idle disputation, the English troops broke out into mutiny, and the expedition returned without achieving anything. Henry was much annoyed by this egregious failure, and Dorset had great difficulty in convincing him of the exclusively selfish nature of Ferdinand's designs.

By sea the English were not much more prosperous than by land. A fleet of forty-five sail was encountered off Brest by thirty-nine sail of the French; the French admiral's ship caught fire, and Primauget, the commander, resolutely grappled with the English admiral, and both vessels blew up together, the enraged crews combating to the last. The French, notwithstanding the loss of their admiral, made good their escape with all the rest of their ships.

But though Henry acquired no glory or advantage by these operations against France, he did Louis serious mischief by compelling him to retain in France troops whose presence was absolutely necessary to his interests in Italy. But for this circumstance Louis would probably have prospered there. His young and heroic nephew, Gaston de Foix, even with the slender forces that could be spared to him, during a few months of a career which a great modern poet most truly calls 'brief, brave, and glorious,' obtained signal advantages; but he fell in the very moment of victory over the army of the pope and Ferdinand, at Ravenna. His genius had, in a great degree, compensated for the numerical inferiority of the French; but directly after his death Genoa and Milan revolted, and Louis was speedily deprived of every foot of his newly acquired Italian conquests, except some isolated and comparatively unimportant fortresses.

A. D. 1513.—Pope Julius II. had scarcely

time to exult over his successes against the arms of Louis when he died, and was succeeded by John de Medicis, who, under the title of Leo X., is famed in history no less for his patronage of the arts and sciences, than for his profound political talents. Leo X. had no sooner ascended the papal throne, than he dexterously withdrew the emperor Maximilian from the French interests; and by cheap but flattering compliments to Henry and his leading courtiers, greatly increased the popularity of the papal cause in England, where the parliament imposed a poll-tax to assist the king in his designs against France. While Henry was eagerly making his preparations, he did not neglect his dangerous enemy, James of Scotland. That prince was much attached to the French cause, and sent a squadron of vessels to aid it; and, though to Henry's envoy he now professed the most peaceable inclinations, the earl of Surrey was ordered to watch the borders with a strong force, lest England should be assailed in that direction during the king's absence in France.

While Henry was busied in preparing a large land force for the invasion of France, his fleet, under sir Edward Howard, cruised in the channel, and at length drew up in order of battle off Brest and challenged the French force which lay there; but the French commander being in daily expectation of a reinforcement of galleys under the command of Prejeant de Bidoux, would not allow any taunts to draw him from his security. The galleys at length arrived at Conquet, near Brest, and Bidoux placed himself beneath a battery. There he was attacked by sir Edward, who, with a Spanish cavalier and seventeen English, boldly boarded Bidoux's own vessel, but was killed and thrust into the sea. The loss of their admiral so discouraged the English, that they raised their blockade of Brest harbour, and the French fleet soon after made a descent upon the coast of Sussex, but was beaten off.

Eight thousand men under the command of the earl of Shrewsbury, and six thousand under that of lord Herbert of Cherbury, having embarked for France, the king now prepared to follow with the main army. He had already made the queen regent during his absence; and that she might be in the less danger of being disturbed by any revolt, he now caused Edmund de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, who had been attainted during the last reign, to be beheaded in the Tower of London.

On arriving at Calais Henry found that the aid afforded him fell very far short of what he had been promised. Maximilian, who was to have brought a reinforcement of eight thousand men in return for a hundred and twenty thousand crowns which Henry had advanced him, was unable to fulfil his engagement. He, however, made the best amends in his power by joining with such scanty force as he could command; and he enlisted himself under Henry as his officer, with a salary of one hundred crowns per day.

The earl of Shrewsbury and the lord Herbert immediately on their arrival in France had laid siege to Terouenne, a town on the borders of Picardy, which was gallantly defended by two thousand men under the command of Grequi and Teligni. The strength of the place and the gallantry of the garrison bade defiance to the besiegers; but a dreadful want of both provision and ammunition was soon felt in the place. Fontrailles was detached by Louis from the army at Amiens to carry some relief to this place. He took eight hundred horsemen, each of whom carried behind him a sack of gunpowder and two quarters of bacon, and, though thus encumbered, this gallant cavalry cut their way through the English, deposited their burthens in the fosse of the town, and returned to their quarters with scarcely any loss.

The same gallant Fontrailles was shortly afterwards again about to throw some relief into Terouenne; and as it was judged that the English would now be on the alert, a strong body of French cavalry was ordered up to protect him. Henry sent out a body of his cavalry to hold them in check, and, strange to relate, though the French were picked troops, consisting chiefly of gentlemen who had fought gallantly and often, they were seized with a sudden panic at the approach of the English, and fled in spite of the attempts to rally them which were made by such men as the chevalier Bayard, the duke of Longueville, and other distinguished officers who were among the number taken prisoners. This battle, from the panic flight of the French, is known as the *Battle of Spurs*. Had Henry immediately after this pushed his advantages, he might easily have marched to Paris, where both friends and foes fully expected to see him; but he allowed Maximilian to persuade him into the besieging of Tournay, which, after much delay, was taken. Henry then returned to England, having gained some reputation as a chivalrous soldier, but certainly with no increase of his reputation as a politician or a general.

During Henry's absence the Scots acted precisely as had been anticipated. James, with an army of fifty thousand men, had crossed the border and taken several castles, ravaging and plundering the country in every direction around them. Having taken the lady Forde prisoner in her castle, James was so much charmed with her society that he lost much precious time, and his disorderly troops took advantage of his negligence and retreated to their homes, in great numbers, with the plunder they had obtained from the Southrons. The earl of Surrey, after much difficulty, came up with the Scots, who by these desertions were reduced to somewhat nearer his own force of twenty-six thousand men. James in person commanded the centre division of the Scots, the earl of Huntley and Lord Hume the right, the earls of Lennox and Argyle the left, while the earl of Bothwell had the charge of the reserve. The English centre was commanded by lord Howard in the first line, and by the gallant earl of Surrey himself in the second; the wings by sir Edmund Howard, sir Marmaduke Constable.

ord Dacre, and sir Edward Stanley. The right wing of the Scots commenced the action, and fairly drove the English left wing off the field; but the Scottish left, in the meantime, broke from all discipline, and attacked so impetuously, but in such disorder, that sir Edward Howard and the lord Dacre, who profited by their confusion and received them coolly, cut them to pieces before they could be rescued by James's own division and the reserve under Bothwell. Though the Scots sustained this great loss, the presence of the sovereign so much animated their courage, that they kept up the engagement until night put an end to it. Even then it was uncertain which side had, in reality, sustained the greater loss. But, on the following day, it was discovered that the English, as well as the Scots, had lost about five thousand men; the former had suffered almost exclusively in the ranks, while the latter had lost many of their bravest nobles. The king of Scotland was himself among the missing from this fatal 'Flodden Field.' A body, indeed, was found among the slain, which, from the royal attire, was supposed to be the king's, and it was even royally interred, Henry generously pretending that James, while dying, expressed his contrition for that misconduct toward the pope which had placed him under the terrible sentence of excommunication. But though Henry was evidently convinced that he was thus doing honour to the body of his brother-in-law, the Scots were equally convinced that he was not, and that James did not fall in the battle. By some it was asserted that the monarch, escaping from the field, was put to death by order of lord Hume; while others no less firmly believed that he escaped to the Holy Land, whence they long subsequently continued to expect him to return.

The event of the battle of Flodden having released Henry from all fear of his northern border, at least for that time, he made no difficulty about granting peace to his sister Margaret, who was now made regent of Scotland during the minority of her son.

A.D. 1514.—Henry rewarded the chief instruments in obtaining him this splendid victory, by conferring on the earl of Surrey the title of duke of Norfolk, which had been forfeited by that nobleman's father, who sided with Richard III. at Bosworth Field; upon lord Howard the title of the earl of Surrey; on lord Herbert that of earl of Worcester; upon sir Edward Stanley that of lord Monteagle; and upon Charles Brandon, earl of Lisle, that of duke of Suffolk.

At the same time the bishopric of Lincoln was bestowed upon the king's chief favourite and prime minister, Thomas Wolsey, whose part in this reign was so important as to demand that we should presently speak of him at some length.

The war with Scotland being fortunately terminated, Henry again turned his whole attention to France. There, however, he found little cause of gratulation. His father-in-law, Ferdinand of Arragon, having obtained possession of the petty frontier kingdom of Navarre, had eagerly made peace with France, and induced the emperor Maximilian to do the same; and the pope, in whose cause Henry had sacrificed so much, had also accepted of the submission of Louis.

The truth was now more than ever apparent, that, however great might be Henry's other qualities, he was by no means skilled in the wiles of politics; and his present experience of that truth was the more embittered, because he found that Maximilian had been induced to abandon him by an offer of the daughter of France to the son of that prince; though that son Charles had already been affianced to Henry's own younger sister, the princess Mary, who was now fast approaching the age for the completion of the contract.

Thus doubly duped and injured, Henry would, most likely, have reinvaded France, no matter at what sacrifice, but that the duke of Longueville, who had remained a prisoner ever since the memorable 'battle of spurs,' suggested a match between the deserted princess Mary and Louis of France himself. It is true that that monarch was upwards of fifty years of age, and the princess not quite sixteen; but so many advantages were offered to Henry, that the marriage was concluded at Abbeville, whither Louis proceeded to meet his young bride Their happiness and the rejoicings of the French people were of but short duration, the king surviving the marriage only about three months.

The young queen dowager of France had, before her marriage, shown some partiality for the duke of Suffolk, the most accomplished cavalier of the age, and an especial favourite of Henry; and he now easily persuaded her to shorten the period of her widowhood. Henry was, or feigned to be, angry at their precipitate union; but his anger, if real, was only of short duration, and the accomplished duke and his lovely bride were soon invited to return to the English court.

CHAPTER XL.

The Reign of HENRY VIII. (*continued*).

As Henry VIII. was, in many respects, the most extraordinary of our monarchs, his favourite and minister, the cardinal Wolsey, was at the very head of the extraordinary men, even in that age of strange men and strange deeds. He was the son of a butcher in the town of Ipswich, and displaying, while young, great quickness and intelligence, he had a learned education, with a view to his entering the church. Having, at the conclusion of his own education, been employed in teaching the children of the marquis of Dorset, he gave so much satisfaction, that that nobleman recommended him to Henry VIII. as his chaplain. As the private and public servant of that monarch, Wolsey gave equal satisfaction; and when Henry VIII., a gay, young, and extravagant monarch, showed a very evident preference of the earl of Surrey to the somewhat severe and economic Fox, bishop

of Winchester, this prelate introduced Wolsey to the king, hoping that, while his accomplishments and pliability would enable him to eclipse the earl of Surrey, he would, from his own love of pleasure, if not from motives of gratitude, be subordinate in all matters of politics to the prelate to whom he owed his introduction. Wolsey fully warranted Fox's expectations in making himself even more agreeable to the gay humour of the king than the earl of Surrey. But Wolsey took advantage of his position to persuade the king that both the earl and the prelate, tried counsellors of the late king, felt themselves appointed by him rather than by their present royal master, to whom they considered themselves less servants than authoritative guardians and tutors. He so well, at the same time, showed his own capacity equally for pleasure and for business, and his own readiness to relieve the king from the weight of all irksome details, and yet to be his docile creature, that Henry soon found it impossible to do without him, in either his gaieties or in his more serious pursuits; and Wolsey equally supplanted alike the courtier and the graver man of business, who, in endeavouring to make him his tool, enabled him to become his superior. Confident in his own talents, and in the favour of Henry, this son of a very humble tradesman carried himself with an all but regal pomp and haughtiness; and left men in some difficulty to pronounce whether he were more grasping in obtaining wealth, or more magnificent in expending it. Supercilious to those who affected equality with him, he was liberal to the utmost towards those beneath him; and, with a singular inconsistency, though he could be ungrateful, as we have seen in the case of the unsuspecting bishop of Winchester, no man was more prone to an exceeding generosity towards those who were not his patrons but his tools.

A.D. 1515.—A favourite and minister of this temper could not fail to make many enemies; but Wolsey relaxed neither in haughtiness nor in ambition. Well knowing the temper of Henry, the politic minister ever affected to be the mere tool of his master, though the exact contrary really was the case; and by thus making all *his* acts seem to emanate from Henry's will, he piqued his vanity and wilfulness into supporting them and him against all shadow of opposition or complaint. Made bishop of Lincoln, and then archbishop of York, Wolsey held *in commendam* the bishopric of Winchester, the abbey of St. Alban's, and had the revenues at very easy leases of the bishoprics of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford. His influence over the king made the pope anxious to acquire a hold upon him; Wolsey, accordingly, was made a cardinal, and thenceforth his whole energies and ambition were devoted to the endeavour to win the papal throne itself. Contrary to the custom of priests, the precious metals ornamented not only his own attire, but even the saddles and furniture of his horses; his cardinal's hat was carried before him by a man of rank, and laid upon the altar when he entered chapel, one priest, of noble stature and handsome countenance, carried before him a massive silver cross, and another the cross of York. Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, also held the office of chancellor, and was but ill fitted to contend with so resolute a person as Wolsey, who speedily worried him into a resignation of the chancellorship, which dignity he himself grasped. His emoluments were vast, so was his expenditure magnificent; and, if he grasped at many offices, it is but fair to add that he fulfilled his various duties with rare energy, judgement, and justice. Wolsey might now be said to be Henry's only minister: Fox, bishop of Winchester, the duke of Norfolk, and the duke of Suffolk being, like the archbishop of Canterbury, unable to make head against his arbitrary temper, and driven from the court by a desire to avoid a useless and irritating conflict. Fox, bishop of Winchester, who seems to have been greatly attached to Henry, warned him against Wolsey's ambition, and besought him to beware lest the servant should become the master. But Henry had no fear of the kind; he was far too despotic and passionate a person to fear that any minister could govern him.

The success which Francis of France met with in Italy tended to excite the jealousy and fears of England, as every new acquisition made by France encroached upon the balance of power, upon which the safety of English interests so greatly depended. Francis, moreover, had given offence, not only to Henry, but also to Wolsey, who took care not to allow his master's anger to subside for want of a prompter. But though Henry spent a large sum of money in stirring up enmities against France, he did so to little practical effect, and was easily induced to peace.

A.D. 1516.—Ferdinand the Catholic, the father-in-law of Henry, died in the midst of a profound peace in Europe, and was succeeded by his grandson Charles. This event caused Francis to see the necessity of bestirring himself to ensure the friendship of England, as a support against the extensive power of Spain. As the best means of doing so, he courted his ambassador to make his peace with Wolsey, and affected to ask that haughty minister's advice on the most confidential and important subjects. One of the advantages obtained by Francis from this servile flattery of the powerful minister, was the restoration of the important town of Tournay, a frontier fortress of France and the Netherlands; Francis agreeing to pay six hundred thousand crowns, at twelve equal annual instalments, to reimburse Henry for his expenditure on the citadel of Tournay. At the same time that Francis gave eight men of rank as hostages for the payment of the above large sum to Henry, he agreed to pay twelve thousand livres per annum to Wolsey as an equivalent for the bishopric of Tournay, to which he had a claim. Pleased with this success, Francis now became bolder in his flatteries, terming Wolsey *governor*, *tutor*, and even *father*, and so winning upon the

mind of Wolsey by fulsome affectations of humility and admiration, that Polydore Virgil, who was Wolsey's contemporary, speaks of it as being quite certain that Wolsey was willing to have sold him Calais, and was only prevented from doing so by the general sense he found to be entertained of its value to England, and by his forming closer connection with Spain, which somewhat cooled his attachment to France. The pope's legate, Compeggio, being recalled on his failure to procure a tithe demanded by the pope from the English clergy, on the old and worn-out pretext of war with the infidels, Henry procured the legatine power to be conferred on Wolsey. With this new dignity, Wolsey increased the loftiness of his pretensions, and the magnificence of his habits; like the pope, he had bishops and mitred abbots to serve him when he said mass, and he farther had nobles of the best families to hand him the water and towel.

So haughty had he now become, that he even complained of Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, as being guilty of undue familiarity in signing himself '*your loving brother*;' which caused even the meek-spirited Warham to make the bitter remark, 'this man is drunk with too much prosperity.' But Wolsey did not treat his legatine appointment as being a mere matter of dignity and pomp, but forthwith opened what he called the legatine court; a court as oppressive and as expensive in its authority as the Inquisition itself. It was to enquire into all matters of morality and conscience, and, as it was supplementary to the law of the land, its authority was, in reality, only limited by the conscience of the judge. The first judge appointed to this anomalous and dangerous court was John Allen, a man whose life was but ill spoken of, and who was even said to have been convicted by Wolsey himself of perjury. In the hands of such a man as this, the extensive powers of the legatine court were but too likely to be made mere instruments of extortion; and it was publicly reported that Allen was in the habit of convicting or acquitting as he was unbribed or bribed. Wolsey was thought to receive no small portion of the sums thus obtained by Allen from the wickedness or the fears of the suitors of his court. Much clamour was raised against Wolsey, too, by the almost papal extent of power he claimed for himself in all matters concerning wills and benefices, the latter of which he conferred upon his creatures without the slightest regard to the monks' right of election, or the lay gentry and nobility's right of patronage. The iniquity of Allen at length caused him to be prosecuted and convicted; and the king, on that occasion, expressed so much indignation, that Wolsey was ever after more cautious and guarded in the use of his authority.

A. D. 1519.—Immersed in pleasures, Henry contrived to expend all the huge treasures which accrued to him on the death of his father: and he was now poor, just when a circumstance occurred to render his possession of treasure more than usually important. Maximilian, the emperor, who had long been declining, died; and Henry, and the kings of France and Spain were candidates for that chief place among the princes of Christendom. Money was profusely lavished upon the electors by both Charles and Francis; but Henry's minister, Pace, having scarcely any command of cash, found his efforts everywhere useless, and Charles gained the day.

A.D. 1520.—In reality Henry was formidable to either France or the emperor, and he could, at a moment's warning, throw his weight into the one or the other scale. Aware of this fact, Francis was anxious for an opportunity of personally practising upon the generosity and want of cool judgement, which he quite correctly imputed to Henry. He, therefore, proposed that they should meet in a field within the English pale, near Calais; the proposal was warmly seconded by Wolsey, who was as eager as a court beauty of the other sex for every occasion of personal splendour and costliness. Each of the monarchs was young, gay, tasteful, and magnificent; and so well did their courtiers enter into their feeling of gorgeous rivalry, that some nobles of both nations expended on the ceremony and show of a few brief days, sums which involved their families in straitened circumstances for the rest of their lives.

The emperor Charles no sooner heard of the proposed interview between the kings, than he, being on his way from Spain to the Netherlands, paid Henry the compliment of landing at Dover, whither Henry at once proceeded to meet him. Charles not only laid himself out in every possible way to please and flatter Henry, but he also paid assiduous court to Wolsey, and bound that aspiring personage to his interests by promising to aid him in reaching the papacy; a promise which Charles felt the less difficulty about making, because the reigning pope Leo X. was junior to Wolsey by some years, and very likely to outlive him. Henry was perfectly well aware of the pains Charles took to conciliate Wolsey, but, strange to say, felt rather flattered than hurt, as though the compliment were ultimately paid to his own person and will.

When the emperor had taken his departure Henry proceeded to France, where the meeting took place between him and Francis. Wolsey, who had the regulation of the ceremonial, so well indulged his own and his master's love of magnificence, that the place of meeting was by the common consent of the delighted spectators hailed by the gorgeous title of *The field of the cloth of gold*. Gold and jewels abounded; and both the monarchs and their numerous courts were apparelled in the most gorgeous and picturesque style. The duke of Buckingham, who, though very wealthy, was not very fond of parting with his money, found the expenses to which he was put on this occasion so intolerable, that he expressed himself so angrily towards Wolsey as led to his execution some time after, though nominally at least for a different offence.

The meetings between the monarchs were for some time regulated with the most jealous and wearisome attention to strict

etiquette. At length Francis, attended by only two of his gentlemen and a page, rode into Henry's quarters. Henry was delighted at this proof of his brother monarch's confidence, and threw upon his neck a pearl collar worth five or six thousand pounds, which Francis repaid by the present of an armlet worth twice as much. So profuse and gorgeous were these young kings.

While Henry remained at Calais he received another visit from the emperor Charles. That artful monarch had now completed the good impression he had already made upon both Henry and cardinal Wolsey; by offering to leave all dispute between himself and France to the arbitration of Henry, as well as by assuring Wolsey of the papacy at some future day, and putting him into instant possession of the revenues of the bishoprics of Badajos and Placencia. The result was that the emperor made demands of the most extravagant nature, well knowing that France would not comply with them; and when the negotiations were thus broken off, a treaty was made between the emperor and Henry, by which the daughter of the latter, the princess Mary, was betrothed to the former, and England was bound to invade France with an army of forty thousand men. This treaty alone, by the very exorbitancy of its injuriousness to England, would sufficiently show at once the power of Wolsey over his king and the extent to which he was ready to exert that power.

The duke of Buckingham, who had imprudently given offence to the all-powerful cardinal, was a man of turbulent temper, and very imprudent in expressing himself, by which means he afforded abundant evidence for his own ruin. It was proved that he had provided arms with the intent to disturb the government, and that he had even threatened the life of the king, to whom he thought himself, as being descended in the female line from the youngest son of Edward the Third, to be the rightful successor, should the king die without issue. Far less real guilt than this, aided by the enmity of such a man as Wolsey, would have sufficed to ruin Buckingham, who was condemned, and, to the great discontent of the people, executed.

A.D. 1521.—We have already mentioned that Henry in his youth had been jealously secluded from all share in public business. He derived from this circumstance the advantage of far more scholastic learning than commonly fell to the lot of princes, and circumstances now occurred to set his literary attainments in a striking light. Leo X. having published a general indulgence, circumstances of a merely personal interest caused Arcemboldi, a Genoese, then a bishop, but originally a merchant, who farmed the collection of the money in Saxony and the countries on the Baltic, to cause the preaching for the indulgences to be given to the Dominicans, instead of to the Augustines who had usually enjoyed that privilege. Martin Luther, an Augustine friar, feeling himself and his whole order affronted by this change, preached against it, and inveighed against certain vices of life of which, probably, the Dominicans really were guilty, though not more so than the Augustines. His spirited and coarse censures provoked the censured order to reply, and as they dwelt much upon the papal authority, as an all-sufficient answer to Luther, he was induced to question that authority; and as he extended his reading he found cause for more and more extended complaint; so that he who at first had merely complained of a wrong done to a particular order of churchmen, speedily declared himself against much of the doctrine and discipline of the church itself, as being corrupt and of merely human invention for evil human purposes. From Germany the new doctrines of Luther quickly spread to the rest of Europe, and found many proselytes in England. Henry, however, was the last man in his dominions who was likely to assent to Luther's arguments: as a scholar, and as an extremely despotic monarch, he was alike shocked by them. He not only exerted himself to prevent the Lutheran heresies, as he termed and no doubt thought them, from taking root in England, but also wrote a book in Latin against them. This book, which would have been by no means discreditable to an older and more professional polemic, Henry sent to the pope, who, charmed with the ability displayed by so illustrious an advocate of the papal cause, conferred upon him the proud title of *Defender of the Faith*, which has ever since been borne by our monarchs. Luther, who was not of a temper to quail before rank, replied to Henry with great force and with but little decency, and Henry was thus made personally as well as scholastically an opponent of the new doctrines. But those doctrines involved so many consequences favourable to human liberty and flattering to human pride, that neither scholastical nor kingly power could prevent their spread, which was much facilitated by the recent invention of printing. The progress of the new opinions was still farther favoured by the death of the vigorous and gifted Leo X., and by the succession to the papal throne of Adrian, who was so far from being inclined to go too far in the support of the establishment, that he candidly admitted the necessity for much reformation.

A.D. 1522.—The emperor fearing lest Wolsey's disappointment of the papal throne should injure the imperial interests in England, again came hither, professedly only on a visit of compliment, but really to forward his political interests. He paid assiduous court, not only to Henry, but also to Wolsey, to whom he pointed out that the age and infirmities of Adrian rendered another vacancy likely soon to occur in the papal throne; and Wolsey saw it to be his interest to dissemble the indignant vexation his disappointment had really caused him. The emperor in consequence succeeded in his wishes of retaining Henry's alliance, and of causing him to declare war against France. Lord Surrey entered France with an army which, with reinforcements from the Low Countries, numbered eighteen

thousand men. But the operations by no means corresponded in importance to the force assembled; and, after losing a great number of men by sickness, Surrey went into winter quarters in the month of October without having made himself master of a single place in France.

When France was at war with England, there was but little probability of Scotland remaining quiet. Albany, who had arrived from France, especially with a view to vexing the northern frontier of England, summoned all the Scottish force that could be raised, marched into Annandale, and prepared to cross into England at Solway Frith. But the storm was averted from England by the discontents of the Scottish nobles, who complained that the interests of Scotland should be exposed to all the danger of a contest with so superior a power as England, merely for the advantage of a foreign power. So strongly, indeed, did the Gordons and other powerful clansmen express their discontents on this head, that Albany made a truce with the English warden, the lord Dacre, and returned to France, taking the precaution of sending thither before him the earl of Angus, husband of the queen dowager.

A.D. 1523.—With only an infant king, and with their regent absent from the kingdom, the Scots laboured under the additional disadvantage of being divided into almost as many factions as they numbered potent and noble families. Taking advantage of this melancholy state of things in Scotland, Henry sent to that country a powerful force under the earl of Surrey, who marched without opposition into the Merse and Teviotdale, burned the town of Jedburgh, and ravaged the whole country round. Henry endeavoured to improve his present superiority over the Scots, by bringing about a marriage between his only daughter, the young princess Mary, and the infant king of Scotland; a measure which would at once have put an end to all contrariety of interests as to the two countries, by uniting them, as nature evidently intended them to be, into one state. But the friends of France opposed this measure so warmly, that the queen dowager, who had every possible motive for wishing to comply with it, both as favouring her brother, and promising an otherwise unattainable prosperity to the future reign of her son, was unable to bring it about. The partisans of England and France were nearly equal in power, if not in number; and while they still debated the question, it was decided against England by the arrival of Albany. He raised troops and made some show of battle, but there was little actual fighting. Disgusted with the factions into which the people were divided, Albany at length retired again to France; and Henry having enough to do in his war with that country, was well content to give up his notion of a Scotch alliance, and to rely upon the Scots being busy with their own feuds, as his best security against their henceforth attempting any serious diversion in favour of France.

In truth, Henry, wealthy as he had been at the commencement of his reign, had been so profuse in his pursuit of pleasure, that he had now no means of prosecuting war with any considerable vigour even against France alone. Though, in many respects, possessed of actually despotic power, Henry had to suffer the usual inconvenience of poverty. At one time he issued privy seals demanding loans of certain sums from wealthy men; at another he demanded a loan of five shillings in the pound from the clergy, and of two shillings in the pound from the laity. Though nominally *loans*, these sums were really to be considered as *gifts*; and impositions at once so large, so arbitrary, and so liable to be repeated at any period, necessarily caused much discontent. Soon after this last expedient for raising money without the consent of parliament, he summoned a convocation and a parliament. From the former, Wolsey, relying upon his high power and influence as cardinal and archbishop, demanded ten shillings in the pound on the ecclesiastical revenue, to be levied in five years. The clergy murmured, but, as Wolsey had anticipated, a few sharp words from him silenced all objections, and what he demanded was granted. Having thus far succeeded, Wolsey now, attended by several lords spiritual and temporal, addressed the house of commons; dilating upon the wants of the king, and upon the disadvantageous position in which those wants placed him with respect to both France and Scotland, and demanded a grant of two hundred thousand pounds per annum for four years. After much hesitation and murmuring, the commons granted only one half the required sum; and here occurred a striking proof of the spirit of independence, which, though it was very long in growing to its present height, had already been produced in the house of commons by its possession of the power of the purse. Wolsey, on learning how little the commons had voted towards what he had demanded, required to be allowed to 'reason' with the house, but was gravely, and with real dignity, informed, that the house of commons could reason only among its own members. But Henry sent for Edward Montague, an influential member, and coarsely threatened him, that if the commons did not vote better on the following day, Montague should lose his head. This threat caused the commons to advance somewhat on their former offers, though they still fell far short of the sum originally asked.

It may be presumed that Henry was partly goaded to his violent and brutal threat to Montague by very urgent necessity; among the items of the amount granted, was a levy of three shillings in the pound on all who possessed fifty pounds per annum, and though this was to be levied in four years, Henry levied the whole of it in the very year in which it was granted.

While Wolsey — for to him the people attributed every act of the king — was thus powerful in England, either very great treachery on the part of the emperor, or a most invincible misfortune, rendered him constantly unfortunate as to the great object of his ambition, the papal throne. It

now again became vacant by the death of Adrian, but this new awakening of his hope was merely the prelude to a new and bitter disappointment. He was again passed over, and one of the De Medicis ascended the papal throne under the title of Clement VII. Wolsey was well aware that this election took place with the concurrence of the imperial party, and he, therefore, determined to turn Henry from the alliance of the emperor to that of France.

Disappointed in the great object of his ambition, Wolsey affected the utmost approval of the election which had so much mortified him, and he applied to Clement for a continuation of that legatine power which had now been intrusted to him by two popes, and Clement granted it to him for life, a great and most unusual compliment.

A.D. 1525.—Though Henry's war with France was productive of much expense of both blood and treasure, the English share in it was so little brilliant, that there is no necessity for our entering here into details, which must of necessity be given in another place. We need only remark that the defeat and captivity of Francis at the great battle of Pavia, in the previous year, would have been improved by Wolsey to the probable utter conquest of France, but for the deep offence he had received from the emperor, which caused him to represent to Henry the importance to him of France as a counterbalancing power to the emperor. He carefully and successfully appealed to the powerful passions of Henry, by pointing out proofs of coldness and of increasing assumption in the style of the emperor's letter subsequent to the battle of Pavia; and Henry was still more determined by this merely personal argument than he had been by even the cogent political one. The result was, that Henry made a treaty with the mother of Francis, who had been left by him as regent, in which he undertook to procure the liberty of Francis on reasonable terms; while she acknowledged Henry creditor of France to the amount of nearly two millions of crowns, which she undertook to pay at the rate of fifty thousand in every six months. Wolsey, besides gratifying his spleen against the emperor in bringing about this treaty with France, procured the more solid gratification of a hundred thousand pounds paid to him under the name of arrears of a pension granted to him on the giving up of Tournay, as mentioned in its proper place in this history.

As it was very probable that this treaty with France would lead to a war with the emperor, Henry issued a commission for levying a tax of four shillings in the pound upon the clergy, and three-and-fourpence upon the laity. As this heavy demand caused great murmuring, he took care to have it made known that he desired this money only in the way of *benevolence*. But people, by this time, understood that *loan*, *benevolence*, and *tax* were only different names for the one solid matter of ready *money*, and the murmuring did not cease. In some parts of the country, the people, indeed, broke out into open revolt; but as they had no wealthy or influential leader, the king's officers and friends put them down, and Henry pardoned the ringleaders on the politic pretence that poverty and not wilful disloyalty had led them astray.

A.D. 1527.—Though Henry had now so many years lived with his queen in all apparent cordiality and contentment, several circumstances had occurred to give him doubts as to the legality of their marriage. When the emperor Charles had proposed to espouse Henry's daughter, the young princess Mary, the states of Castile objected to her as being illegitimate; and the same objection was subsequently made by France, when it was proposed to ally her to the prince of that country.

It is, we think, usual too readily to take it for granted that Henry was, from the first, prompted to seek the dissolution of this marriage, merely by a libertine and sensual disposition. It is quite true that the queen was considerably older than he, and that her beauty was not remarkable: and it may be quite true that those circumstances were *among* his motives. But it should not be forgotten that he had studied deeply, and that his favourite author, Thomas Aquinas, spoke in utter reprobation of the marrying by a man of his brother's widow, as denounced in the book of Leviticus. The energetic reprobation of an author of whom he was accustomed to think so reverently was, of course, not weakened by the rejection of his daughter by both Spain and France, on the ground of the incestuous marriage of her parents, and Henry at length became so desirous to have some authoritative settlement of his doubts, that he caused the question to be mooted before the prelates of England, who, with the single exception of Fisher, bishop of Rochester, subscribed to the opinion that the marriage was *ab incepto* illegal and null. While Henry's conscientious scruple was thus strongly confirmed, his desire to get his marriage formally and effectually annulled, was greatly increased by his falling in love with Anne Boleyn, a young lady of great beauty and accomplishments. Her parents were connected with some of the best families in the nation, her father had several times been honourably employed abroad by the king, and the young lady herself, to her very great misfortune, was, at this time, one of the maids of honour to the queen. He now, therefore, applied to the pope for a divorce, upon the ground not merely of the incestuous nature of the marriage—as that might have seemed to question or to limit the dispensing power of Rome—but on the ground that the bull which had authorised it had been obtained under false pretences which were clearly proven; a ground which had always been held by Rome to be sufficient to authorise the nullifying of a bull. Clement, the pope, was, at this time, a prisoner in the hands of the emperor, and his chief hope of obtaining his release on such terms as would render it desirable or honourable rested on the exertions of Henry, Francis, and the states with which they

were in alliance. The pope, therefore, was desirous to conciliate Henry's favour; but he was timid, vacillating, an Italian, and an adept in that dissimulation which is so characteristic of men who add constitutional timidity to intellectual power. Anxious to conciliate Henry by granting the divorce, he was fearful lest he should enrage the emperor—queen Catherine's nephew—by doing so; the consequence was, a long series of expedients, delays, promises, and disappointments.

The cardinal Campeggio was at length joined with Wolsey in a commission to try the affair in England. The two legates opened their court in London; both the queen and Henry were summoned to appear, and a most painful scene took place. When their majesties were called by name in the court, Catherine left her seat and threw herself at the feet of the king, recalled to his memory how she had entered his dominions, leaving all friends and support to depend upon him alone; how for twenty years she had been a faithful, loving, and obedient wife. She impressed upon him the fact that the marriage between her and his elder brother had, in truth, been but such a mere formal betrothal, as in innumerable other cases had been held no bar to subsequent marriage; that both their fathers, esteemed the wisest princes in Christendom, had consented to their marriage, which they would not have done unless well advised of its propriety; and she concluded by saying, that being well assured that she had no reason to expect justice from a court at the disposal of her enemies, so never more would she appear before it.

After the departure of the queen the trial proceeded. It was prolonged from week to week, and from month to month, by the arts of Campeggio, acting by the instructions of Clement, who employed the time in making his arrangements with the emperor for his own benefit, and that of the De Medicis in general. Having succeeded in doing this, he, to Henry's great astonishment, evoked the cause to Rome on the queen's appeal, just as every one expected the legates to pronounce for the divorce. Henry was greatly enraged at Wolsey on account of this result. He had so long been accustomed to see the cardinal successful in whatever he attempted, that he attributed his present failure rather to treachery than to want of judgement. The great seal was shortly taken from him and given to sir Thomas More, and he was ordered to give up to the king his stately and gorgeously furnished palace called York House, which was converted into a royal residence, under the name of Whitehall. The wealth seized in this one residence of the cardinal was immense; his plate was of regal splendour, and included what indeed not every king could boast, one perfect cupboard of massive gold. His furniture and other effects were numerous and costly in proportion, as may be judged from the single item of one thousand pieces of fine Holland cloth! The possessor of all this wealth, however, was a ruined man now; in the privacy of his comparatively mean country house at Esher, in Surrey, he was unvisited and unnoticed by those courtiers who had so eagerly crowded around him while he was yet distinguished by the king's favour. But if the ingratitude of his friends left him undisturbed in his solitude, the activity of his foes did not leave him undisturbed even there. The king had not as yet deprived him of his sees, and had, moreover, sent him a ring and a kind message. His enemies, therefore, fearful lest he should even yet recover his lost favour, and so acquire the power to repay their ill services, took every method to prejudice him in the eyes of the king, who at length abandoned him to the power of parliament. The lords passed forty-four articles against him, of which it is not too much to say that there was not one which might not have been explained away, had anything like legal form or proof been called for or considered. Amidst the general and shameful abandonments of Wolsey by those who had so lately fawned upon him, it is delightful to have to record that when these articles were sent down to the house of commons, the oppressed and abandoned cardinal was warmly and ably defended by Thomas Cromwell, whom his patronage had raised from a very low origin. All defence, however, was vain; the parliament pronounced 'That he was out of the king's protection; that his lands and goods were forfeited; and that his person might be committed to custody.'

From Esher, Wolsey removed to Richmond, but his enemies had him ordered to Yorkshire, where he lived in great modesty at Cawood. The king's differences with Rome were now every day growing greater, and he easily listened to those who assured him that in utterly shaking off all connection with the holy see, he would encounter powerful opposition from the cardinal. An order was issued for his arrest on a charge of high treason, and it is very probable that his death on the scaffold would have been added to the stains upon Henry's memory, but that the harassed frame of the cardinal sunk under the alarm and fatigue of his arrest and forced journey. He was conveyed by sir William Kingston, constable of the Tower, as far as Leicester abbey. Here his illness became so extreme that he could be got no farther, and here he yielded up his breath soon after he had spoken to sir William Kingston, this memorable and touching caution against an undue worldly ambition:—

'I pray you have me heartily recommended unto his royal majesty, and beseech him, on my behalf, to call to his remembrance all matters that have passed between us from the beginning, especially with regard to his business with the queen, and then he will know in his conscience whether I have offended him. He is a prince of a most royal carriage, and hath a princely heart; and rather than he will miss or want any part of his will, he will endanger the one half of his kingdom. I do assure you that I have often kneeled before him, sometimes three hours together.

to persunde him from his will and appetite, but could not provail. *Had I but served* GOD *as diligently as I have served the king,* HE *would not have given me over in my grey hairs.* But this is the just reward that I must receive for my indulgent palus and study, not regarding my duty to God, but only to my prince. Therefore, let me advise you, if you be one of the privy council as by your wisdom you are fit, take care what you put into the king's head, for you can never put it out again.'

CHAPTER XLI.

The Reign of HENRY VIII. (*continued*).

NATURALLY too fond of authority to feel without impatience the heavy yoke of Rome, the opposition he had so signally experienced in the matter of his divorce had enraged Henry so much, that he gave every encouragement to the parliament to abridge the exorbitant privileges of the clergy; in doing which, he equally pleased himself in mortifying Rome, and in paving the way for that entire independence of the papal power, of which every day made him more desirous. The parliament was equally ready to depress the clergy, and several bills were passed which tended to make the laity more independent of them. The parliament, about this time, passed another bill to acquit the king of all claims on account of those exactions which he had speciously called loans.

While Henry was agitated between the wish to break with Rome, and the opposing unwillingness to give so plain a contradiction to all that he had advanced in the book which had procured him the flattering title of *Defender of the Faith*, he was informed that Dr. Cranmer, a fellow of Jesus' College, Cambridge, and a man of good repute, both as to life and learning, had suggested that all the universities of Europe should be consulted as to the legality of Henry's marriage; if the decision were in favour of it, the king's qualms of conscience must needs disappear before such a host of learning and judgment; if the opinion were against it, equally must the hesitation of Rome as to granting the divorce be shamed away. On hearing this opinion Henry, in his bluff way, exclaimed that Cranmer had taken the right sow by the ear, sent for him to court, and was so well pleased with him as to employ him to write in favour of the divorce, and to superintend the course he had himself suggested.

A. D. 1532.—The measures taken by parliament, with the evident good-will of the king, were so obviously tending towards a total separation from Rome, that sir Thomas More, the chancellor, resigned the great seal; that able man being devotedly attached to the papal authority, and clearly seeing that he could no longer retain office but at the risk of being called upon to act against the pope.

At Rome the measures of Henry were not witnessed without anxiety; and while the emperor's agents did all in their power to determine the pope against Henry, the more cautious members of the conclave advised that a favour, often granted to meaner princes, should not be denied to him who had heretofore been so good a son of the church, and who, if driven to desperation, might wholly alienate from the papacy the most precious of all the states over which it held sway.

But the time for conciliating Henry was now gone by. He had an interview with the king of France, in which they renewed their personal friendship, and agreed upon measures of mutual defence, and Henry privately married Anne Boleyn, whom he had previously created countess of Pembroke.

A. D. 1533.—The new wife of Henry proving pregnant, Cranmer, now archbishop of Canterbury, was directed to hold a court at Dunstable, to decide on the invalidity of the marriage of Catherine, who lived at Ampthill in that neighbourhood. If this court were anything but a mere mockery, reasonable men argued, its decision should surely have preceded and not followed the second marriage. But the king's will was absolute, and the opinions of the universities and the judgement of the convocations having been formally read, and both opinions and judgement being against Catherine's marriage, it was now solemnly annulled. Soon after the new queen was delivered of a daughter, the afterwards wise and powerful queen Elizabeth.

Notwithstanding all the formalities that had been brought to bear against her rights, queen Catherine, who was as resolute as she was otherwise amiable, refused to be styled ought but queen of England, and to the day of her death compelled her servants, and all who had the privilege of approaching her, to address and treat her as their queen.

The enemies of Henry at Rome urged the pope anew to pronounce sentence of excommunication against him. But Clement's niece was now married to the second son of the king of France, who spoke to the pope in Henry's favour. Clement, therefore, for the present, confined his severity to issuing a sentence nullifying Cranmer's sentence, and the marriage of Henry to Anne Boleyn, and threatening to excommunicate him should he not restore his affairs to their former footing by a certain day.

A.D. 1535.—As Henry had still some strong leanings to the church, and as it was obviously much to the interest of Rome not wholly to lose its influence over so wealthy a nation as England, there even yet seemed to be some chance of an amicable termination of this quarrel. By the good offices of the king of France, the pope was induced to promise to pronounce in favour of the divorce, on the receipt of a certain promise of the king to submit his cause to Rome. The king agreed to make this promise and actually despatched a courier with it. Some delays of the road prevented the arrival of the important document at Rome until two days after the proper time. In the interim it was reported at Rome, probably by some of the imperial agents, that the pope and cardinals had been ridiculed in a farce that had been performed before Henry and his

court. Enraged at this intelligence, the pope and cardinals viewed it as sure proof that Henry's promise was not intended to be kept, and a sentence was immediately pronounced in favour of Catherine's marriage, while Henry was threatened with excommunication in the event of that sentence not being submitted to.

It is customary to speak of the final breach of Henry with Rome as having been solely caused by this dispute with Rome about the divorce; all fact, however, is against that view of the case. The opinions of Luther had spread far and wide, and had sunk deep into men's hearts; and the bitterest things said against Rome by the reformers were gentle when compared to the testimony borne against Rome by her own venality and her general corruption. In this very case how could the validity of Catherine's marriage be affected by the real or only alleged performance of a ribald farce before the English court above a score of years after it? The very readiness with which the nation joined the king in seceding from Rome, shows very clearly that under any possible circumstances that secession must have shortly taken place. We merely glance at this fact, because it will be put beyond all doubt when we come to speak of the accession of queen Elizabeth; for notwithstanding all that Mary had done, by the zealous support she gave to the church of Rome and by her furious persecution of the Reformers, to render the subserviency of England to Rome both permanent and perfect, the people of this country were rejoiced at the opportunity it afforded them of throwing off the papal authority.

The houses of convocation—with only four opposing votes and one doubtful voter—declared that 'the bishop of Rome had by the law of God no more jurisdiction in England than any other foreign bishop; and the authority which he and his predecessors have here exercised was only by usurpation and by the sufferance of the English princes.' The convocation also ordered that the act now passed by the parliament against all appeals to Rome, and the appeal of the king from the pope to a general council, should be affixed to all church doors throughout the kingdom. That nothing might be left undone to convince Rome of Henry's resolve upon an entire separation from the church of which he had been so extolled a defender, the parliament passed an act confirming the invalidity of Henry's marriage with Catherine and the validity of that with Anne Boleyn. All persons were required to take the oath to support the succession thus fixed, and the only persons of consequence who refused were sir Thomas More and bishop Fisher, who were both indicted and committed to the Tower. The parliament having thus completely, and we may add servilely, complied with all the wishes of the king, was for a short time prorogued.

The parliament had already given to Henry the reality, and it now proceeded to give him the title of *supreme head* of the church; and that Rome might have no doubt that the very exorbitancy with which she had pressed her pretensions to authority in England had wholly transferred that authority to the crown, the parliament accompanied this new and significant title with a grant of all the annates and tithes of benefices which had hitherto been paid to Rome.

Both in Ireland and Scotland the king's affairs were just at this moment, when he was carrying matters with so high a hand with Rome, such as to cause him some anxiety, but his main care was wisely bestowed upon his own kingdom. The mere secession of that kingdom from an authority so time-honoured and hitherto so dreaded and so arbitrary as Rome was, even to so powerful and resolute a monarch as Henry, an experiment of some nicety and danger. Might not they who had been taught to rebel against the church of Rome be induced to rebel against the crown itself? The conduct of the anabaptists of Germany added an affirmative of experience to the affirmative which reason could not fail to suggest to this question. But besides that there were many circumstances which rendered it unlikely that the frantic republican principles which a few reforming zealots had preached in Germany, would take a hold upon the hardy and practical intellect of Englishmen long and deeply attached to monarchy, there was little fear of the public mind, while Henry reigned, having too much speculative liberty of any sort. He had shaken off the pope, indeed, but he had, as far as the nation was concerned, only done so to substitute himself; and though the right of private judgement was one of the most important principles of the Reformation, it very soon became evident that the private judgement of the English subject would be an extremely dangerous thing except when it very accurately tallied with that of his prince. Opposed to the discipline of Rome, as a king, he was no less opposed to the leading doctrines of Luther, as a theologian. His conduct and language perpetually betrayed the struggle between these antagonistic feelings, and among the ministers and frequenters of the court, as a natural consequence, 'motley was the only wear.' Thus the queen, Cromwell, now secretary of state, and Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, were attached to the reformation, and availed themselves of every opportunity to forward it, but they ever found it safer to impugn the *papacy* than to criticise any of the doctrines of catholicism. On the other side the duke of Norfolk, and Gardiner bishop of Winchester, both of whom were high in authority and favour, were strongly attached to the ancient faith. The king, flattered by each of these parties upon a portion of his principles, was able to play the pope over both his catholic and his protestant subjects, and his stern and headstrong style of both speech and action greatly added to the advantage given him by the anxiety of each party to have him for its ally against the other.

In the meantime it was no longer in the

power of either king or minister to prevent the purer principles of the Reformation from making their way to the hearts and minds of the people. Tindal, Joyce, and other learned men who had sought in the Low Countries for safety from the king's arbitrary temper, found means to smuggle over vast numbers of tracts and a translation of the scriptures. These got extensively circulated and were greedily perused, although the catholic portion of the ministry aided—however singular the phrase may sound—by the catholic portion of the king's will, made great endeavours to keep them, but especially the bible, from the eyes of the people.

A singular anecdote is related of one of the attempts made to suppress the bible. Tonstal, bishop of London, a zealous catholic but humane man, was very anxious to prevent the circulation of Tindal's bible, and Tindal was himself but little less anxious for a new and more accurate edition. Tonstal, preferring the prevention of what he deemed crime to the punishment of offenders, devoted a large sum of money to purchasing all the copies that could be met with of Tindal's bible, and all the copies thus obtained were solemnly burned at the cross of Cheap. Both the bishop and Tindal were gratified on this occasion; the former, it is true, destroyed the first and incorrect edition of the bible by Tindal, but he at the same time supplied that zealous scholar with the pecuniary means, of which he was otherwise destitute, of bringing out a second and more perfect as well as more extensive edition.

Others were less humane in their desire to repress what they deemed heresy, and few were more severe than sir Thomas More, who succeeded Wolsey as chancellor, and of whose own imprisonment we have already had to speak, as presently we shall have to speak of his death. To speak, in detail, of the errors of a great man is at all times unpleasant; we merely mention, therefore, his treatment of James Bainham. This gentleman, a student of the Temple, was during More's chancellorship accused of being concerned with others in aiding in the propagation of the reformed doctrines. It appears that the unfortunate gentleman did not deny his own part in the cruel act attributed to him, but honourably refused to give any testimony against others. His first examination took place in the chancellor's own house, and there, to his great disgrace, he actually had the high-minded gentleman stripped and brutally whipped, the chancellor in person witnessing and superintending the disgusting exhibition. But the mistaken and maddening zeal of More did not stop even here. Enraged at the constancy of his victim, he had him conveyed to the Tower, and there *saw him put to the torture*. Under this new and most terrible trial the firmness of the unhappy gentleman for a time gave way and he abjured his principles; but in a very short time afterwards he openly returned to them, and was burned to death in Smithfield as a relapsed and confirmed heretic.

It will easily be supposed that while so intellectual a character as More was thus furious on behalf of Rome, the mean herd of persecutors was not idle. To teach children the Lord's prayer in English, to read the scripture, or at least the New Testament in that language, to speak against pilgrimages, to neglect the fasts of the church, to attribute vice to the old clergy, or to give shelter or encouragement to the new, all these were offences punishable in the bishop's courts, some of them even capitally. Thus, Thomas Bilney, a priest, who had embraced and, under threats, renounced the new doctrines, embraced them once again, and went through Norfolk zealously preaching against the absurdity of relying for salvation upon pilgrimages and images. He was seized, tried, and burned. Thus far the royal severity had chiefly fallen upon the reformed; but the monks and friars of the old faith, intimately dependent upon Rome, detested Henry's separation and his assumption of supremacy far too much to be otherwise than inimical to him. In their public preachings they more than once gave way to libellous scurrility, which Henry bore with a moderation by no means usual with him, but at length the tiger of his temper was thoroughly aroused by an extensive and impudent conspiracy.

At Aldington, in Kent, there was a woman named Elizabeth Barton, commonly known as the *holy maid of Kent*, who was subject to fits, under the influence of which she unconsciously said odd and incoherent things, which her ignorant neighbours imagined to be the result not of epilepsy but of inspiration. The vicar of the parish, Richard Masters, instead of reproving and enlightening his ignorant flock, took their ignorant fancy as a hint for a deep scheme. He lent his authority to the report that the *maid of Kent* spoke by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and he had not any great difficulty in acquiring the most entire authority over the maid herself, who thenceforth spoke whatever he deemed fit to dictate. Having a chapel in which stood an image of the Virgin, to which, for his own profit's sake, he was anxious to withdraw as many pilgrims as possible from other shrines, he entered into a confederacy with Dr. Bocking, one of the canons of Canterbury Cathedral, and under their direction Elizabeth Barton pretended to receive a supernatural direction to proceed to the image in question and pray there for her cure.

At first, it seems quite clear, the unfortunate woman was truly and merely an epileptic; but ignorance, poverty, and perhaps some natural cunning, made her a ready and unscrupulous tool in the hands of the cunning ecclesiastics, and after a series of affected distortions, which would have been merely ludicrous had their purpose not added something of the impious, she pretended that her prostrations before the image had entirely freed her from her disease.

Thus far the priests and their unfortunate tool had proceeded without any

interference, the severity with which the king and the powerful catholics treated all enmity to pilgrimages and disrespect to shrines being of itself sufficient to insure their impunity. But impunity as usual produced want of caution, and the priests seeing that the wondering multitude urged no objection to the new miracle which they alleged to have been wrought, were now, most lucklessly for themselves, encouraged to extend their views and to make the unfortunate Elizabeth Barton of use in opposing the progress of the reformed doctrine, and against Henry's divorce from Catherine. Henceforth the ravings of the maid of Kent were directed against heresy, with an occasional prophecy of evil to the king on account of the divorce; and the nonsense thus uttered was not only repeated in various parts of the kingdom by monks and friars who, most probably, were in concert with Masters and Bocking, but were even collected into a book by a friar named Deering. The very industry with which the original inventors of this grossly impudent imposture caused it to be noised abroad compelled the king to notice it. The maid of Kent, with her priestly abettors and several others, were arrested, and without being subjected to torture made full confession of their imposture, and were executed. From circumstances which were discovered during the investigation of this most impudent cheat, it but too clearly appeared that the so called holy maid of Kent was a woman of most lewd life, and that imposture was by no means the only sin in which Masters and Bocking had been her accomplices.

A.D. 1535.—The discoveries of gross immorality and elaborate cheating which were made during the investigation of the affair of the maid of Kent seems to have been, if not the very first, at all events the most influential of the king's motives to his subsequent sweeping and cruel suppression of the monasteries. Having on this occasion suppressed three belonging to the Observantine friars, the very little sensation their loss seemed to cause among the common people very naturally led him to extend his views still farther in a course so productive of pecuniary profit.

But at present he required some farther satisfaction of a more terrible nature for the wrong and insult that had lately been done to him. Fisher, bishop of Rochester, in common with sir Thomas More, had been, as we already mentioned, committed to prison for objecting to take the oath of succession as settled by the arbitrary king and the no less obsequious parliament. Unhappily for the prelate, though a good and even a learned man, he was very credulous, and he had been among the believers and, to a certain extent, among the supporters of the impudent Elizabeth Barton. Still more unhappily for the aged prelate, while he already lay so deeply in the king's displeasure, and after he had for a whole year been confined with such severity that he was often in want of common necessaries, the pope created him a cardinal. This decided the fate of the unfortunate prelate, who was shortly afterwards tried under the act of supremacy and beheaded.

The death of Fisher was almost instantly followed by that of the learned, though, as we have seen bigoted and sometimes cruel, sir Thomas More. His objections to taking the new oath of succession seem to have been perfectly sincere and were perfectly insuperable. We learn from himself that it was intimated to him by Cromwell, now in high favour, that unless he could show his reasons for his determined refusal, it would most probably be set down to the account of obstinacy. His own version of the dialogue between himself and Cromwell is so curious that we extract the following from it.

MORE said (in reply to the above argument of Cromwell), 'It is no obstinacy, but only the fear of giving offence. Let me have sufficient warrant from the king that he will not be offended and I will give my reasons.'

CROMWELL.—'The king's warrant would not save you from the penalties enacted by the statute.'

MORE.—'In that case I will trust to his majesty's honour; but yet it thinketh me, that if I cannot declare the causes without peril, then to leave them undeclared is no obstinacy.'

CROMWELL.—'You say that you do not blame any man for taking the oath, it is then evident that you are not convinced that it is blameable to take it; but you must be convinced that it is your duty to obey the king. In refusing, therefore, to take it, you prefer that which is uncertain to that which is certain.'

MORE.—'I do not blame men for taking the oath, because I know not their reasons and motives; but I should blame myself, because I know that I should act against my conscience. And truly such reasoning would ease us of all perplexity. Whenever doctors disagree we have only to obtain the king's commandment for either side of the question and we must be right.'

ABBOT OF WESTMINSTER.—'But you ought to think your own conscience erroneous when you have the whole council of the nation against you.'

MORE.—'And so I should, had I not for me a still greater council, the whole council of Christendom.'

More's talents and character made him too potent an opponent of the king's arbitrary will to allow of his being spared. To condemn him was not difficult; the king willed his condemnation, and he was condemned accordingly. If in his day of power More, unfortunately, showed that he knew how to inflict evil, so now in his fall he showed the far nobler power of bearing it. In his happier days he had been noted for a certain jocular phraseology, and this did not desert him even in the last dreadful scene of all. Being somewhat infirm, he craved the assistance of a bystander as he mounted the scaffold; saying, 'Friend, help me up, when I come down again you may e'en let me shift for myself.' When the ceremonies were at an end the executioner in the customary terms begged his forgiveness

'I forgive you,' he replied, 'but you will surely get no credit by the job of beheading me, my neck is so short.' Even as he laid his head upon the block he said, putting aside his long beard he wore, 'Do not hurt my beard, that at least has committed no treason.' These words uttered, the executioner proceeded with his revolting task, and sir Thomas More perished in the fifty-third year of his age.

A.D. 1536.—While the court of Rome was exerting itself to the utmost to show its deep sense of the indignation it felt at the execution of two such men as Fisher and More, an event took place in England which, in Christian charity, we are bound to believe gave a severe shock even to the hard heart of Henry. Though the divorced Catherine had resolutely persisted in being treated as a queen by all who approached her, she had borne her deep wrongs with so dignified a patience that she was the more deeply sympathised with. But the stern effort with which she bore her wrongs was too much for her already broken constitution. Perceiving that her days on earth were numbered, she besought Henry that she might once more look upon her child, the princess Mary; to the disgrace of our common nature, even this request was sternly denied. She then wrote him a letter, so affecting, that even he shed tears over it, in which she, gentle and submissive to the last in all save the one great point of her wrongs, called him her 'most dear lord, king, and husband,' besought his affection for their child, and recommended her servants to his goodness. Her letter so moved him that he sent her a kind message, but ere the bearer of it could arrive she was released from her suffering and wronged life. Henry caused his servants to go into deep mourning on the day of her funeral, which was celebrated with great pomp at Peterborough cathedral.

Whatever pity we may feel for the subsequent sufferings of queen Anne Boleyn, it is impossible to withhold our disgust from her conduct on this occasion. Though the very menials of her husband wore at least the outward show of sorrow for the departed Catherine, Anne Boleyn on that day dressed herself more showily than usual, and expressed a perfectly savage exultation that now she might consider herself a queen indeed, as her rival was dead.

Her exultation was as short-lived as it was unwomanly. In the very midst of her joy she saw Henry paying very unequivocal court to one of her ladies, by name Jane Seymour, and she was so much enraged and astonished that being far advanced in pregnancy, she was prematurely delivered of a still-born prince. Henry, notoriously anxious for legitimate male issue, was brutal enough to reproach her with this occurrence, when she spiritedly replied, that he had only himself to blame, the mischief being entirely caused by his conduct with her maid.

This answer completed the king's anger, and that feeling, with his new passion for Jane Seymour, caused ruin to Anne Boleyn even ere she had ceased to exult over the departed Catherine.

Her levity of manner had already enabled her foes to poison the ready ear of the king, and his open anger necessarily caused those foes to be still more busy and precise in their whisperings. Being present at a tilting match, she, whether by accident or design, let fall her handkerchief exactly at the feet of sir Henry Norris and her brother lord Rochford, who at that moment were the combatants. At any other time it is likely that Henry would have let so trivial an accident pass unnoticed. But his jealousy was already aroused, his love, such as it was, had already burnt out, and above all, he had already cast his eyes on Jane Seymour, and was glad of any excuse, good or bad, upon which to rid himself of Anne. Sir Henry Norris, who was a reputed favourite of the queen, not only raised the handkerchief from the ground, but used it to wipe his face, being heated with the sport. The king's dark looks lowered upon all present, and he instantly withdrew in one of those moods in which few cared to meet him and none dared to oppose his will. On the next morning lord Rochford and sir Henry Norris were arrested and thrown into the Tower, and Anne herself, while on her way from Greenwich to London, was met by Cromwell and the duke of Norfolk, and by them informed that she was accused of infidelity to the king; and she, too, was taken to the Tower, as, charged with being her accomplices, were Brereton, Weston, and Smeaton, three gentlemen of the court.

Well knowing the danger she was in when once charged with such an offence against such a husband, she instantly became hysterical; now declaring her innocence with the bitterest tears, and anon relying upon the impossibility of any one proving her guilty. 'If any man accuse me,' said she to the lieutenant of the Tower, 'I can but say nay, and they can bring no witnesses.'

Anne now had to experience some of that heartless indifference which she had so needlessly and disgracefully exhibited in the case of the unfortunate and blameless Catherine. At the head of the commission of twenty-six peers who were appointed to try her, on the revolting charge of gross infidelity with no fewer than five men, including her own half-brother, this unfortunate lady had the misery to see her own uncle, the duke of Norfolk, and to see, too, that in him she had a judge who was far enough from being prejudiced in her favour. She was, as a matter of course, found guilty and sentenced to death, the mode of fire or by the axe being left to the king's pleasure.

We have seen that Anne had in her prosperity been favourable to the reformed; and as Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, was well known to have great influence over Henry, the unhappy Anne probably hoped that he would now exert it, at the least, to save her life. If she entertained such hope, she was most bitterly disappointed. Henry, who seems to have feared some such humanity on the part of Cran-

mer, sent to him to pronounce sentence *against* — as formerly he had pronounced it *for* — the original validity of Anne's marriage with Henry. Cranmer, learned and pious, wanted only moral courage to have been a thoroughly great and good man; but of moral courage he seems, saving the closing act of his life, to have been thoroughly destitute. Upon whatever proofs the king chose to furnish for his guidance, he, after a mere mockery of trial, and with a mockery of solemnity and sincerity which was actually impious, pronounced the desired sentence; and thus declared against the legitimacy of the princess Elizabeth, as he had already done in the case of the princess Mary.

Anne was not allowed to suffer long suspense after her iniquitous condemnation; iniquitous even if she really was guilty, inasmuch as her trial was a mere mockery. She was kept for two days in the Tower, where, with a better spirit than she had formerly shown, she besought the forgiveness of the princess Mary for the numerous injuries she had done her through her deceased mother; and was then publicly beheaded on the Tower Green, the executioner severing her head at one stroke.

Of Henry's feelings on the occasion it is unnecessary to say more than that he put on no mourning for the deceased Anne, but on the very morning after her execution was married to Jane Seymour.

A new parliament was now called to pass a new act of succession, by which the crown was settled on such children as he might have by his present queen, Jane Seymour; and failing such, the disposal of the crown was left to Henry's last will signed by his own hand. It was thought from this last-named clause that Henry, fearing to leave no legitimate male successor, wished in that case to have the power of leaving the crown to his illegitimate son young Fitzroy, who, however, to Henry's great sorrow, died shortly afterwards.

Henry seems to have been much grieved by the death of Fitzroy, but he was prevented from long indulging in that grief by a very formidable insurrection which broke out in the October of this year. The apathy with which the people had witnessed the dissolution and forfeiture of three monasteries on occasion of the detection of the fraud of Elizabeth Barton, had naturally encouraged Henry to look forward to that sort of summary justice as a sure and abundant source of revenue. So extended was his influence that he had even found members of convocation to propose the surrender of the *lesser* monasteries into his hands. It was probably one of the chief causes of his determined enmity to his old tutor and counsellor, Fisher, bishop of Rochester, that that excellent prelate made a very pithy, though quaint opposition to this proposal, on the ground that it would infallibly throw the greater monasteries also into the king's hands. Subsequently to the affair of *the maid of Kent*, the king and his minister Cromwell had proceeded to great lengths in dissolving the lesser monasteries, and confiscating their property. The residents, the poor who had been accustomed to receive doles of food at the gates of these houses, and the nobility and gentry by whom the monasteries had been founded and endowed, were all greatly offended by the sweeping and arbitrary measures of the blacksmith's son, as they termed Cromwell; and the retrenchment of several holidays, with the abolition of several superstitious practices which had been very gainful to the clergy, at length caused an open manifestation of discontent in Lincolnshire. Twenty thousand men, headed by prior Mackrel, of Barlings, rose in arms to demand the putting down of 'persons meanly born and raised to dignity,' evidently aiming at Cromwell, and the redress of divers grievances under which they stated the church to be labouring. Henry sent the duke of Suffolk against this tumultuous multitude, and by a judicious mixture of force and fair words the leaders were taken, and forthwith executed, and the multitude, of course, dispersed.

But in the counties farther north than Lincolnshire the discontents were equally great, and were the more dangerous because greater distance from the chief seat of the king's power rendered the revolted bolder. Under a gentleman named Aske, aided by some of the better sort of those who had been fortunate enough to escape the breaking up of the Lincolnshire confederacy, upwards of forty thousand men assembled from the counties of York, Durham, and Lancaster, for what they called *the pilgrimage of grace*. For their banner they had an embroidery of a crucifix, a chalice, and the five wounds of the Saviour, and each man who ranged himself under this banner was required to swear that he had 'entered into the pilgrimage of grace from no other motive than his love to God, care of the king's person and issue, desire of purifying the nobility, of driving base persons from about the king, of restoring the church, and of suppressing heresy.'

But the absence of all other motive may, in the case of not a few of these revolters, be very reasonably doubted, when with the oath taken by each recruit who joined the disorderly ranks we take into comparison the style of circular by which recruits were invited, which ran thus:—'We command you and every of you to be at (here the particular place was named) on Saturday next by eleven of the clock, in your best array, *as you will answer before the high judge at the great day of doom*, and in the pain of pulling down your houses and the losing of your goods, and your bodies to be at the captain's will.'

Confident in their numbers, the concealed, but real leaders of the enterprise caused Aske to send delegates to the king to lay their demands before him. The king's written answer bears several marks of the annoyance he felt that a body of low peasants should venture to trench upon subjects upon which he flattered himself that he was not unequal to the most learned clerks. He told them that he greatly marvelled how such *ignorant churls should speak of theological subjects to him who*

something had been noted to be learned, or oppose the suppression of monasteries, as if it were not better to relieve the head of the church in his necessity, than to support the sloth and wickedness of monks.' As it was very requisite, however, to break up, as peaceably as possible, an assemblage which its mere numbers would render it somewhat difficult as well as dangerous to disperse by main force, Henry at the same time promised that he would remedy such of their grievances as might seem to need remedy. This promise being unfulfilled, the same counties in the following year (1537) again assembled their armed masses. The duke of Norfolk, as commander-in-chief of the king's forces, posted himself so advantageously that when the insurgents endeavoured to surprise Hull and, subsequently, Carlisle, he was able to beat them easily. Nearly all the leading men were taken prisoners and sent to London, where they were shortly afterwards executed as traitors. With the common sort, of whom vast numbers were taken prisoners, there was less ceremony used; they were hanged up 'by scores,' says Lingard, in all the principal towns of the chief scene of revolt. When by this wholesale shedding of human blood the king had at length appeased his wrath and that appetite for cruelty which every year grew more and more fierce, the proclamation of a general pardon restored peace to the nation.

The chief plea for the late insurrection had been the suppression of the lesser monasteries. That Henry had from the very first, according to the shrewd prophecy of Fisher, bishop of Rochester, intended to go from the lesser up to the greater, there is no doubt; and the part which the monasteries had taken in encouraging the pilgrimage of grace, only made him the more determined in that course. The ever-obsequious parliament showed the same willingness to pass an act for the suppression of the remaining and greater monasteries that had so often been shown in far less creditable affairs; and of twenty-eight mitred abbots,—exclusive of the priors of St. John of Jerusalem and Coventry—who had seats in the house of lords, not one dared to raise his voice against a measure which must have been so distasteful to them all.

Commissioners were appointed to visit the monasteries. That there were great disorders in many of them, that the burthen they inflicted upon the capital and the industry of the country far outweighed the good done to the poor of the country—a class, be it remembered, which the monastic doles had a most evil tendency to increase—and that they ought to have been suppressed, no reasonable man, in the present state of political science, will venture to deny. It may be, nay it is, but too certain, that the innocent and the guilty in some cases were confounded; that numbers of people were thrown out of employment, and that with a vast amount of good some evil was done; that Henry even in doing good could not refrain from a tyrannous strain of conduct: and that much of the property thus wrested from superstition was lavished upon needy or upon profligate courtiers, instead of being, as it ought to have been, made a permanent national property in aid of the religious and civil expenses of the nation. But after admitting all this, it is quite certain that, however prompted or however enacted, this suppression of the monasteries by Henry VIII. was the most important measure since the Norman conquest, and was the measure which gave the first impulse to England in that march of resolute industry which has long since left her without a rival upon the earth, whether in wealth or in power.

While, however, we for the sake of argument admit that Henry was arbitrary in his conduct towards the monasteries, and that his commissioners were infinitely less anxious for truth than for finding out or inventing causes of confiscation, we are not the less bound to assert that, even for the single sin of imposture, the monasteries required the full weight of the iron hand of Henry. Of the gross frauds which were committed for the purpose of attracting the attention and the money of the credulous to particular monasteries, our space will only allow of our mentioning two, which, indeed, will sufficiently speak for the rest.

At Boxley, near Maidstone, in Kent, there was kept a crucifix called the *rood of grace*, the lips, eyes, and head of which were seen to move when the pilgrim approached it with such gifts as were satisfactory; at the desire of Hilsey, bishop of Rochester, this miraculous crucifix was taken to London and publicly pulled to pieces at Paul's Cross, when it was made clear that the image was filled with wheels and springs by which the so-called *miraculous* motions were regulated by the officiating priests, literally as the temper of their *customers* required.

How serious a tax the pretended miraculous images and genuine relics levied upon the people of the whole kingdom, we may judge from the fact, that of upwards of six hundred monasteries and two thousand chantries and chapels which Henry at various times demolished, comparatively few were wholly free from this worst of impostures, while the sums received by some of them individually may be called enormous. For instance, the pilgrims to the tomb of St. Thomas à Becket paid upwards of nine hundred pounds in one year—or something very like three thousand pounds of our present money! The knowledge of such a disgraceful fact as this would of itself have justified Henry in adopting moderately strong measures to put an end to the 'Pilgrimage to Canterbury.' But moderation was not Henry's characteristic, and Becket was a saint especially hateful to him as having fought the battle of the triple crown of Rome against the king of England. Not content, therefore, with taking the proper measures of mere policy that were required to put an end to a sort of plunder so disgraceful, Henry ordered the saint who had reposed for centuries in

the tomb to be formally cited to appear in court to answer to an information laid against him by the king's attorney! 'It had been suggested,' says Dr. Lingard, 'that as long as the name of St. Thomas of Canterbury should remain in the calendar men would be stimulated by his example to brave the ecclesiastical authority of their sovereign. The king's attorney was therefore instructed to exhibit an information against him, and Thomas à Becket, sometime archbishop of Canterbury, was formally cited to appear in court and answer to the charge. The interval of thirty days allowed by the canon law was suffered to elapse, and still the saint neglected to quit the tomb in which he had reposed for two centuries and a half, and judgement would have been given against him by default, had not the king of his special grace assigned him counsel. The court sat at Westminster, the attorney-general and the advocate of the accused were heard, and sentence was finally pronounced that Thomas, sometime archbishop of Canterbury, had been guilty of rebellion, contumacy, and treason, that his bones should be publicly burned to admonish the living of their duty by the punishment of the dead, and that the offerings which had been made at his shrine, the personal property of the reputed saint, should be forfeited to the crown. A commission was accordingly issued, the sentence was executed in due form, and the gold, silver and jewels, the spoils obtained by the demolition of the shrine, were conveyed in *two ponderous coffers*, to the royal treasury. The people were soon afterwards informed by a royal proclamation that Thomas à Becket was no saint, but rather a rebel and a traitor, and it was ordered to erase his name out of all books, under pain of his majesty's indignation, and imprisonment at his grace's pleasure.'

We have selected Lingard's account of this matter because that historian has a very evident leaning to the catholic side of every question of English history, and yet he, unconsciously perhaps, in the words of the above passage which we have printed in italics, goes far towards justifying Henry's measures against the monkish superstitions and impostures, no matter what his motives may have been.

Cardinal Pole, a near kinsman of Henry, and eminent alike for talents and virtue, had long resided on the continent, and to his powerful and elegant pen Henry attributed many of the forcible, eloquent—and sometimes, we may add, scurrilous—declamations which the papists of Italy continually sent forth against him whom the popedom had once hailed and flattered as the defender of the faith, but whom it now denounced as another Julian alike in talents and in apostacy. Henry, unable to decoy the astute cardinal into his power, arrested and put to death first the brothers and then the mother of that eminent person, the venerable countess of Salisbury. Real charge against this lady, then upwards of seventy years of age, there was none; but the ever-obsequious parliament passed an act attainting her in the absence of any trial or confession. After two years of rigorous confinement in the Tower of London the countess was brought out for execution; and as she refused to lay her head upon the block, the executioner's assistant had to place her and keep her there by main force, and even as the axe descended on her neck she cried out, 'Blessed are they who suffer persecution for righteousness sake.'

At the dictation of Henry the parliament now passed a bill which declared 'That in the eucharist is really present the natural body of Christ under the forms and without the substance of bread and wine; that communion in both kinds is not necessary to the soul's health; that priests may not marry by the laws of God; that vows of chastity are to be observed; that private masses ought to be retained; and that the use of auricular confession is expedient and necessary.' Heavy penalties were denounced on any who should act contrary to the above articles; and Cranmer, who had for many years been married, could only save himself from the effects of this act—to the passing of which he had made a stout but ineffectual opposition—by sending his wife, with their numerous children, to Germany, of which country she was a native.

The frequent changes which had, during a quarter of a century, taken place in the theological opinions of the king himself, did not by any means inspire him with any merciful feeling towards those who chanced to differ from his temporary opinion; he had thrown off the clerical pope of Rome only to set up quite as 'infallible' a pope in the person of the king of England. A London schoolmaster, named Lambert, was unfortunate enough to contradict a sermon of Dr. Taylor, afterwards bishop of Lincoln, in which sermon the doctor had defended the prevalent catholic doctrine of the 'real presence.' Lambert had already been imprisoned for his unsound opinions, but having learned nothing by the peril he had so narrowly escaped, he now drew up formal objections under ten heads. These objections he made known to Dr. Barnes, who was a Lutheran, and who consequently was as obnoxious to the existing law as Lambert, whom he caused to be cited before Cranmer and Latimer. They, however much they might agree with him in their hearts, did not dare publicly to oppose themselves to the standard of opinion which the arbitrary Henry had set up under the protection of shocking penalties, but they took a middle course, and endeavoured to prevail upon Lambert to save his life by a timely recantation; but he appealed from their judgement to that of the king himself. Henry, ever well pleased to exercise his controversial powers, caused it to be made as public as possible that he would in person try the soundness of master Lambert's opinions. Westminster hall was fitted up for the occasion with scaffoldings and seats for such as chose to be present, and the king took his seat upon the throne, clad in white silk robes, and surrounded by the

bishops, the judges, and the chief officers of state. Lambert's articles being read, the king in a set speech replied to the first; Cranmer, Gardiner, and others following in refutation of other articles, and at the conclusion of arguments which lasted five hours, and in which the king was as grossly flattered as the poor vain schoolmaster was unfairly brow-beaten, Henry asked the poor man whether the arguments had cleared his mind of doubts, to which question he added the no less interesting one, 'Will you live or die?' Lambert, unconvinced by all that he had heard, noticed only the last part of the king's speech, and replied, that for his life he would hold it at his majesty's gracious mercy; to which Henry ungraciously, not to say brutally, assured him, that he was not minded to show himself the patron of heretics, and Cromwell was ordered to pass sentence of death on the prisoner, whose chief offence seems to have been his folly in craving the notice of the king by a most gratuitous and utterly useless display of opinions which no earthly power could have prevented him from enjoying in safety, had he consented to do so in secrecy. The unfortunate man was burned to death, and as he was supposed to be personally obnoxious to Henry from having ventured publicly to dispute with him, the brutal executioners purposely made the fire so slow that his legs and thighs were gradually consumed before the flames even approached any vital part. The long tortures to which this poor man was subjected at length so greatly disgusted some of the guards, that with their halberts they threw him farther into the flames, and he there perished, exclaiming with his last breath, 'None but Christ, none but Christ!' Many other cruel executions took place about this time.

In August, 1537, Henry's third queen, the lady Jane Seymour, gave birth to a prince, to the great delight of the king, whose joy, however, was much diminished, when, in a few days, this best beloved and most amiable of all his wives died. He soon after commenced negotiations for a new marriage, but being disappointed in his views on the duchess dowager of Longueville, and being then refused by Francis permission to choose between the two sisters of that lady precisely as he would have chosen sheep or oxen, he was persuaded by Cromwell to demand the hand of Anne of Cleves, sister of the reigning duke. Her portrait, of course a flattering one, from the pencil of the celebrated Hans Holbein, caused Henry to fancy himself very much enamoured of her, and when he learned that she had landed at Dover, he actually rode as far as Rochester in disguise, that he might, unseen, or at least unknown, have a glance at her to, in his own phrase, 'nourish his love.' This glance, however, 'nursed' a very different feeling. The difference between the delicate limning of Hans Holbein, and the especially vast person and coarse complexion of the lady, so disgusted and surprised Henry, that he passionately swore that they had chosen him not a woman and a princess, but a Flanders mare; and he would have fain sent her back without a word said to her, but that he was afraid of offending the German princes connected with her brother, and thus raising against himself a too powerful coalition. Detesting the very sight of Anne, and yet feeling obliged to marry her, the king was not long ere he made the full weight of his indignation fall upon the head of Cromwell. That too servilely obedient minister now had to feel in person the very same injustice which, at his instigation, the detestably sycophantic parliament had so recently inflicted upon the venerable countess of Salisbury. He was accused of high treason, denied a public trial, and a bill of attainder passed through both houses, without even one of the many whom he had befriended having the generous courage to show that gratitude to him which he, under similar circumstances, had shown to cardinal Wolsey. Having got judgement passed against Cromwell, Henry now turned his attention to obtaining a divorce from Anne of Cleves. Even he could scarcely make it a capital offence to have coarse features and an awkward figure; moreover, the influence of Anne's brother was such as to make it unsafe for Henry to proceed to anything like violent steps against her. Fortunately, however, for the comfort of both parties, if he viewed her with disgust, she viewed him with the most entire indifference; and she readily consented to be divorced on Henry giving her three thousand pounds per annum, the royal palace of Richmond for a residence, and such precedence at court as she would have enjoyed had she been his sister instead of being his divorced wife.

Six days after the passing of the bill of attainder against Cromwell, that minister was executed, no one seeming to feel sorrow for him; the poor hating him for the share he had taken in the suppression of the monasteries, and the rich detesting him for having risen from a mere peasant birth to rank so high and power so great.

As if to show that he really cared less for either protestantism or popery than he did for his own will and pleasure, the king ordered just now the execution of Powel, Abel, and Featherstone, catholics who ventured to deny the king's supremacy, and of Barnes, Garret, and Jerome, for the opposite offence of being more protestant than it pleased the king that they should be! And to render this impartiality in despotism the more awfully impressive, the protestant and catholic offenders were drawn to the stake in Smithfield on the same hurdle!

A. D. 1541.—Though the king had now been married four times, and, certainly, with no such happiness as would have made marriage seem so very desirable, the divorce from Anne of Cleves was scarcely accomplished ere his council memorialised him to take another wife, and he complied by espousing the niece of the duke of Norfolk. This lady, by name Catherine Howard, was said to have won the heart of the king 'by her notable appearance of honour, cleanliness, and maidenly behaviour,' and so well was the king at first satisfied with

thin his fifth wife, that he not only behaved to her with remarkable tenderness and respect, but even caused the bishop of London to compose a form of thanksgiving for the felicity his majesty enjoyed. But the new queen, being a catholic, had many enemies among the reformers; and intelligence was soon brought to Cranmer of such conduct on the part of Catherine before marriage as he dared not conceal from the king, though it was by no means a safe thing to speak upon so delicate a matter. In fact, so much did Cranmer dread the violent temper of the king, that he committed the painful intelligence to writing. Henry was at first perfectly incredulous as to the guilt of a woman whose manners and appearance had so greatly imposed upon him. He ordered her arrest, and while in durance she was visited by a deputation from Henry, and exhorted to speak the truth, in the assurance that her husband would rejoice at her innocence, and that the laws were both just and strong enough to protect her. As she hesitated to answer, a bill of attainder was passed against her, and then she confessed that her past life had been debauched, to an extent which cannot with decency be particularised. It must suffice to say, that the revolting and gross shamelessness of her conduct before marriage as deposed by others, and in general terms confessed by herself, renders it scarcely possible for any one acquainted with human nature, and the laws of evidence, to place the slightest reliance upon her assertions of the innocence of her post-nuptial conduct; though, as she belonged to the catholic party, the historians of that party have taken some pains to justify her.

A. D. 1542.—Having put the shameless wanton to death, by the tyrannous mode of attainder, together with her paramours and her confidante, that unprincipled lady Rochfort, who had taken so principal a part in the death of Anne Boleyn, Henry caused a law to be passed, that any woman who should marry him, or any of his successors, should, if incontinent before marriage, reveal that disgrace on pain of death; on the passing of which law the people jocosely remarked that the king's best plan would be to take a widow for his next wife.

Henry now employed some time in mitigating the severe six articles so far as regarded the marriage of priests; but he made, at the same time, considerable inroads upon the property of both the regular and secular clergy. Still bent on upholding and exerting his supremacy, he also encouraged appeals from the spiritual to the civil courts, of which Hume as pithily as justly says that it was 'a happy innovation; though at first invented for arbitrary purposes.' He now also issued a small volume entitled 'The Institution of a Christian Man,' in which, in his usual arbitrary style, and without the least apparent consciousness of the inconsistent veering he had displayed on theological subjects, he prescribed to his people how they should think and believe upon the delicate matters of justification, free-will, good works, and grace, with as much coolness as though his ordinances had concerned merely the fashion of a jerkin, or the length of a cross-bow bolt. Having made some very inefficient alterations in the mass-book, Henry presently sent forth another little volume, called the 'Erudition of a Christian Man.' In this he flatly contradicted the 'Institution of a Christian Man,' and that, too, upon matters of by no means secondary importance; but he just as peremptorily and self-complacently called upon his subjects to follow him now as he had when just before he pointed a directly opposite path!

The successful rivalship of his nephew, James of Scotland, in the affections of Marie, dowager duchess of Longueville, gave deep offence to Henry, which was still farther irritated into hatred by James's adhesion to the ancient faith, and his close correspondence with the pope, the emperor Charles, and Francis, of which Henry was perfectly well informed by the assiduity of his ambassador, sir Ralph Sadler. These personal feelings, fully as much as any political considerations, caused Henry to commence a war which almost at the outset caused James to die of over-excited anxiety; but of this war we shall hereafter have to speak.

The king in his sixth marriage made good the jesting prophecy of the people by taking to wife Catherine Parr, widow of Neville, lord Latimer. She was a friend to the reformed, but a woman of too much prudence to peril herself injudiciously. He treated her with great respect, and in 1544, when he led a large and expensive expedition, with considerably more *éclat* than advantage, he left her regent during his absence from England. Subsequently, however, the queen, in spite of her prudence, was more than once in imminent danger. Anne Askew, a lady whom she had openly and greatly favoured, imprudently provoked the king by opposition upon the capital point of the real presence, and chancellor Wriottesley, who had to interrogate the unhappy lady, being a bigoted catholic, it was greatly feared that his extreme severity might induce her to confess how far Catherine and the chief court ladies were implicated in her obnoxious opinions. Young, lovely, and delicate, the poor girl was laid upon the rack and questioned, but torture itself failed to extort an answer to the questions by which the chancellor endeavoured to come at the queen. So enraged was that most brutal officer, that he ordered the lieutenant of the Tower to stretch the rack still farther, and on his refusing to do so, '*laid his own hand to the rack and drew it so violently that he almost tore her body asunder.*' This diabolical cruelty served no other purpose than to make his own name infamous while the annals of England shall remain. The heroic girl bore her horrible torture with unflinching fortitude, and was carried to the stake in a chair, her body being so maimed and dislocated that she could not walk. She suffered at the same time with John Lascelles, of the king's

household, John Adams, a tailor, and Nicholas Bleunn, a priest.

Subsequently the queen was again much endangered. Though she had never pretended to interfere with his conduct, she would occasionally argue with him in private. He had by this time become fearfully bloated, and an ulcer in his leg caused him so much agony that 'he was as furious as a chained tiger.' His natural vehemence and intolerance of opposition were consequently much increased under such circumstances; and Catherine's arguments at length so offended him, that he complained of her conduct to Gardiner and Wriottesley. They, bigoted friends to the catholic party, were proportionally inimical to Catherine as a friend of the reformed; and they encouraged his ill temper, and so dexterously argued upon the peculiar necessity of putting down heresy in the high places, that he actually gave orders for her being sent to the Tower on the following day. She was fortunate enough to get information of what was in store for her, and her cool temper and shrewd woman's wit sufficed to save her from her enemies. She well knew that as lust had been the crime of Henry's manhood, so vanity—that vanity which cannot endure even the pettiest opposition—was the great spring of all his actions now that his eye was growing dim and his natural force abated. She paid him her usual visit that day, and when he tried to draw her into their common course of argument, she said that arguments in divinity were not proper for women; that women should follow the principles of their husbands, as she made a point of following his; and that though, in the belief that it something alleviated his physical sufferings, she sometimes pretended to oppose him, she never did so until she had exhausted all her poor means of otherwise amusing him. The bait to his inordinate vanity was easily taken. 'Is it so, sweetheart?' he exclaimed, 'then we are perfect friends again,' and he embraced her affectionately. On the following day the chancellor and his far more respectable myrmidons the pursuivants went to apprehend the queen, when the sanguinary man was sent away with a volley of downright abuse, such as Henry could bestow as well as the meanest of his subjects when once his temper was fairly aroused.

A.D. 1547.—In almost all Henry's persecutions of persons of any eminence, careful observation will generally serve to discover something of that personal ill-feeling which in a man of lower rank would be called personal spite. Thus the duke of Norfolk and his son, the earl of Surrey, were now arrested and charged with various overt acts which caused them—as the charges ran—to be *suspected* of high treason. Their real, their only real crime was their relationship to Catherine Howard, his fifth queen. The very frivolous nature of the charges proves that this was the case, but the despicably servile parliament, as usual, attended only to the king's wishes, and both Norfolk and his son were condemned. The proceedings in the case of the latter, from his being a commoner, were more speedy than that of his father, and the gallant young Surrey was executed. Orders were also given for the execution of Norfolk on the morning of January 29, 1547; but on the night of the 28th the furious king himself died, in the thirty-seventh year of his arbitrary reign and in the fifty-sixth of his age; and the council of the infant prince Edward VI. wisely respited the duke's sentence, from which he was released at the accession of queen Mary.

That the character of Henry was *per se* bad, few can doubt who have read his reign attentively, but neither will any just man deny, that he, so gay and generous, so frank and so great a lover of literature in youth, owed not a little of his subsequent wickedness to the horribly servile adulation of the great, and to the dastardly submission of the parliament. What could be expected from a man, naturally vain, to whom the able Cromwell could say that 'he was unable, and he believed all men were unable, to describe the unutterable qualities of the royal mind, the sublime virtues of the royal heart;' to whom Rich could say, that 'in wisdom he was equal to Solomon, in strength and courage to Samson, in beauty and address to Absalom;' and what could be expected from a man, naturally violent and contemptuous of human life, who found both houses of parliament vile enough to slay whomsoever he pleased to denounce? An arbitrary reign was that of Henry, but it wrought as much for the permanent, religious, and moral good of the nation, as the storms and tempests, beneath which we cower while they last, work for the physical atmosphere.

CHAPTER XLII.

The Reign of EDWARD VI.

A.D. 1547.—HENRY'S will fixed the majority of his son and successor, Edward VI., at the age of eighteen. The young prince at the time of his father's death was but a few months more than nine, and the government was during his minority vested in sixteen executors, viz. Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury; lord Wriottesley, chancellor; lord St. John, great master; lord Russell, privy seal; the earl of Hertford, chamberlain; viscount Lisle, admiral; Tonstal, bishop of Durham; sir Anthony Browne, master of the horse; sir William Paget, secretary of state; sir Edward North, chancellor of the court of augmentations; sir Edward Montague, chief justice of the common pleas; judge Bromley, sir Anthony Denny, and sir William Herbert, chief gentlemen of the privy chamber; sir Edward Wotton, treasurer of Calais; and Dr. Wotton, dean of Canterbury.

Not only did Henry VIII. name these councillors, some of whom were in station at least, far below so important a trust, but he laid down a course of conduct for them with a degree of minuteness, which shows that to the very close of his career his unbounded vanity maintained its old ascendancy over his naturally shrewd judgement, and that he expected that his political and

religious supremacy would be respected even when the earth-worms and the damps of the charnel should be busy with his inanimate body. The very first meeting of the councillors showed the fallacy of the late king's anticipations. He evidently intended that the co-ordinate distribution of the state authority should render it impracticable for the ambition of any one great subject to trouble or endanger the succession of the young Edward; and this very precaution was done away with by the first act of the councillors, who agreed that it was necessary that some one minister should have prominent and separate authority, under the title of protector, to sign all orders and proclamations, and to communicate with foreign powers. In a word, they determined to place one of their number in precisely that tempting propinquity to the throne, to guard against which had been a main object of Henry's care and study. The earl of Hertford, maternal uncle to the king, seemed best entitled to this high office, and he was accordingly chosen, in spite of the opposition of chancellor Wriottesley, who from his talents and experience had anticipated that he himself, in reality though not formally, would occupy this very position.

Having made this most important and plainly unauthorised alteration in Henry's arrangement, the council now gave orders for the interment of the deceased monarch. The body lay in state in the chapel of Whitehall, which was hung with fine black cloth. Eighty large black tapers were kept constantly burning; twelve lords sat round within a rail as mourners; and every day masses and dirges were performed. At the commencement of each service Norroy, king at arms, cried in a loud voice, 'Of your charity pray for the soul of the high and mighty prince our late sovereign lord Henry the Eighth.' On the 14th of February the body was removed to Sion house, and thence to Windsor on the following day, and on the 16th it was interred near that of lady Jane Seymour in a vault near the centre of the choir. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, performed the service and preached a sermon. As he scattered earth upon the coffin and pronounced, in Latin, the solemn words, 'Ashes to ashes, and dust to dust,' certain of the principal attendants broke their wands of office into three parts, above their heads, and threw the pieces upon the coffin. The solemn psalm *de profundis* was then recited, and garter king at arms, attended by the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Durham, proclaimed the style and titles of Edward VI.

The coronation next followed, but was much abridged of the usual ceremony and splendour, chiefly on account of the delicate state of the king's health. The executors of the late king, though they had so importantly departed from the express directions of the will upon some points, were very exact in following it upon others. Thus, Henry had charged them to make certain creations or promotions in the peerage; and Hertford was now made duke of Somerset, marshal and lord treasurer; his opponent the chancellor Wriottesley, earl of Southampton; the earl of Essex, marquis of Northampton; viscount Lisle, earl of Warwick; sir Thomas Seymour, lord Seymour of Sudley and admiral of England; and sirs Richard Rich, William Willoughby, and Edmund Sheffield, barons. Somerset and some of the other peers were, at the same time, to enable them to support their dignity, gratified with deaneries, prebends, and other spiritual benefices; a most pernicious precedent, and one which has caused and enabled so much church property and influence to be placed in the hands of laymen, many of whom are avowedly and flagrantly dissenters from the doctrine of the church, and foes to her establishment.

Wriottesley, earl of Southampton, was greatly disappointed that he, instead of Somerset, had not been chosen protector; and this feeling tended greatly to exasperate the political opposition which had ever subsisted between them. Wriottesley, with a want of judgement strangely in contrast with his usual conduct, gave to Somerset an opportunity to distress and mortify him, of which that proud noble was not slow to avail himself. Desiring to give the utmost possible amount of time to public business, and as far as possible to share and check the authority of the protector, Southampton, merely upon his own authority, put the great seal into commission, empowering four lawyers to execute the office of chancellor for him; and two of the four lawyers thus named were canonists, which gave some appearance to his conduct of a desire to show disrespect to the common law. Somerset and his party eagerly caught at this indiscretion of their noble and resolute opponent, and easily obtained from the judges an opinion to the effect that Southampton's course was utterly illegal and unjustifiable, and that he had forfeited his office and even laid himself open to still farther punishment. Southampton was accordingly summoned before the council; and, though he defended himself acutely, he was condemned to lose the great seal, to pay a pecuniary fine, and to be confined to his own house during pleasure.

Having thus opportunely removed his most powerful and persevering opponent, Somerset immediately set about enlarging his own power and altering its foundation. Professing to feel a delicacy in exercising the extensive powers of protector while holding that office only under the authority of the executors of the late king's will, he obtained from the young king Edward a patent which gave him the protectorate with full regal powers, and which, though it reappointed all the councillors and executors named in Henry's will, with the sole exception of Southampton, exempted the protector from his former obligations to consult them or to be bound by their opinion.

Aided by Cranmer, the protector, in spite of the strong and able opposition of Gardiner, made considerable advances in religious reformation; yet made them with a most prudent and praiseworthy tenderness to the existing prejudices of the mass

of that generation. Thus, he appointed visitors, lay and clerical, to repress, as far as might be obvious, impostures and flagrant immoralities on the part of the catholic clergy; but he at the same time instructed those visitors to deal respectfully with such ceremonials as were yet unabolished, and with such images and shrines as were unabused to the purpose of idolatry. While thus prudent, in tenderness to the inveterate and ineradicable prejudices of the ignorant, he, with a very sound policy, took measures for weakening the mischievous effects of the preaching of the monks. Many of these men were placed in vacant churches, that so the exchequer might be relieved, *pro tanto*, of the payment of the annuities settled upon them at the suppression of religious houses. As it was found that they took advantage of their position to instil into the minds of the ignorant the worst of the old superstitions, and a fierce hatred of the reformation, Somerset now compelled them to avoid that conduct, by enjoining upon them the reading of certain homilies having precisely the opposite tendency and by strictly forbidding them to preach, unless by special indulgence, anywhere save in their own parish churches. The monks were thus strictly confined to their own parish churches, and limited in their liberty of preaching even there, while the protestant clergyman could always ensure a special licence for peripatetic preaching. The system was too obviously favourable to the reformation to pass uncensured by the principal catholic champions. Bonner at the outset gave the protector's measures open and strong opposition, but subsequently agreed to them. Gardiner, a less violent but far firmer and more consistent man, because, probably, a far more sincere man, was staunch in his opposition. He was of opinion that the reformation could not be carried any farther but with real and great danger. 'It is,' said he, 'a dangerous thing to use too much freedom in researches of this kind. If you cut the old canal, the water is apt to run farther than you have a mind to; if you indulge the humour of novelty, you cannot put a stop to people's demands, nor govern their indiscretions at pleasure. For my part, my sole concern is to manage the third and last act of my life with decency, and to make a handsome exit off the stage. Provided this point is secured, I am not solicitous about the rest. I am already by nature condemned to death: no man can give me a pardon from this sentence, nor so much as procure me a reprieve. To speak my mind, and to act as my conscience directs, are two branches of liberty which I can never part with. Sincerity in speech and integrity in action are enduring qualities; they will stick by a man when everything else takes its leave, and I must not resign them upon any consideration. The best of it is, if I do not throw these away myself, no man can force them from me; but if I give them up, then am I ruined by myself, and deserve to lose all my preferments.' Besides the obvious danger of going too far and making the people mischievously familiar with change, Gardiner charged his opponents with an unnecessary and presumptuous assumption of metaphysical exactitude upon the doctrines of grace and justification by faith, points not vitally necessary to any man, and utterly beyond the real comprehension of the multitude. The ability and the firmness with which he pressed these and other grounds of opposition so highly enraged the protector, that Gardiner was committed to the Fleet, and there treated with a severity which, his age and his talents being considered, reflected no little discredit upon the protestant party. Tonstal, bishop of Durham, who sided with Gardiner, was expelled the council, but allowed to live without farther molestation.

The active measures of Somerset for promoting the reformation in England gave force and liveliness to the antagonist parties in Scotland also. The cardinal Beaton, or Bethune, was resolute to put down even the preaching of the reformers; while these latter, on the other hand, were daily becoming more and more inflamed with a zeal for which martyrdom itself had no terrors. Among the most zealous and active of the reformed preachers was a well-born gentleman named Wishart, a man of great learning, high moral character, and a rich store of that passionate and forcible, though rude, eloquence which is so powerful over the minds of enthusiastic but uneducated men. The principal scene of his preaching was Dundee, where his eloquence had so visible and stirring an effect upon the multitude, that the magistrates, as a simple matter of civil police, felt bound to forbid him to preach within their jurisdiction. Unable to avoid retiring, Wishart, however, in doing so, solemnly invoked and prophesied a heavy and speedy calamity upon the town in which his preaching had thus been stopped. Singularly enough, he had not long been banished from Dundee when the plague burst out with great violence. *Post hoc, ergo propter hoc*, is ever the popular maxim; men loudly declared that the plague was evidently the consequence of Wishart's banishment, and that the hand of the destroying angel would never be stayed until the preacher should be recalled. Wishart was recalled accordingly; and taking advantage of the popular feelings of dismay, he so boldly and passionately advocated innovations, that cardinal Beaton caused him to be arrested and condemned to the stake as a heretic.

Arran, the governor, showing some fear and unwillingness to proceed to the extremity of burning, the cardinal carried the sentence into execution on his own authority, and even stationed himself at a window from which he could behold the dismal spectacle. This incident and cruel triumph was noted by the sufferer, who solemnly warned Beaton that ere many days he should be laid upon that very spot where then he triumphed. Agitated as the multitude were by the exhortations of their numerous preachers of the reformed doctrine, such a prophecy was not likely to fal'

unheeded from such a man under such circumstances. His followers in great numbers associated to revenge his death. Sixteen of the most courageous of them went well armed to the cardinal's palace at an early hour in the morning, and having thrust all his servants and tradesmen out, proceeded to the cardinal's apartment. For a short time the fastenings defied their power, but a cry arising to bring fire to their aid, the unfortunate old man opened the door to them, entreating to spare his life and reminding them of his priesthood. The foremost of his assailants, James Melville, called to the others to execute with becoming gravity and deliberation a work which was only to be looked upon as the judgement of God.

'Repent thee,' said this sanguinary enthusiast,' repent thee, thou wicked cardinal, of all thy sins and iniquities, especially of the murder of Wishart, that instrument of God for the conversion of these lands. It is his death which now cries vengeance upon thee; we are sent by God to inflict the deserved punishment. For here, before the Almighty, I protest that it is neither hatred of thy person, nor love of thy riches, nor fear of thy power, which moves me to seek thy death, but only because thou hast been and still remainest an obstinate enemy to Christ Jesus and his holy gospel.'

With these words Melville stabbed the cardinal, who fell dead at his feet. This murder took place the year before the death of Henry VIII., to whom the assassins, who fortified themselves and friends to the number of a hundred and forty, in the castle, despatched a messenger for aid. Henry, always jealous of Scotland and glad to cripple its turbulent nobility, promised his support, and Somerset now, in obedience to the dying injunctions of the king, prepared to march an army into Scotland for the purpose of compelling a union of the two countries by marrying the minor queen of Scotland to the minor king of England. With a fleet of sixty sail and a force of eighteen thousand men, he set out with the avowed purpose of not listening to any negotiation, unless based upon the condition of the marriage of the young queen of Scotland to Edward of England; a measure which he argued and justified at great length in a pamphlet published by him before opening the campaign.

Except as a means of justifying his own conduct in commencing the war, it would seem that so well-informed a statesman as Somerset could surely have expected little effect from this manifesto. The queen dowager of Scotland was wholly influenced by France, which could not but be to the utmost degree opposed to the union of Scotland and England; and she was also far too much attached to the catholic religion to look with any complacent feeling upon a transfer of Scotland into the hands of the known and persevering enemy of that religion. From Berwick to Edinburgh Somerset experienced but little resistance. Arran, however, had taken up his position on the banks of the Eske at about four miles from Edinburgh, with an army double in number to that of the English. In a cavalry affair of outposts the Scots were worsted and lord Hume severely wounded, but Somerset and the earl of Warwick having reconnoitred the Scottish camp, found that it was too well posted to be assailed with any reasonable chance of success. Somerset now tried negotiation, offering to evacuate the country and even to make compensation for such mischief as had already been done, on condition that the Scots should engage to keep their young queen at home and uncontracted in marriage until she should reach an age to choose for herself. This offer, so much in contrast with the determination with which the protector had set out, caused the Scots to suppose that, intimidated by their numbers or moved by some secret and distressing information, he was anxious to get away upon any terms, and the very moderation of the terms offered by him was the cause of their being rejected. Whoever will carefully and in detail study the great campaigns and battles, whether of ancient or of modern times, will find that at once the rarest and the most precious gift of a general-in-chief is *to know how to refrain from action*. The Fabian policy is suitable only to the very loftiest and most admirable military genius; not because of the physical difficulty of remaining tranquil, but simply because to do so, in spite alike of the entreaties of friends and the taunts of foes, requires that self-conquest which is to be achieved only by a Fabius or a Wellington. On the present occasion the Scots leaders had to contend not only against their own utter mistake as to Somerset's circumstances and motives, but also against the frantic eagerness of their men, who were wound up to the most intense rage by the preaching of certain priests in their camp, who assured them that the detestable heresy of the English made victory to their arms altogether out of the question.

Finding his moderate and peaceable proposal rejected, Somerset saw that it was necessary to draw the enemy from their sheltered and strong position, to a more open one in which he could advantageously avail himself of his superiority in cavalry. He accordingly moved towards the sea; and as his ships at the same moment stood in shore, as if to receive him, the Scots fell into the snare and moved from their strong position to intercept him. They entered the plain in three bodies, the vanguard commanded by Angus, the main body commanded by Arran, and some light horse and Irish archers on the left flank under Argyle.

As the Scots advanced into the plain, they were severely galled by the artillery of the English ships, and among the killed was the eldest son of lord Graham. The Irish auxiliaries were thrown into the utmost disorder, and the whole main body began to fall back upon the rear-guard, which was under the command of Huntley. Lord Grey, who had the command of the English cavalry, had orders not to attack the Scottish van till it should be closely engaged with the English van, when he was

to take it in flank. Tempted by the disorder of the enemy, he neglected this order, and led the English cavalry on at full gallop. A heavy slough and broad ditch threw them into confusion, and they were easily repulsed by the long spears of the Scotch; lord Grey himself was severely wounded, the protector's son, lord Edward Seymour, had his horse killed under him, and the cavalry was only rallied by the utmost exertion and presence of mind on the part of sir Ralph Sadler, sir Ralph Vane, and the protector in person. The English archers and the English ships galled the van of the Scots so severely that it at length gave way, and the English van being, at that critical moment, led on in good order, the Scots and their Irish auxiliaries took to flight. How short and unequal the fight was, and how persevering and murderous the pursuit, may be judged from the fact, that the English loss was short of two hundred, and that of the Scots above ten thousand! Full fifteen hundred were also made prisoners at this disastrous battle of Pinkey.

Somerset now took several castles, received the submission of the counties on the border, destroyed the shipping on the coast, and was in a situation to have imposed the most onerous terms on the Scots, could he have followed up his advantages; but information reached him of intrigues going on in England, which obliged him to return, after having appointed Berwick for the place of conference of the commissioners, whom the Scots, in order to gain time and procure aid from France, affected to wish to send in order to treat for peace.

On Somerset's return to England he assumed more state than ever, being elated with his success in Scotland. He caused his nephew to dispense with the statute of precedency passed in the late reign, and to grant to him, the protector, a patent allowing him to sit on the throne, upon a stool or bench at the right hand of the king, and to enjoy all honours and privileges usually enjoyed by any uncle of a king of England.

While thus intent upon his own aggrandisement, Somerset was, nevertheless, attentive also to the improvement of the law. The statute of the six articles was repealed, as were all laws against Lollardy and heresy—though the latter was still an undefined crime at common law—all laws extending the crime of treason beyond the twenty-fifth of Edward III., and all the laws of Henry VIII. extending the crime of felony; and no accusation founded upon words spoken was to be made after the expiration of a month from the alleged speaking.

A.D. 1548.—The extensive repeals of which we have made mention are well described by Hume as having been the cause of 'some dawn of both civil and religious liberty' to the people. For them great praise was due to Somerset, who, however, was now guilty of a singular inconsistency; one which shows how difficult it is for unqualified respect to the rights of the multitude to coexist with such extensive power as that of the protector. What Hume, with terse and significant emphasis, calls 'that law, the destruction of all laws, by which the king's proclamation was made of equal force with a statute,' was repealed; and yet the protector continued to use and uphold the proclamation whensoever the occasion seemed to him to demand it; as, for instance, forbidding the harmless and time-hallowed superstitions or absurdities of carrying about candles on Candlemas-day, ashes on Ash Wednesday, and palm branches on Palm Sunday.

Aided by the French, the Scots made many attempts to recover the towns and castles which had been taken from them by Somerset, and with very general success. The English were at length reduced to so much distress, and so closely kept within Haddington by the number and vigilance of their enemies, that Somerset sent over a reinforcement of eighteen thousand English troops and three thousand German auxiliaries. This large force was commanded by the earl of Shrewsbury, who relieved Haddington, indeed, but could not get up with the enemy's troops until they were so advantageously posted near Edinburgh, that he thought it imprudent to attack them, and marched back into England.

We must now refer to those intrigues of the English court to which the Scots owed not a little of their comparative security. Between the protector and his brother, the lord Seymour, a man of great talent and still greater arrogance and ambition, there was a feeling of rivalry, which was greatly increased and embittered by the feminine rivalry and spite of their wives. The queen dowager, the widow of Henry VIII., married lord Seymour at a scarcely decent interval after her royal husband's death; the queen dowager, though married to a younger brother of the duke, took precedence of the duchess of Somerset, and the latter used all her great power and influence over her husband to irritate him against his brother. When Somerset led the English army into Scotland, lord Seymour took the opportunity to endeavour to strengthen his own cabal, by distributing his liberalities among the king's councillors and servants, and by improper indulgence to the young king himself. Secretary Paget, who well knew the bitter and restless rivalry of the two brothers, warned lord Seymour to beware, that, by encouraging cabals, he did not bring down ruin upon that lofty state to which both himself and the protector had risen, and which had made them not a few powerful foes, who would but little hesitate to side with either for a time for the sake of crushing both in the end. Lord Seymour treated the remonstrances of Paget with neglect; and the secretary, perceiving the evil and the danger daily to grow more imminent, sent the protector such information as caused him to give up all probable advantage, and hastened to protect his authority and interests at home. The subsequent departure of the young queen of Scotland for France, where she arrived in safety and was betrothed to the dauphin, made Somerset's Scottish projects comparatively hopeless and of little consequence.

and he subsequently gave his undivided attention to the maintenance of his authority in England.

Not contented with the degree of wealth and authority he possessed as admiral of England and husband of the queen dowager, lord Seymour, whose artful complaisance seems to have imposed upon his nephew, caused the young monarch to write a letter to parliament to request that lord Seymour might be made the governor of the king's person, which office his lordship argued ought to be kept distinct from that of protector of the realm. Before he could bring the affair before parliament, and while he was busily engaged in endeavouring to strengthen his party, lord Seymour was warned by his brother to desist. The council, too, threatened that it would use the letter he had obtained from the affection or the weakness of the young king, not as a justification of his factious opposition to the protector's legal authority, but as a proof of a criminal tampering with a minor and a mere child, with intent to disturb the legal and seated government of the realm. It was further pointed out to him, that the council now knew quite enough to justify it in sending him to the Tower; and the admiral, however unwillingly, abandoned his designs at least for the time.

Somerset easily forgave his brother, but the ambition and aching envy of that turbulent and restless man was speedily called into evil activity again, by a circumstance which to an ordinary man would have seemed a sufficient reason for lowering its tone. His wife, the queen dowager, died in giving birth to a child, and lord Seymour then paid his addresses to the lady Elizabeth, as yet only sixteen years of age. As Mary was the elder daughter, and as Henry had very distinctly excluded both Mary and Elizabeth from the throne in the event of their marrying without the consent of his executors, which consent lord Seymour could have no chance of getting, it was clear that Seymour could only hope to derive benefit from such an alliance by resorting to absolute usurpation and violence. That such was his intention is further rendered probable by the fact, that besides redoubling his efforts to obtain influence over all who had access to the king or power in the state, he had so distributed his favours even among persons of comparatively low rank, that he calculated on being able, if it were necessary, to muster an army of ten thousand men. For this number, it seems, he had actually provided arms; he had further strengthened himself by protecting pirates, whom, as admiral of England, it was his especial duty to suppress; and he had corrupted sir John Spurington, the master of the mint at Bristol, who was to supply him with money.

Well informed as to his brother's criminal projects, the protector, both by entreaties and by favours conferred, endeavoured to induce him to abandon his mad ambition. But the natural wrong-headedness of lord Seymour, and the ill advice of Dudley, earl of Warwick, a man of great talent and courage, but of just such principles as might be expected from the son of that Dudley, the extortioner, who was the colleague of Empson in the reign of Henry VII., rendered the humane efforts of the protector vain. Hating both the brothers, Warwick dreaded the lord Seymour the more for his aspiring temper and superior talents; and seeing him only too well inclined to seditious practices, the treacherous Warwick urged him on in his guilty and foolish career, and at the same time secretly advised the protector to take stern means of putting a stop to the practices of a brother upon whom kindness and good counsel were completely thrown away. By Warwick's advice the protector first deprived his brother of the office of admiral, and then committed him, with some of his alleged accomplices, to the Tower. Three privy councillors, who were sent to examine the prisoners, reported that there was important evidence against them; and even now the protector offered liberty and pardon to his brother, on condition of his retiring to his country houses, and confining himself strictly to private life. Undaunted by all the appearances against him, lord Seymour replied only by threats and sarcasms; and, urged by his personal and political friends, real and pretended, the protector consented not only that his brother should be proceeded against, but also that he should be refused a free and open trial which he indignantly demanded, and be proceeded against before that ready instrument of sovereign vengeance, the parliament.

A.D. 1549.—On the meeting of parliament a bill of attainder was originated in the upper house. By way of evidence, several peers rose and stated what they knew or professed to know of the criminal designs and practices of the admiral; and upon this evidence given, be it observed, by *judges* in the case, that house of peers in which the deluded man had supposed himself to have so many fast friends, passed the bill with scarcely a dissenting voice, and, as Hume observes, 'without anyone having either the courage or the equity to move that he might be heard in his defence; that the testimony against him should be delivered in a legal manner, and that he should be confronted with the witnesses.' Contrary to what might have been anticipated, a better spirit was exhibited in the lower house, where it was moved that the proceeding by bill of attainder was bad, and that every man should be present and formally tried previous to condemnation. A message, nominally from the king, but really from the council, however, terminated this show of spirit and equity, and the bill was passed by a majority of four hundred to some nine or ten. Shortly afterwards the admiral was beheaded on Tower-hill, the warrant of his execution being signed by his brother Somerset! or rather the condemnation. After the trial of lord Seymour the most important business of this session was ecclesiastical. One act allowed priests to marry, but said in the preamble that 'it were better for priests and the ministers of the church to live chastely and without marriage, and it were

much to be wished that they would of themselves abstain;' another prohibited the use of flesh meat in Lent, while a third permitted and provided for a union of cures in the city of York. Many of these cures, it was stated in the preamble, were too much impoverished singly to support an incumbent; an impoverishment which no doubt arose from the transfer of the ecclesiastical revenues into the hands of laymen and absentees. There was now a very general outward conformity, at least, with the doctrine and liturgy of the reformation. But both Bonner and Gardiner were imprisoned for maintaining the catholic doctrine of the real presence, the princess Mary was threatened by the council for persisting to hear mass, and obtaining an indulgence through the influence of the emperor. A still farther and worse proof was given that the duty of toleration was as yet but very imperfectly understood by the reformers, by the prosecution of a woman named Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent, for heresy. The council condemned the poor creature to the flames. For some time the young king would not sign the warrant for her execution. Cranmer drove him into a compliance accompanied by tears and by the remark that upon Cranmer's head would the deed lie for good or evil. The execution of this woman was followed by that of a Dutch alien, named Von Paris, who suffered his horrible death with apparent delight—so ill-adapted is persecution to make converts!

CHAPTER XLIII.

The Reign of EDWARD VI. (*continued*).

To deny that a great reformation was much needed in the church at the time when it was commenced by Henry VIII. would be utterly and obstinately to close one's eyes to the most unquestionable evidence. Nevertheless it is no less certain that the wealth which was justly taken from the monks was quite as unjustly bestowed upon laymen. It was not because corrupt men had insinuated or forced themselves into the church, that therefore the church should be plundered; it was not because the monks had diverted a part of the large revenues of the church from the proper purpose, that therefore the king should wrongfully bestow a still larger part. The laymen upon whom Henry bestowed the spoils of the greater and lesser houses had in few cases, if any, a single claim upon those spoils save favouritism, not always too honourable to themselves or to the king; yet to them was given, *without* the charge of the poor, that property upon which the poor had been bountifully fed. The baron or the knight, the mere courtier or the still worse character upon whom this property was bestowed, might live a hundred or even a thousand miles from the land producing his revenue—from that land upon which its former possessors, its *resident* landlords the monks, employed the toiling man, and fed the infirm, the helpless, and the suffering. Nor was it merely by the hind who laboured, or by the needy man who was fed in charity, that the monks were now missed; the monks were not only resident landlords, they were also liberal and indulgent landlords. They for a great portion of their low rents took produce; the lay landlords demanded higher rents and would be paid in money; the monks lived among their tenants and were their best customers; the lay landlord drew his money rents from Lincoln or Devon, to spend them in the court revels at London or in the wars of France or Scotland. Many other differences might be pointed out which were very injurious to the middle and lower class of men; but enough has been said to show that however necessary the change, it was not made with due precautions against the impoverishment and suffering of great bodies of men, and great consequent danger of state disturbances. Even the iron hand of Henry VIII. would not have been able to prevent both suffering and murmuring; and when under the milder rule of the protector Somerset the people were still farther distressed by the rage for grazing, which caused the peasantry to be driven in herds not only from the estates upon which they had laboured, but even from their cottages and from the commons upon which they had fed their cows or sheep, the cry of distress became loud, general, and appalling. The protector issued a commission to enquire into the state of the rural people, and to find out and remedy all evils connected with enclosures. But the poor in various parts of the country rose in arms before the commission had time even to make enquiries; Wiltshire, Oxford, Gloucester, Hants, Sussex, and Kent rose simultaneously, but were speedily put down, chiefly by sir William Herbert, and lord Gray of Wilton. But the most formidable rioters made their appearance in Norfolk and Devonshire.

In Norfolk above twenty thousand assembled, and from their original demand for doing away with the enclosures, they passed to demanding the restoration of the old religion, the placing of new councillors about the king, and the utter abolition of all gentry! A bold and ruffianly fellow, one Ket, a tanner, took the command of this assemblage, and exercised his authority over such of the gentry as were unlucky enough to be within his reach, in the arbitrary and insolent style that might be anticipated, holding his court beneath a great oak on Mousehold Hill, which overlooks the city of Norwich. Against this demagogue and his deluded followers the marquis of Northampton was at first sent, but he was completely repulsed, and lord Sheffield, one of his officers, was killed. The earl of Warwick was then sent against Ket with an army of six thousand, which had been levied to go to Scotland. Warwick, with his usual courage and conduct, beat the rebels; killed two thousand of them, hanged up Ket at the castle of Norwich, and nine of the other ringleaders on the boughs of the oak tree on Mousehold Hill.

In Devonshire as in Norfolk, though the complaints made by the people originated in the injustice of the enclosures and in very real and widely-spread misery, demagogues, among whom were some priests of Sampford Courtenay, artfully caused them to make a return to the old religion a chief article of their demand; and the insurrection here was the more formidable, because many of the gentry, on account of the religious demands, joined the rebels. Among the gentlemen who did so was Humphrey Arundel, governor of St. Michael's Mount, by whose means chiefly it was that the rebels, though ten thousand in number, were brought into something of the regular order of disciplined troops. Lord Russell, who had been sent against them with but a weak force, finding them so numerous and determined, and in such good order, endeavoured to get them to disperse by affecting to negotiate with them. He forwarded their extravagant demands to the council, who returned for answer that they should be pardoned on their immediate submission. This answer so much enraged the rebels that they endeavoured to storm Exeter, but were repulsed by the citizens. They then sat down before Exeter and endeavoured to mine it. By this time lord Russell was reinforced by some German horse under sir William Herbert and lord Gray, and some Italian infantry under Balista Spinola, and he now marched from his quarters at Honiton to the relief of Exeter. The rebels suffered dreadfully both in the battle and subsequent to the retreat. Humphrey Arundel and other leading men were seized, carried to London, and there executed; many of the rabble were executed on the spot by martial law, and the vicar of St. Thomas was hanged on the top of his own steeple in the garb of a popish priest.

The stern and successful severity with which the more formidable rebellions of Norfolk and Devonshire had been put down, caused weaker parties in Yorkshire and elsewhere to take the alarm and disperse; and the protector both wisely and humanely fostered this spirit of returning obedience by proclaiming a general amnesty. But besides the terrible loss of life which these insurrections cost on the spot, they caused great losses to us both in Scotland and in France. In the former country the want of the force of six thousand men, which Warwick led to put down the Norfolk men, enabled the French and Scotch to capture the fortress of Broughty and put the garrison to the sword, and so to waste the country for miles round Haddington, that it was found necessary to dismantle and abandon that important fortress and carry the stores to Berwick.

The king of France was at the same time tempted by the deplorable domestic disturbances in England to make an effort to recover Boulogne, which we had taken during the reign of Henry VIII. He took several fortresses in the neighbourhood, but while preparing to attack Boulogne itself, a pestilential distemper broke out in his camp. The autumnal rains falling with great violence, Henry of France lost all instant hope of taking Boulogne, and returned to Paris, leaving Gaspar de Coligny, so well known as the admiral Coligny, to command the troops and to form the siege as early as possible in the following spring. Coligny even went beyond these orders by making some dashing attempts during the winter, but they were all unsuccessful. The protector in vain having attempted to procure the alliance of the emperor, turned his thoughts to making peace with both France and Scotland. The young queen of Scotland, for whose hand he had chiefly gone to war, could not now be married to Edward of England, however much even the Scots might desire it; and as regards the French quarrel, Henry VIII. having agreed to give up Boulogne in 1554, it was little worth while to keep up an expensive warfare for retaining the place for so few years as had to elapse to that date.

But Somerset, though a man of unquestionable ability, seems to have been singularly ignorant or unobservant as to the real light in which he was regarded by the council, and still more so of the real character and views of Warwick. He gave his reasons, as we have given them above; and sound reasons they were, and as humane as sound; but he did not sufficiently take into calculation the pleasure which his enemies derived from the embarrassment caused to him, and the discontent likely to arise in the public mind on account of the state of our affairs, at once inglorious and expensive, in France and Scotland.

Besides having the personal enmity of Warwick, Southampton, whom the protector had restored to his place in the council, and other councillors, Somerset was detested by great part of the nobility and gentry, who accused him, perhaps not altogether unjustly, of purchasing popularity at the expense of their safety, by showing such an excessive and unfair preference of the poor as encouraged them in riot and robbery. As an instance of this, it was objected, that he had erected a court of requests in his own house for the professed relief of the poor, and even interfered with the judges on their behalf. The principles of constitutional liberty such as we now enjoy were at that time so little understood, that it was not the mere interference with the judges, which we should now very justly consider so indecent and detestable, that caused any disgust; but Somerset had interfered against the very persons, the nobles and gentry, upon whom alone he could rely for support, and he was now to endure the consequences of so impolitic a course. His execution of his own brother, however guilty that brother; his enormous acquisitions of church property and above all, the magnificence of the palace he was building in the Strand, for which a parish church and the houses of three bishops were pulled down, and the materials of which he chiefly got by pulling down a chapel, with cloister and charnel-house, in St. Paul's church-yard, after his labourers had been by force of arms driven from an attempt to pull down St

Margaret's, Westminster, for that purpose! —these things, and the overweening pride which was generally attributed to him, were skilfully taken advantage of by his enemies, and he was everywhere described as the main cause of all the recent public calamities at home and abroad. Warwick, with Southampton, Arundel, and five of the councillors, headed by lord St. John, president of the council, formed themselves into a sort of independent council. Taking upon themselves the style and authority of the whole council, they wrote letters to all the chief nobility and gentry, asking for their support and aid in remedying the public evils, which they affected to charge entirely upon Somerset's maladministration. Having determined on their own scheme of remedial measures, they sent for the mayor and aldermen of London and the lieutenant of the Tower, and informing them of the plans which they proposed to adopt, strictly enjoined them to aid and obey them, in despite of aught that Somerset might think fit to order to the contrary. Somerset was now so unpopular, that obedience was readily promised to this command, in the face at once of the king's patent and of the fact that these very councillors, who now complained of the protector's acts as illegal, had aided and encouraged him in whatever had been illegally done—his original departure from the will of the late king! No farther argument can be requisite to show, that personal and selfish feeling, and not loyalty to the young king or tenderness to his suffering people, actuated these factious councillors. But faction has an eagle eye wherewith to gaze unblinkingly upon the proudest and most brilliant light of truth; and the self-appointed junto was on the following day joined by the lord chancellor Rich, by the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Shrewsbury, sir Thomas Cheney, sir John Gage, sir Ralph Sadler, and the chief justice Montague. And when the protector, seeing the imminent peril in which he was placed, sent secretary Petre to treat with the councillors at Ely-house, that craven personage, instead of performing his duty, took his seat and sided with the junto.

Consulting with Cranmer and Paget, who were the only men of mark and power that still stood by his fortunes, the protector removed the young king to Windsor castle, and gathered his friends and retainers in arms around him. But the adhesion of the lieutenant of the Tower to the junto, and the unanimity with which the common-council of London joined the mayor in promising support to the new measures, caused the speaker of the house of commons and the two or three other councillors who had hitherto remained neuter to join the ascendant party of Warwick; and Somerset so completely lost all hope and confidence, that he now began to apply to his foes for pardon. This manifestation of his despair, which would have been inexcusable had it not, unhappily, been unavoidable, was decisive. Warwick and his friends addressed the king, and with many protestations of their exceeding loyalty and the mischievousness of the protector's measures, solicited that they might be admitted to his majesty's presence and confidence, and that Somerset be dismissed from his high office. The fallen statesman was accordingly, with several of his friends, including Cecil, the afterwards renowned and admirable lord Burleigh, sent to the Tower. But though the junto thus pronounced all that Somerset had done to be illegal, they appointed as council of regency, not the persons named in the late king's will, but, for the most part, the same men who had been appointed by Somerset, and whose acts under his appointment, supposing it to be illegal, ought clearly to have disqualified them now. Such is faction!

When the government had thus been, virtually, vested in the ambitious and unprincipled Warwick; when he had snatched the office of earl marshal, lord St. John that of treasurer, the marquis of Northampton that of great chamberlain, lord Wentworth that of chamberlain of the household, besides the manors of Stepney and Hackney, which were plundered from the bishopric of London, and lord Russell the earldom of Bedford, the hot patriotism of Warwick was satisfied. The humbled Somerset having thus made way for his enemies, and having stooped to the degradation of making to them apologies and submissions which his admirers must ever lament, was restored to liberty and forgiven a fine of 2,000*l.* a year in land which had been inflicted upon him. As though even this humiliation were not enough, Warwick not only re-admitted him to the council, but gave his son, lord Dudley, in marriage to Somerset's daughter, the lady Jane Seymour.

A.D. 1550.—The new governors of England, though they had insidiously refused to aid Somerset in his wise and reasonable proposals for making peace with France and Scotland when he was desirous to do so, now eagerly laid themselves out for the same end. Having, to colour over their factious opposition to Somerset, made proposals for the warlike aid of the emperor, which aid they well knew would be refused, they agreed to restore Boulogne for four thousand crowns, to restore Lauder and Douglas to Scotland, and to demolish the fortresses of Roxburgh and Eymouth. This done, they contracted the king to Elizabeth, a daughter of the king of France, the most violent persecutor of the protestants; but though all the articles were settled, this most shameful marriage treaty came to nothing.

We have seen that Warwick and his friends had agreed to marry the protestant Edward, their sovereign, to the daughter of Henry of France. But even while they were thus proclaiming their friendship with the chief upholder of the right of catholicism to persecute, they visited several of the most eminent of their own catholics with severe punishment, not for persecuting protestants, but merely for a natural unwillingness to be more speedy than was unavoidable in forwarding the protestant measures. Gardiner, as the most eminent, was the first to be attacked. For two long

years he was detained in prison, and then Somerset condescended to join himself with secretary Petre, by whom he had himself formerly been so shamefully deserted, as a deputation to endeavour to persuade or cajole the high-minded and learned, however mistaken prelate, into a compliant mood. More than one attempt was made; but though Gardiner showed himself very ready to comply to a certain and becoming extent, he would not confess that his conduct had been wrong; a confession of which he clearly saw that his enemies would make use to ruin him in character as well as fortune; and a commission, consisting of Cranmer, the bishops of London, Ely, and Lincoln, secretary Petre, and some lawyers, sentenced him to be deprived of his bishopric and committed to close custody; and to make this iniquitous sentence the more severe, he was deprived of all books and papers, and was not only denied the comfort of the visits of two friends, but even of their letters or messages.

A.D. 1551.—Several other prelates were now marked out for persecution; some because they were actually disobedient, others because they were suspected to be not cordial in their obedience. Large sums of money were thus wrung from them; and, under the pretence of purging the libraries of Westminster and Oxford of superstitious books, the dominant political party—for religion really had nothing to do with the motives of Warwick and his lay friends—destroyed inestimable literary treasures for the mere sake of the comparatively small sums to be obtained by the gold and silver with which, unfortunately, the books and manuscripts were adorned.

Much as we shall have occasion to blame the queen Mary for her merciless abuse of power, it is not easy to help admiring the cold, stern, unblenching mien with which the princess Mary at this time of peril defied all attempts at making her bow to the dominant party. Deprived of her chaplains, and ordered to read protestant books, she calmly professed her readiness to endure martyrdom rather than prove false to her faith; and this conduct she steadfastly maintained, although it was only from fear of the warlike interference of the emperor that her persecutors were withheld from offering her personal violence.

Even in the midst of these *quasi* religious vexations, some very useful measures were taken for promoting industry, especially by revoking sundry most impolitic patents, by which the trade in cloth, wool, and many other commodities had been almost entirely thrown into the hands of foreigners. The merchants of the Hanse Towns loudly exclaimed against this 'new measure;' but Warwick and his friends—this at least is to their credit—were firm, and a very sensible improvement in the English spirit of industry was the immediate consequence. Is it to look too curiously into public cause and effect to ask whether our present high commercial fortune may not be greatly owing to this very measure, though nearly three centuries have since elapsed?

But Warwick could not long confine his turbulent and eager spirit to the noble and peaceable triumphs of the patriot. Self was his earthly deity. The title and the vast estate of the earldom of Northumberland were at this time in abeyance, owing to the last earl dying without issue, and his brother, sir Thomas Percy, having been attainted of treason. Of these vast estates, together with the title of *duke* of Northumberland, Warwick now possessed himself, and he procured for his friend lord St. John the title of marquis of Winchester, and for sir William Herbert that of earl of Pembroke.

Northumberland's complete triumph and vast acquisitions could not but be very distasteful to Somerset, who not only cherished the most violent intentions towards him, but was even stung into the imprudence of avowing them in the presence of some of his intimate attendants, among whom was sir Thomas Palmer, who appeared to have been placed in his service as a mere spy of Northumberland's. Somerset, his duchess, and several of their friends and attendants, were suddenly arrested; and Somerset was accused of high treason and felony; the former crime as having prepared for insurrection, the latter as having intended to assassinate Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke.

The marquis of Winchester, the friend, almost the mere follower, of Northumberland, was appointed high steward, and presided at the trial of Somerset; and of the twenty-seven peers who made the jury, three were Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, the very men whom he had threatened! He was acquitted of treason, but found guilty of felony, to the great grief of the people, among whom Somerset was now popular.

A.D. 1552.—As it was not to be supposed that a mild and toward young prince like Edward VI. would easily, if at all, be brought to turn a deaf ear to his uncle's solicitation for mercy, great care was taken by Northumberland to prevent all access to the king of the friends of Somerset; and that unhappy nobleman, after all his services as regent, and after his almost paternal goodness as guardian of the king's person, was executed on Tower-hill; the grieved people dipping their handkerchiefs in his blood as mementos of his martyrdom. His friends sir Thomas Arundel, Michael Stanhope, Miles Partridge, and Ralph Vane were also executed; Paget, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, was deprived of his office and of the garter, and fined 6,000*l.*; and lord Rich, the chancellor, was also deprived of office for the crime of being the friend of Somerset, whose chief faults seem to have been an overweening ambition, coexisting with rather less than more than the average sagacity and firmness of those who take the lead in troublous and unsettled times.

A.D. 1553.—A new session of parliament was held immediately after the execution of Somerset, in which several regulations were made that were calculated to advance the cause of the reformation. But the commons having refused to pass a bill of deprivation against the universally respected

Tonstal, bishop of Durham, a new parliament was summoned; and to secure one favourable to his views Northumberland caused the king, certainly, and most probably the majority of the councillors and peers, to recommend particular gentlemen to be sent up for particular counties. The parliament, thus conveniently composed, readily confirmed the deprivation arbitrarily pronounced upon Tonstal, and two bishoprics were created out of that of Durham—the rich regalities of that see being conferred upon Northumberland himself. Utterly insatiable, Northumberland now got the king to bestow the dukedom of Suffolk upon the marquis of Dorset; and having persuaded the new duke to give his daughter, the lady Jane Grey, in marriage to Northumberland's fourth son, the lord Guildford Dudley, next proceeded to persuade Edward, who was in an infirm condition, to pass by his sisters Mary and Elizabeth, both of whom had been pronounced illegitimate, and the former of whom as well as the young queen of Scots was a papist, and to settle the crown on the marchioness of Dorset (duchess of Suffolk), whose heiress was the lady Jane Grey. By a variety of arguments, some of which were both specious and solid, but all of which, as proceeding from so ambitious a man, ought to have been looked upon with suspicion, Northumberland prevailed upon the young king. It was in vain that the judges and the most eminent law officers protested against being compelled to draw out a patent; it was in vain they urged that they would subject themselves to the pains and penalties of treason should they do so; Northumberland gave Montague, chief justice of common pleas, the lie; swore he would fight any man in his shirt who should deny the justice of lady Jane's succession; and was so successful that the crown was accordingly settled upon lady Jane; her mother, the duchess of Suffolk, very willingly allowing herself to be passed by.

This patent was by many looked upon as the death-warrant of Edward VI. signed by himself. His health daily grew worse, and his physicians being dismissed in favour of some ignorant woman, her quack medicines brought on symptoms which left no hope of his recovery, and pointed strongly to poison; and he died in the sixteenth year of his age and the seventh of his reign.

The whole life and reign of this prince was spent literally *in statu pupillari*; but so far as he could in such a state manifest his disposition, he seems fully to have deserved the affection with which even to this day he is spoken of.

CHAPTER XLIV.

The Reign of MARY.

A.D. 1553.—THE artful precautions taken by Northumberland to secure the throne to his young and accomplished daughter-in-law, by no means rendered the success of the project—for which he had certainly toiled and dared much, and for which, we fear, he had sinned no little—so secure as at first sight it might seem. In the first place, young Edward's reign had been so short and so completely a reign of tutelage, that his will had none of that force with the multitude which was possessed by the will of his bluff and iron-handed father. Henry VIII. had, it is true, bastardised both his daughters, but he had subsequently restored them to the succession; and the people were too much accustomed to regarding Mary as the rightful successor to Edward in the event of his dying without issue to allow of the almost dying act of the young king speedily changing their opinion and directing their loyalty to the lady Jane. Again, the catholics, far more numerous secretly than might be imagined, were to a man partisans of Mary; and if the protestants had some misgivings, founded on her own bigotry in favour of her own faith, they yet feared even the bigot far less than the lady Jane, who, as they well knew, could be and would be a mere puppet in the hands of Northumberland, who by this time had contrived to render himself at once the most powerful, the most dreaded, and the most detested man in the whole nation. And it is worthy of observation also, that so nearly balanced were the partisans of the respective religions, that each stood in dread of the other.

But Northumberland was far too wily a personage to be ignorant of the weight which, with the majority of the people, detestation of himself and respect for the memory of Henry VIII. would have in deciding between the princess Mary and the lady Jane. When, therefore, he perceived that the speedy death of Edward was inevitable, Northumberland caused the princesses Mary and Elizabeth to be sent for, as though the young king had been desirous of seeing them. Mary had reached Hoddesdon in Hertfordshire, only about seventeen miles from London, when the king died. Northumberland, anxious to get her into his power, gave orders that the melancholy event should be kept a secret, but the earl of Arundel sent her warning of Northumberland's deceit and probable designs, and she hastily retreated to the retired fishing-town of Framlingham, in Suffolk, whence she sent letters to the council and to the principal nobility, informing them of her knowledge of her brother's death, promising indemnity to all who had thus far aided in concealing it, but calling upon them forthwith to proclaim her as queen. While thus active in asserting her right, she carefully provided, also, for her flight into Flanders, in the event of her efforts proving unsuccessful.

When Northumberland found that Edward's death was known to the rightful queen, he at once threw off all disguise. Lord and the lady Jane Dudley were at this time residing at Sion House; and Northumberland, with Jane's father, the earl of Pembroke, and other noblemen, approached her with all the form and respect due from subjects to their sovereign. Young, and gifted with singular talents for literature, Jane viewed the throne in its true light as a dangerous and an uneasy eminence. Even now when her father, he

still more powerful and dreaded father-in-law, and the very chiefest men of the kingdom, with all the emblems of state, pressed her to assume the authority of queen, she recoiled from it as from an evil of the first magnitude. Her husband, though, like herself, but little more than sixteen years of age, had been but too skilfully tutored by his wily father; and he seconded that ambitious man's entreaties so well that, overcome though not convinced, the unfortunate Jane consented. She was immediately escorted to the Tower, the usual residence of the English sovereigns on their first accession; and Northumberland took care that she should be accompanied thither, not only by his known and fast friends, but also by the whole of the councillors, whom he thus, in effect, made prisoners and hostages for the adhesion of their absent friends. Orders were now issued to proclaim queen Jane throughout the kingdom, but it was only in London, where Northumberland's authority was as yet too firm to be openly resisted, that the orders were obeyed. And even in London the majority listened to the proclamation in a sullen and ominous silence. Some openly scoffed at Jane's pretensions, and one unfortunate boy, who was a vintner's servant, was severely punished, for even this verbal, and perhaps unreasoning, opposition to the will of the haughty Northumberland.

While the people of London were thus cool towards their nominal queen, and even the protestants listened without conviction to the preaching of Ridley and other eminent protestant churchmen in her favour, Mary in her retreat in Suffolk was actively and ably exerting herself for the protection of her birthright. She was surrounded by eminent and influential men with their levies of tenants or hired adherents; and as she strongly and repeatedly professed her determination not to infringe the laws of her brother with respect to religion, even the protestants throughout Suffolk, equally with the catholics, were enthusiastic in her cause. Nor was the feeling in favour of Mary exhibited merely in her own neighbourhood, or among those who might be called her personal friends. Northumberland commissioned sir Edward Hastings, brother of the earl of Huntingdon, to levy men in Buckinghamshire on behalf of Jane. Sir William executed the commission with great readiness and success as far as related to levying the men, but he no sooner found himself at the head of a force of nearly four thousand strong than he marched it to the aid of Mary. With the marine the duke was not more fortunate than with the land forces; a fleet was sent by him to cruise off the Suffolk coast, to cut Mary off from her retreat to Flanders, should she attempt it, and was driven by stress of weather into Yarmouth, where it immediately declared in favour of Mary.

Perplexed and alarmed, Northumberland yet determined not to give up the grand prize without a stout effort for its preservation. He determined to remain with Jane at the Tower, and to commit the command of the troops he had levied to her father. But the imprisoned councillors, clearly understanding both their own position and his, astutely persuaded him that he alone was fit to head the forces upon which so much depended, and they, at the same time, successfully worked upon the fears of Jane on behalf of her father. The councillors were the more successful in persuading Northumberland to the almost suicidal act of taking the command of the troops because, while he naturally felt great confidence in his own well-tried valour and ability, he was well aware of the inferiority of Suffolk in the latter respect at least.

Northumberland, accordingly, set out to combat the forces of the enemy, and was taken leave of by the councillors with every expression of attachment and of confidence of his success: and Arundel, his bitterest enemy, was by no means the least profuse of these expressions. Scarcely, however, had Northumberland marched out of London ere he perceived a boding and chilling sullenness among all ranks of men; and he remarked to lord Grey, who accompanied him, 'Many come out to look at our array, indeed, but I find not one who cries "*God speed your enterprise.*"'

Arrived at Bury St. Edmund's, the duke found that his army did not greatly exceed six thousand men, while the lowest reports of the opposite force gave double that number. Aware of the immense importance of the event of the first encounter, Northumberland resolved to delay his proposed attack, and sent an express to the councillors to send him a large and instant reinforcement. But the councillors had no sooner received the duke's express than they left the Tower, on the pretext of obeying his order; and assembled at Baynard's castle, the house of Pembroke, to deliberate, not upon the means of aiding Northumberland, but upon the best means of throwing off his yoke, and of dethroning the puppet queen he had set over them. Arundel, whom Northumberland had with a most unaccountable weakness left behind, expatiated warmly and eloquently upon all Northumberland's vices and evil deeds, and exhorted the others, as the only just or even prudent course, to join him in at once throwing their weight into the scale of Mary, and thus ensuring not merely her pardon for their past involuntary offences, but also her favour for their present and prompt loyalty. Pembroke warmly applauded the advice of Arundel, and, laying his hand upon his sword, he expressed his readiness to fight on the instant any man who should pretend to oppose it. The mayor and aldermen of London being sent for to attend this conference, showed the utmost alacrity to proclaim Mary, and the proclamation was accordingly made amidst the most rapturous applauses of the populace. The reign of Jane, if a lonely and anxious confinement in the Tower for ten days could be called a reign, was now at an end; and she retired to her private residence and private station with a readiness as great as the reluctance she had shown to quit them.

The councillors having thus completely beaten Northumberland in his chief or only stroughold, sent messengers to demand that he should lay down his arms, disband his troops, and submit himself to the mercy of his rightful sovereign queen Mary. The message was needless; Northumberland, receiving no reinforcement from London, saw the utter impossibility of resisting the hourly increasing force of Mary, and finding himself fast deserted by his handful of foreigners, had already himself proclaimed queen Mary with as much apparent heartiness and zeal as though he had not aimed at her crown—and probably her life.

Mary, on receiving the submission and hypocritical adhesion of Northumberland, set out for London. Her progress was one loud and unbroken triumph. Everywhere she was met by multitudes of the people invoking blessings upon her; her sister, the lady Elizabeth, met her at the head of a thousand well-appointed horse, and when she reached the Tower, she found that even Suffolk had thrown open its gates and declared himself in her favour. All circumstances considered, there is scarcely an instance in history to equal this in the facility with which a rightful princess of no amiable character, and opposed to a large portion of her subjects in religion, vanquished the opposition of so wily, so daring, and so accomplished a schemer as Northumberland.

Mercy was assuredly not the characteristic of Mary, but the utmost infatuation of mercy could not have allowed offences so gross as those of Northumberland to pass unpunished. Mary gave orders for his arrest, and, whether from being utterly broken-spirited by his ill success, or from sheer wiliness and a lingering hope of saving at least his life, he fell on his knees to his bitter enemy Arundel, who arrested him, and implored mercy. His sons, the earl of Warwick and the lords Ambrose and Henry Dudley, and his brother sir Andrew Dudley, were at the same time committed to custody; as were the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Huntingdon, sir Thomas Palmer, and sir John Gates. On farther enquiry and consideration, the queen's advisers found it necessary to confine the duke of Suffolk, lord Guildford Dudley, and his innocent and unfortunate wife, the lady Jane. At this early period of her reign policy overcame Mary's natural propensity to cruelty and sternness. The councillors, pleading their constraint by Northumberland, were speedily liberated, and even Suffolk himself was not excluded from this act of mingled justice and mercy. Northumberland, sir Thomas Palmer, and sir John Gates were brought to trial. The duke's offence was too clear and flagrant to admit of any elaborate defence; but he asked the peers whether they could possibly pronounce a man guilty of treason who had obeyed orders under the great seal, and whether persons who had been involved in his alleged guilt could be allowed to sit in judgement upon him? The answer to each question was obvious. In reply to the first, he was told that the great seal of an usurper could have no authority; to the second, that persons not having any sentence of attaint against them were clearly qualified to sit on any jury. Northumberland then pleaded guilty, and he, with sir Thomas Palmer and sir John Gates, was executed. At the scaffold Northumberland professed to die in the catholic faith, and assured the bystanders that they would never prosper until the catholic religion should be restored to all its authority among them. Considering the whole character of Northumberland and the indifference he had always shown to disputes of faith, it is but too probable that even in these his dying words he was insincere, and used them to engage the mercy of the queen, whose bigotry they might flatter, towards his unfortunate family. Upon the people his advice wrought no effect. Many looked upon the preparations for his death merely with a cold unpitying sternness, still more shouted to him to remember Somerset, and some even held up to him handkerchiefs incrusted with the blood of that nobleman, and exulted, rather like fiends than men, that his hour of a like bloody doom was at length arrived.

Lord Guildford Dudley and the lady Jane were also condemned to death, but their youth, and perhaps, Mary's feeling of the impolicy of extreme severity to criminals who had so evidently offended under the constraint and tutelage of Northumberland, saved them for the present — alas! *only* for the present.

The reign of Mary contains so little upon which the historian can bestow even negative praise, that it is pleasing to be able to remark that the very earliest portion of her reign, if stained with the bloodshed of a necessary justice, was also marked by some acts of justice and gratitude. When she arrived at the Tower of London and made her triumphant entry into that fortress, the duke of Norfolk, who had been in prison from the close of the reign of Henry VIII., Courtney, son of the marquis of Exeter, who ever since his father's attainder had been in the same confinement, though when he entered it he was a mere child and there was no shadow of a charge against him, with bishops Gardiner, Bonner, and Tonstal, were allowed to meet her on the Tower green, where they fell upon their knees before her, and implored her grace and protection. They were restored to liberty immediately; Norfolk's attainder was removed as having been *ab origine* null and invalid, and Courtney was made earl of Devonshire. Gardiner, Bonner, and Tonstal were reappointed to their sees by a commission which was appointed to review their trial and condemnation; and Day, Heath, and Vesy recovered their sees by the same means.

The queen's zeal for the catholic religion now began to show itself. Holgate, archbishop of York, Coverdale, to whom the reformation owed so much, Ridley, Hooper, and Latimer, were speedily thrown into prison; and the bishops and priests were exhorted and encouraged to revive the mass, though the laws against it were still in unrepealed force. Judge Hales, who had

so well and zealously defended the right of the princess Mary when her brother desired him to draw the patent which was to exclude her from the throne, opposed the illegal practices which queen Mary now sanctioned. All his former merits were forgotten in this new proof of his genuine and uncompromising honesty; he was thrown into prison, and there treated with such merciless cruelty and insult, that he lost his senses and committed suicide.

It will be remembered that the zeal of the men of Suffolk, during Mary's retreat at Framlingham, was stimulated by her pointed and repeated assurances that she would in no wise alter the laws of her brother Edward as to religion. These simple and honest men, seeing the gross partiality and tyranny by which the queen now sought to depress the protestants, ventured to remind her of her former promises. Their remonstrance was received as though it had been some monstrous and seditious matter, and one of them continuing his address with a somewhat uncourtly pertinacity was placed in the pillory for his pains.

Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, was by the change of sovereigns placed in a most perilous position. It is true that during the life of Henry VIII. Cranmer had often and zealously exerted himself to prevent that monarch's rage from being felt by the princess Mary. But Mary's gratitude as a woman was but little security against her bigotry as a religionist; and any services that Cranmer had rendered her were likely enough to be forgotten, in consideration of the discouragements he had dealt to her religion in his character of champion as well as child of the reformation. Nothing, probably, could have saved Cranmer but utter silence and resignation of his see, or immediate emigration. But Cranmer was too hearty and sincere in his love of the reformed religion, and, perhaps, was also too confident of his success, even now that Rome was backed by the power and zeal of the queen, to be in any wise minded for craven silence or retreat. His enemies perceiving that as yet he had met with no signal affront or injury from the queen, spread a report that he owed his safety and probable favour to his having promised to say mass before Mary. Situated as Cranmer was, it would have been his wisest plan to have listened to this insulting report with contemptuous silence, and to have relied upon his well-earned character to refute the calumny to all whose judgement was of any real consequence. But the archbishop thought otherwise, and he hastened to publish a manifesto in which he gave the most unqualified contradiction to the report. Nay, he did not stop even here; not content with vindicating himself, he entered more generally into the matter, and thus gave his enemies that very handle against him which they so eagerly wished for. He said, after contradicting the charge, that 'as the devil was a liar from the beginning, and the father of lies, he had at this time stirred up his servants to persecute Christ and his true religion; that this infernal spirit was now endeavouring to restore the Latin satisfactory masses, a thing of his own invention and device; and in order to effect his purpose, had falsely made use of his, Cranmer's name and authority;' and Cranmer added, that 'the mass is not only without foundation in either the scriptures or the practice of the primitive church, but likewise discovers a plain contradiction to antiquity and the inspired writings, and is, besides, replete with many horrid blasphemies.'

However much we may admire the general character of Cranmer—though it was by no means without its blemishes—it is impossible for the most zealous and sincere protestants to deny, that under the circumstances of the nation many of the passages we have quoted were grossly offensive; and equally impossible is it to deny that under Cranmer's now personal circumstances they were as grossly and gratuitously impolitic. His enemies eagerly availed themselves of his want of temper or of policy, and used this really coarse and inflammatory paper as a means by which to induce the queen to throw him into prison for the share he had had in the usurpation of the lady Jane, about which he otherwise would probably have remained unquestioned. Merely as the protestant archbishop, Cranmer had more than enough of enemies in the house of peers to ensure his being found guilty, and he was sentenced to death on the charge of high treason. He was not, however, as might have been expected, immediately and upon this sentence put to death, but committed back to close custody, where he was kept, as will soon be seen, for a still more cruel doom.

Every day made it more and more evident that the protestants had nothing to expect but the utmost severity of persecution, and many even of the most eminent of their preachers began to look abroad and to exile for safety. Peter Martyr, who in the late prosperity of the reformers had been formally and with much pressing invited to England, now applied to the council for permission to return to his own country. At first the council seemed much inclined to refuse compliance with this reasonable request. But Gardiner, with a spirit which makes us the more regret that bigotry ever induced him to act less generously, represented that as Peter had been invited to England by the government, his departure could not be opposed without the utmost national disgrace. Nor did Gardiner's generosity end here; having obtained Peter's permission to leave the realm, he supplied him with money to travel with. The bones of Peter Martyr's wife were shortly afterwards torn from the grave at Oxford, and buried in a dunghill; and the university of Cambridge about the same time disgraced itself by exhuming the bones of Bucer and Fagius, two eminent foreign reformers who had been buried there in the late reign. John à Lasco and his congregation were now ordered to depart the kingdom, and most of the foreign protestants took so significant a hint and followed them; by which the country was deprived of its most skilful and industrious

artisans just as they were giving a useful and extensive impulse to its manufactures. The temper manifested by the court and the sudden departure of the foreign protestants, greatly alarmed the protestants in general; and many of the English of that communion followed the example set them by their foreign brethren, and fled from a land which everything seemed to threaten with the most terrible and speedy troubles.

The meeting of parliament by no means improved the prospects of the protestants. It has already been remarked that, however completely the reformation might have seemed to be triumphant, there was something like a moiety, at least, of the nation that was still in heart attached to the old faith. To these the court could add as practical friends that large body which in all times and in all countries is ready to side with the dominant party; there was consequently no difficulty experienced in getting such men returned to parliament as would be pliant tools in the hands of Mary and her ministers. To the dismay of the protestants, though it would be to impeach their sagacity should we say that it was to their surprise also, parliament was opened not by prayer after the reformed ordinance, but by the celebration of mass in the Latin tongue. Taylor, bishop of Lincoln, more sincere, or at all events more courageous than some of his brethren, honestly refused to kneel at this mass, and was in consequence very rudely assailed by some of the catholic zealots, and at length actually thrust from the house.

After following the good example of the parliament of the last reign in passing an act by which all law of treason was limited to the statute of Edward III. and all law of felony to the law as it stood before 1 Henry VIII., the parliament pronounced the queen legitimate, annulled the divorce pronounced by Cranmer between Catharine of Aragon and Henry VIII., and severely censured Cranmer on account of that divorce. It is a little singular that even the acute Hume has not noticed the inconsistency with which Mary by the vote of her parliament, which in reality was *her* vote as the members were her mere creatures, denied the infallibility and upset the decision of that holy see, the infallibility of which she prescribed to her subjects on pain of the stake and the tar barrel!

Continuing in the same hopeful course, the parliament now at one fell swoop, and by a single vote, *repealed all those statutes of king Edward with respect to religion, which Mary had again and again, and sometimes even voluntarily, said that nothing should induce her to disturb!*

Mary, who even in her first youth had no feminine beauty to boast, was considerably above thirty years of age, indeed fast approaching to forty, when she ascended the throne; and when her parliament showed its anxiety as to her marriage she herself appeared to be fully as anxious. Courtney, son of the marquis of Exeter, whom she liberated from the Tower at her accession and created earl of Devon, was at that time a very young man, and possessed not only great perfection of manly beauty, but also, despite his long and dreary imprisonment, all those graces and accomplishments which are so rarely to be acquired elsewhere than at court. The queen was so favourably impressed by his manners and appearance, that she formed the idea of raising him to the dignity of her husband; and as her situation would have rendered any advances on his part presumptuous, she not only showed him all possible personal distinction, but even caused official hints to be given to him of the favour with which he might hope for his highest aspirations being received. But Courtney was young and romantic, and Mary was not only disagreeable in face and figure, and repulsive in manner, but was also very nearly old enough to be his mother, and he showed not the slightest intention of profiting by the amorous condescension of his sovereign. Enraged that he should neglect her, she was still more enraged when she discovered that he was a close attendant upon her sister Elizabeth, then in her first flush of youth. The parliament, by annulling the divorce of Mary's mother, had virtually pronounced Elizabeth's illegitimacy; and as Mary on discovering Courtney's partiality to that princess exhibited extreme annoyance and laid her under great restriction, Elizabeth's friends began to be seriously alarmed for even her personal safety, especially as her attachment to the reformed religion could not fail to increase the hatred called down upon her by the attachment of Courtney to herself.

Despairing of making any impression upon the youthful fancy of the earl of Devon, Mary now bestowed a passing glance at the graver and more elderly attractions of the cardinal Pole. It is true he was a cardinal, but he had never taken priest's orders. He was a man of high character for wisdom and humanity, and yet had suffered much for his attachment to the catholic church, of which on the death of Pope Paul III., he had nearly obtained the highest honour; and his mother, that old countess of Salisbury who was so brutally beheaded by order of Henry VIII., had been a most kind and beloved governess to Mary in her girlhood. But the cardinal was somewhat too far advanced in life to please Mary, and it was, moreover, hinted to her by her friends, that he was now too long habituated to a quiet and studious life to be able to reconcile himself to the glitter and bustle of the court. But though she rejected Pole as a husband, she resolved to have the benefit of his abilities as a minister, and she accordingly sent assurances to Pope Julius III. of her anxious desire to reconcile her kingdom to the holy see, and requested that cardinal Pole might be appointed legate to arrange that important business.

Charles V., the emperor, who but a few years before was master of all Germany, had recently met with severe reverses both in Germany and France, in which latter country he was so obstinately resisted by the duke of Guise, that he was at length obliged to retire with the remnant of his

dispirited army into the Low Countries. Far seeing and ambitious, Charles no sooner heard of the accession of Mary to the throne of England, than he formed the design of making the gain of that kingdom compensate for the losses he had sustained in Germany. His son Philip was a widower, and though he was only twenty-seven years of age, and eleven years Mary's junior, the emperor determined to demand her hand for his son, and sent over an agent for that purpose. If Mary had looked with favour upon Courtney's person, and had felt a passing attachment excited by the mental endowments of cardinal Pole, Philip had the double recommendation of being a zealous catholic, and of her mother's family. Thus actuated by bigotry and by family feeling, and being, moreover, by no means disinclined to matrimony, Mary gladly entertained the proposal, and was seconded by the advice not only of Norfolk, Arundel, and Paget, but also of Gardiner, whose years, wisdom, and the persecutions he had endured for catholicism had given him the greatest possible authority in her opinion. Gardiner, at the same time, strongly and wisely dissuaded the queen from further proceeding in her enterprise of making innovations in religion. He well observed that an alliance with Spain was already more than sufficiently unpopular; that the parliament, amidst all its complaisance and evident desire to make all reasonable concessions to the personal wishes and feelings of the sovereign, nevertheless had lately shown strong unwillingness to make any farther concession to Rome. He argued, too, that whereas any precipitate measures in religion just at this time would greatly, perhaps even fatally, increase the popular prejudice against the Spanish alliance, that alliance when once brought about would, contrariwise, enable the queen, unresisted, to work her own will in the other and far more important measure. To the emperor Gardiner transmitted the same reasonings, with the additional hint that it was necessary that, ostensibly or temporarily at least, the terms and conditions of the marriage should be such as to secure the favour of the English populace, by appearing to be even more than fairly favourable to English interests. The emperor, who had a very high opinion of Gardiner's sagacity and judgement, not only assented to all that he advised, but even enforced his advice as to religious moderation, at least for that time, in his own private letters to Mary. He even went still farther; for being informed that Pole, the sincerity and fervour of whose religious zeal not unfrequently triumphed over his great natural humanity, had sent Mary advice to proceed with rigour against open heresy, the emperor detained Pole at the town of Dillinghen, on the Danube, as he was on his way to England, lest his presence should prevent Mary from following his more pacific and politic counsels.

The parliament having openly expressed a dislike of Mary's proposed marriage with a son of Spain, was dismissed, and Mary's ministers had orders to press the match on to a conclusion. The convocation, which had been summoned at the same time as the parliament, was not contented with a general profession and exhibition of its attachment to the new order of things that Mary had so rapidly introduced, but the catholic part of it boldly volunteered to put the capital article between them and the catholics, transubstantiation, into dispute. The protestants argued, but could rarely be heard through the clamour raised by their adversaries, who finally, being the majority, complacently voted that they had clearly and decidedly triumphed. This triumph—at least of voices and numbers, if not of fair argument—so elated the Romanists, that they soon after renewed the dispute at Oxford, and as if to show how secure they held themselves to be of the victory, they caused Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley to be conveyed thither under a guard to take their parts in the debate, which ended, as may be anticipated, in the complete verbal triumph of the catholics.

A.D. 1554.—The complaisance of the parliament, and the formal debates on religion that had been initiated by Romanist members of convocation, were merely prelusive to still farther and more sweeping alterations in religion, which were made in defiance of all that the emperor and the astute Gardiner could urge to the contrary. It is true—and the fact confirms what we have more than once said as to the wide difference between the apparent and the real number of protestants existing during the two previous reigns—the mere connivance of government had in most parts of England sufficed to encourage the people to set aside the reformation in the most important particulars. But after the dismissal of parliament, the new regulations of Mary, or rather her new enactments of old abuses, were everywhere, openly, and by formal authority, carried into execution. Mass was reestablished, three-fourths of the clergymen, being attached to reform principles, were turned out of their livings, and replaced by zealous or seemingly zealous Romanists, and marriage was once again declared to be incompatible with the holding of any sacred office. The oath of supremacy was enjoined by the unrepealed law of Henry VIII., but it was an instruction to a commission which the queen now authorised to see to the more perfect and speedy reestablishment of mass and the other ancient rites, that clergymen should strictly be prohibited from taking the oath of supremacy on entering benefices.

While Mary was thus busied in preparing the way for laying her kingdom once more at the feet of the haughty pontiffs of Rome, the discontents thus caused were still farther increased by the fears, some well founded and some vague, but no less powerful on that account, excited in the public mind on account of the Spanish match. On the part of the court, in compliance with the sagacious advice of Gardiner, great care was taken to insert nothing in the marriage articles, which were published, that could at all fairly be deemed unfavourable to England.

Thus it was stipulated, that though the title of king should be accorded to Philip, the administration should be entirely in the queen; that no office whatever in the kingdom should be tenable by a foreigner; that English laws, customs, and privileges should remain unaltered; that the queen should not be taken abroad by Philip without her own consent, nor any of her children without that of the nobility; that a jointure of 60,000*l.* should be securely settled upon the queen; that the male issue, if any, of the marriage should inherit not only England, but also Burgundy and the Low Countries in any case, and that in the case of the death of Don Carlos, son of Philip, such male issue of Philip and Mary should also inherit Spain, Sicily, Milan, and all other the dominions of Philip.

Every day, however, increased the general dislike of the people to the Spanish match. The more prudent among even those who in principle were the most deeply and sincerely opposed to the contemplated marriage, did not, indeed, see that the mere anticipation of evil to come, and an anticipation, too, which was quite opposed to the avowed purposes of the emperor and Philip, could warrant an open resistance. But the reasonable and the just are seldom the majority where either the feelings or the interests of mankind are very much aroused and appealed to; and a few men of some note were soon found to place themselves at the head of the discontented, with the avowed intention of appealing to arms rather than allowing themselves to become the bond-slaves of the Spaniard. Had France at this critical juncture taken advantage of Mary's difficulties and want of popularity, it is very probable that her reign would have ended here, and that her memory would have been saved from the indelible stains of much and loathsome cruelty. But the king of France, though at war with Philip, would lend no aid to an English insurrection. Perhaps he felt that Mary, aided as she was certain to be by Spain, would surely put down any attempts at insurrection, in which case, she, of course, would aid the emperor against France; and to this motive he may not unreasonably be supposed to have added that feeling for the rights of sovereignty over subjects, which even the hostility of sovereigns can rarely banish from their hearts. From whatever motives, however, the king of France did refuse to aid the English in their proposed resistance to their sovereign's alliance with Philip of Spain. But this did not damp the enthusiasm of the leading opponents of the Spanish alliance. Sir Thomas Wyatt offered to raise and head the malcontents of Kent, and sir Peter Carew those of Devonshire; and they persuaded the duke of Suffolk to raise the midland counties, by assuring him that their chief object was to reinvest the lady Jane with the crown. A time was fixed for the simultaneous action of these leaders; and had the compact been punctually kept, it is more than probable that the enterprise would have been fully successful. But sir Peter Carew, in his exceeding eagerness, rose before the appointed time, and being in consequence, unsupported by Wyatt and the duke of Suffolk, was beaten at the first onset by the earl of Bedford, and with difficulty made his escape to France. Suffolk, on hearing of Carew's failure and flight, left town accompanied by his brothers, lord Thomas and sir Leonard Gray, and proceeded to the counties of Warwick and Leicester, where his chief influence lay. But he was hotly pursued by a party of horse under the earl of Huntingdon, and being overtaken before he could raise sufficient force for resistance, was obliged to disperse his few followers and conceal himself. Accident or treachery soon discovered his hiding place, and he was sent under an escort to London. Wyatt, in the meantime, raised the standard of revolt at Maidstone, in Kent, where he issued a passionate proclamation, inviting the people to aid him in removing evil counsellors from about the queen, and to prevent the utter ruin of the nation which must needs follow the completion of the Spanish match. Great numbers of persons joined him, and among them some catholics, as he had dexterously omitted from his proclamation all mention of religion. The duke of Norfolk, at the head of the queen's guards and some other troops, reinforced by five hundred Londoners under the command of Brett, marched against the rebels and came up with them at Rochester. Here sir George Harper, who had been with Wyatt, pretended to desert to the duke, but quickly returned to Wyatt carrying with him Brett and his Londoners, upon whom sir George's eloquence so wrought, that they professed their preference of death to aiding in the enslavement of their country. Norfolk, fearing that this desertion might mislead the rest of his force, now retreated, and Wyatt marched to Southwark, whence he sent to demand that the Tower should be placed in his hands, that the queen should free the nation from all terror of Spanish tyranny by marrying an Englishmen, and that four councillors should forthwith be placed in his hands as hostages for the performance of these conditions.

While Wyatt was wasting his time in sending this demand and awaiting a reply, Norfolk had secured London bridge, and had taken effectual steps to overawe the Londoners and prevent them from joining Wyatt. Perceiving his error when too late, Wyatt now marched to Kingston, where he crossed the river, and made his way unresisted into Westminster. Here, however, his followers rapidly deserted him, and he was encountered and seized in the Strand, near Temple-bar, by sir Morris Berkeley. Vast numbers of the deluded countrymen were at the same time seized, and as the queen's rage was proportioned to the fear and peril to which she had been subjected, the executions that followed were horribly numerous. It is said, that not less than four hundred of the captured wretches were put to death in cold blood; four hundred more were condemned, but being led before the queen with halters on their necks, they knelt to her and implored her grace, which was granted. Wyatt, the prime mover of

this revolt, was executed, as a matter of course. On the scaffold he took care to exonerate, in the most unequivocal terms, from all participation or even knowledge of his proceedings, the lady Elizabeth and the earl of Devon, whom Mary's jealous hatred had endeavoured to connect with this ill-started and ill-managed revolt. They were both seized and strictly examined by the council, but Wyatt's manly and precise declaration defeated whatever intent there might have been to employ false witnesses to convict them with his rash proceedings. But though Mary was thus prevented from proceeding to the last extremity against them, she sent Elizabeth under strict surveillance to Woodstock, and the earl of Devon to Fotheringay castle. To Elizabeth, indeed, immediate release was offered on condition of her accepting the hand of the duke of Savoy, and thus relieving her sister from her presence in the kingdom; but Elizabeth knew how to 'bide her time,' and she quietly, but positively, refused the proffered alliance.

All this time lord Guildford Dudley and the lady Jane had remained imprisoned, but unmolested and unnoticed. The time which had elapsed without any proceedings being taken against them, beyond their mere confinement, led everyone to suppose that their youth, and the obvious restraint under which they had acted, had determined Mary not to punish them beyond imprisonment, and that she would terminate even that when she safely could do so. But the imprudent, nay, the situation of his daughter and her husband being considered, the wicked connection of the duke of Suffolk with Wyatt's revolt, aroused in Mary that suspicion which was no less fatal to its objects than her bigotry. Jane now anew appeared to her in the character of a competitor for the throne. That she was not wilfully so, that she was so closely confined that she could not by any possibility correspond with the disaffected, were arguments to which Mary attached no importance. To her it was enough that this innocent creature, even now a mere girl and wishing for nothing so much as the quiet and studious moral life in which her earlier girlhood had been passed, might possibly be made the pretext for future revolt. The lord Guildford Dudley and lady Jane were, consequently, warned that the day was fixed for their execution. Subsequently the queen bestowed the cruel mercy of a reprieve for three days, on the plea that she did not wish, while inflicting bodily death on Jane, to peril her eternal salvation. The unhappy lady was, therefore, during the short remnant of her life importuned and annoyed by catholic priests, who were sent by the queen to endeavour to convert her to their faith. But she skilfully and coolly used all the arguments then in use to defend the reformed faith, and even wrote a Greek letter to her sister, adjuring her to persevere in the true faith whatever perils might environ her.

It was at first intended to behead both the prisoners at the same time and on the same scaffold. On reflection, motives of policy caused the queen to alter this determination; and it was ordered that the lord Guildford should first be executed on Tower-hill, and the lady Jane shortly afterwards within the precincts of the Tower, where she was confined.

On the morning appointed for the execution, lord Guildford sent to his young and unfortunate wife, and requested an interview to take an earthly farewell; but Jane, with a more masculine and self-possessed prudence, declined it, on the ground that their approaching fate required the full attention of each, and that their brief and bloody separation on earth would be followed by an eternal union. From her prison window the lady Jane saw her youthful husband led out to execution, and shortly afterwards saw his headless body brought back in a common cart. Even this sad spectacle, instead of shaking her firmness, did but the more confirm and strengthen a constancy which was founded not upon mere constitution, but upon long, serious, and healthy study.

Her own dread hour had at length arrived, and sir John Sage, the constable of the Tower, on summoning her to the scaffold, begged her to bestow some gift upon him which he might keep as a perpetual memorial of her. She gave him her tables in which, on seeing the dead body of her husband, she had written a sentence in Greek, Latin, and English, to the effect that though human justice was against her husband's body, the divine mercy would be favourable to his soul; that, for herself, if her fault deserved punishment, her youth, at least, and her imprudence, were worthy of excuse, and that she trusted for favour to God and to posterity.

On the scaffold she blamed herself not for ever having wished for the crown, but for not having firmly refused to act upon the wishes of others in reaching at it. She confessed herself worthy of death, and, being disrobed by her female attendants, calmly and unshrinkingly submitted herself to her fatal doom.

The duke of Suffolk and lord Thomas Gray were shortly afterwards executed for their share in Wyatt's revolt. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was tried in Guildhall for the same offence, but there being little or no evidence against him, his eloquent and acute defence led the jury to acquit him. With an arbitrary and insolent stretch of prerogative that now seems almost incredible, Mary, enraged at the acquittal, not only recommitted sir Nicholas to the Tower, where she kept him for a considerable time, but she even had the jury sent to prison, and fined from one to two thousand pounds each! The end she had in view in this abominably tyrannous conduct, however, was fully achieved. Thenceforth jurors were little prone to acquit the unhappy gentlemen, who, no matter how loosely, were charged with participation in the affair of Wyatt. Many were condemned merely in consequence of the terrors of their jurors, and among them was sir John Throgmorton, brother to sir Nicholas. Arrests took place every day, the Tower and other places

of confinement were filled with nobles and gentlemen, whose offence was that they chanced to be popular; the affection of the people being a deadly offence to the queen, who felt that she was loathed by them, and who felt so little secure against a new outbreak, that she sent out commissioners to disarm them, and lay up the seized arms in her strong holds.

In the midst of this gloomy state of things, the parliament was called upon to invest the queen with the power which had formerly been granted to her father, of disposing of the crown at her decease. Gardiner took care to dwell upon the precedent afforded by the power given to Henry VIII., and he had little fear of success because, independent of the general terror caused by the queen's merciless and sanguinary proceedings, the good will of numerous members of parliament had been purchased by the distribution of four hundred thousand crowns, which the emperor had sent over for that purpose.

But neither terror nor purchased complaisance could blind the house to the facts, that the queen detested Elizabeth, and that the legitimacy of the queen must imply the bastardy of Elizabeth. The manner, too, in which Gardiner in the course of his speech avoided mentioning Elizabeth, excepting merely as 'the lady Elizabeth,' and without styling her the queen's sister, confirmed the suspicion that, once invested with the power which she now claimed, the queen would declare Elizabeth illegitimate, and by making a will, bequeathing the throne to Philip, hand over the nation to all that Spanish tyranny of which such terrible anticipations had been and still were entertained.

As if to strengthen all other grounds of suspicion of Mary's intention, the hirelings and parasites of Philip were just now, as zealously as imprudently, busy in dwelling upon Philip's descent from the house of Lancaster, and representing him—taking Elizabeth's bastardy as a matter of course—as the next heir to Mary by right of descent.

Great then as, from fear or favour, was the desire of the whole parliament to gratify the queen, the determination not to throw the nation bound and blindfolded into the hands of the Spaniard was still greater. They not only refused to pass the bill to give Mary the power to will away the throne, but when another bill was introduced to make it treasonable to imagine or attempt the death of the queen's husband while she lived, they coolly laid it aside; and that Philip might not be led to complete the marriage by any lingering hope of possessing any authority in the nation which was unhappy enough to have Mary for its queen, the house passed a law enacting, 'That her majesty, as their only queen, should solely and as a sole queen enjoy the crown and sovereignty of her realms, with all the preeminences, dignities, and rights thereto belonging, in as large and ample a manner after her marriage as before, without any title or claim accruing to the prince of Spain, either as tenant by courtesy of the realm or by any other means.'

Having thus, as far as was in their power, limited and discouraged the dangerous ambition of the cruel and bigoted Philip, the parliament passed the ratification of the articles of marriage, which, indeed, were drawn so favourably to England, that no reasonable objection could have been made to them.

As nothing more could be extorted or bribed from parliament with respect to the queen's marriage, its attention was now directed to matters connected with religion. The bishopric of Durham, which had been divided in the reign of Edward, and which by an arbitrary edict of the queen had already been re-conferred upon Tonstal, was now re-erected by act of parliament. Some bills were also introduced for revising the laws against Lollardy, erroneous preaching, and heresy in general, and for the suppression of books containing heterodox opinions. But here again, to its credit, the parliament was both discriminating and firm; the bills were thrown out: and the queen perceiving that neither Philip's gold nor the terrors of her more sanguinary conduct could make this parliament, at least, sufficiently pliant and slavish for her purposes, she suddenly and sullenly dissolved it.

CHAPTER XLV.

The Reign of MARY (*continued*).

MARY'S age, and some consciousness perhaps of the addition made by her temper to the natural homeliness of her features, had tended to make the acquisition of a young and illustrious husband all the more eagerly desired, for its very improbability; and though she had seen only the portrait of her future husband, she had contrived to become so enamoured of him, that when the preliminaries of the marriage were all arranged, and the arrival of the prince was hourly expected, every delay and every obstacle irritated her almost to phrenzy. Though as a matter of ambition Philip was very desirous of the match, as a simple matter of love he was, at the very least, indifferent; and even the proverbial hauteur and solemnity of the Spanish character could not sufficiently account for the cold neglect which caused him to forbear from even favouring his future wife and queen with a letter, to account for delays which, in spite of her doating fondness, Mary could not but believe that the prince might easily have put an end to had his impatience been at all equal to her own. From blaming Philip, the impatient fondness so rare as well as so unbecoming at her advanced period of life, caused her to turn her resentment against her subjects, to whose opposition she chose to impute that indifference on the part of the prince, which really arose from dislike of her repulsive and prematurely aged person. A circumstance now occurred which greatly increased the queen's anger against her subjects, and which probably, in so sullen and resentful a nature as hers, did much to fan into a flame that fierce bigotry which subsequently lit the fires of persecution in every county in England, and left scarcely

a village without its martyr and its mourning. A squadron had been fitted out, and the command was given to Lord Effingham, to convoy the prince to England; but so unpopular was the service, and such strong symptoms appeared of a determined spirit of mutiny among the sailors, that lord Effingham frankly informed the queen that he did not think the prince would be safe in their hands, and the squadron was at once disbanded. But this measure, though indispensably necessary under the circumstances, brought no peace to the mind of the queen, for she now dreaded not merely the inevitable dangers of the sea, but also that her husband should be intercepted by the French fleet. The slightest rumour so heightened her self-torturing, that she was frequently thrown into convulsions; and not merely was her bodily health affected in the most injurious degree, but even her mind began to be affected to a very perceptible extent. Hypochondriac and pitiably nervous, she became painfully conscious of her want of beauty; though, with the usual self-flattery, she ascribed the repulsive aspect presented to her by her unflattering mirror wholly to her recent sufferings. From being frantically impatient for the arrival of Philip, the unhappy queen now became desponding, and dreaded lest on his arrival he should find her displeasing.

At length the object of so many hopes and fears arrived; the marriage was publicly and with great pomp performed at Winchester; and when Philip had made a public entry into London, and dazzled the eyes of the gazers with the immense riches he had brought over, Mary hurried him away to the comparative seclusion of Windsor. This seclusion admirably suited the prince, whose behaviour, from the day of his arrival, was as well calculated as though it had been purposely intended, to confirm all the unfavourable opinions that had been formed of him. In his manner he was distant, not with shyness but with overweening disdain; and the bravest and wisest of the oldest nobility of England had the mortification to see him pass them without manifesting by glance, word, or gesture, that he was conscious of their respect, salutations, or even their presence. The unavoidably wearisome etiquette of court was now so much increased by Spanish formalities, that both Philip and Mary may almost be said to have been inaccessible. This circumstance, however disgusting to her subjects, was in the highest degree pleasing to the queen; having at length possessed herself of her husband, she was unwilling that any one should share his company with her for a moment. More like a love-sick girl than a hard-featured and hard-hearted woman of forty, she could not bear the prince to be out of her sight; his shortest absence annoyed her, and if he showed the commonest courtesy to any of the court ladies, her jealousy was instantly shown to him, and her resentment to the fair who had been so unfortunate as to be honoured with his bare civility.

The womanly observation of Mary soon convinced her that the only way to Philip's heart was to gratify his ambition; and she was abundantly ready to purchase his love, or the semblance of it, even at the price of the total sacrifice of the liberties and interests of the whole English people. By means of Gardiner she used both fear and hope, both power and gold, to get members returned in her entire interests to a new parliament which she now summoned; and the returns were such as to promise that, in the existing temper of the nation, which had not yet forgotten the sanguinary punishment of the revolt under Wyatt, she might safely make her next great onward movement towards the entire restoration of catholicism and the establishment of her own absolute power.

Cardinal Pole, who was now in Flanders, invested with the office of legate, only awaited the removal of the attainder passed against him in the reign of Henry VIII. The parliament readily passed an act for that purpose, and the legate immediately came to England, when, after waiting on Philip and Mary, he presented himself to parliament, and formally invited the English nation to reconcile itself to the holy see from which, said the legate, it had been so long and so unhappily separated.

The well-trained parliament readily acknowledged and professed to deplore the defection of England, and presented an address to Philip and Mary, entreating them, as being uninfected by the general guilt, to intercede with the holy father for their forgiveness, and at the same time declared their intention to repeal all laws that were prejudicial to the church of Rome. The legate readily gave absolution to the parliament and people of England, and received them into the communion of Rome; and pope Julius III., with grave and bitter mockery, observed, when the formal thanks of the nation were conveyed to him, that the English had a strange notion of things thus to thank him for doing what he ought in fact to thank them for letting him do.

It must not be supposed that though the nobility and gentry in parliament assembled thus readily and crouchingly laid England once again at the feet of the Roman pontiff, that they were prepared fully to undo all that Henry had done. Indifferent as to the mode of faith prescribed to the multitude, they had not an objection to make this sudden and sweeping retransfer of the spiritual authority over England. But before they would consent to that transfer of spiritual authority, they obtained from Rome, as well as from the queen, the most positive assurances that the church property, snatched from the church and divided among laymen by Henry, should not be interfered with, but should remain undisturbed in the hands of its lay possessors. The parliament, also, in the very act by which it restored the pope's spiritual authority, enacted that all marriages contracted during the English separation from Rome should remain valid, and also inserted a clause which secured all holders of church lands in their possession, and the convocation presented a petition to the pope to the same effect, to which petition the legate gave an affirmative answer

Bigoted and arbitrary as Mary confessedly was, it appeared that she could not fully restore, even temporarily, the power of Rome.

The sentence had irrevocably gone forth against that grasping and greedy despotism; and though the accidental occurrence of a fiercely and coldly cruel bigot, in the person of Mary, being seated upon the throne, gave back for a time to Rome the spiritual jurisdiction, and the power to dictate and tyrannise in spiritual affairs, all the power and zeal of that bigot could not repossess the church of the lands which had become lay property. When Pole arrived in England he received information, amply confirmed by his own observations, which induced him without further struggle to agree to the formal and complete settlement of the lands, of which we have above given an account.

Perhaps no greater misfortune could have occurred to England than this very cession in form, by the pope, of the right of the laity to the lands of which they had possessed themselves at the expense of the church. Had Rome attempted to resume the solid property, as well as the spiritual rights, of the church, considerations of interest in the former would have caused the nobility and gentry to hesitate about surrendering the latter; but having secured their own property, the great were easily induced to hand over the bulk of the people to a spiritual tyranny which they flattered themselves that they would not suffer from. The vile old laws against heresy, which the former parliament had honestly and indignantly rejected, were now re-enacted; statutes were passed for punishing 'seditious words or rumours,' and it was made treason to imagine or to attempt the life of Philip during that of the queen, which, also, the former parliament had refused.

But, amidst all this disgusting sycophancy, even this complaisant parliament had still some English sense of reserve, and resisted every attempt of the queen to get her husband declared presumptive heir to the crown, intrusted with the administration, or even honoured with a coronation. The same anti-Spanish feeling which caused the firmness of parliament on those points, also caused it to refuse all subsidy in support of the emperor, in the war which he was still carrying on against France. These very plain indications of the feelings of the nation towards himself personally caused Philip, not indeed to lay aside his morose and impolitic hauteur, for that was part and parcel of his nature, and as inseparable from his existence as the mere act of breathing, but to endeavour to diminish his unpopularity by procuring the release of several distinguished prisoners, confined either for actual offence against the court, or for the *quasi* offence of being agreeable to the people. The most illustrious of these prisoners was the lady Elizabeth; and nothing that Philip could have done could have been more pleasing to the nation than his releasing that princess, and protecting her from the petty but no less annoying spitefulness of her sister.

About the same time, Philip's politic intervention also gave liberty to the lord Henry Dudley, sir George Harper, sir Nicholas Throgmorton, sir Edmund Warner, sir William St. Loe, and sir Nicholas Arnold, together with Harrington and Tremaine. The earl of Devonshire also was released from Fotheringay castle, and allowed to go abroad, but he only reached Padua when he was poisoned, and the popular rumour and belief ascribed the murder to the Imperialists.

Baffled in her endeavours to get her husband declared her heir presumptive, the queen became more than ever anxious for the honours of maternity, of the approach of which she at length imagined that she felt the symptoms. She was publicly declared to be pregnant, and Bonner, bishop of London, ordered public prayers to be put up, that the young prince—for the catholics chose to consider not merely the pregnancy of the queen, but even the sex of the child, a matter perfectly settled!—might be beautiful, strong, and witty. The people in general, however, manifested a provoking incredulity even as to the pregnancy of the queen, whose age and haggard aspect certainly promised no very numerous offspring; and the people's incredulity was shortly afterwards justified, it proving that the queen had been mistaken by the incipient symptoms of dropsy. To the last possible moment, however, Philip and his friends concealed the truth, and Philip was thus enabled to get himself appointed protector during the minority, should the child survive and the queen die. Finding that this was the utmost concession that could at present be wrung from the parliament, and trusting that it might by good management be made productive of more at some future time, the queen now dissolved the parliament.

A.D. 1555.—The dissolution of parliament was marked by an occurrence which of itself would be sufficient to indicate the despotic character of the times. Some members of the commons' house, unwilling to agree to the slavish complaisance commonly shown by the majority, and yet, as a minority, quite unable to stem the tide, came to the resolution to secede from their attendance. No sooner was the parliament dissolved than these members were indicted in the king's bench. Six of them, terrified at the mere thought of a contest with the powerful and vindictive queen, made the requisite submissions and obtained pardon; and the remainder exercised their right of traverse, thereby so long postponing the trial that the queen's death put an end to the affair altogether. Gardiner's success in bringing about the Spanish match to which the nation had been so averse, and the tact and zeal for the queen's service which he had shown in his dexterous management of the house of commons, made him now more than ever a weighty authority, not only with the queen but with the catholic party in general. It is singular enough, as Hume well remarks, that though this very learned prelate was far less zealous upon points of theology

than cardinal Pole, yet, while the mild temper of the latter allayed and chastened his tendency towards bigotry, the sterner and hardier character of the former caused him to look upon the free judgement of the commonalty as a presumption which it behoved the rulers of the land to put down, even by the severest and most unsparing resort to persecution. For some time it was doubtful whether the milder course, recommended as politic by Pole, or the sterner course, advocated as essentially necessary by Gardiner, would prevail. But Gardiner had the great advantage of advocating the system which was the most in accordance with the cruel and bigoted temper of both Philip and Mary; and Pole had the mortification not only of being vanquished by his opponent, but also of seeing full and terrible license and freedom given to the hitherto partially restrained demons of persecution.

Having determined the queen and court to a course of severity, Gardiner had no difficulty in persuading them that it was politic to select the first victims from among the eminent for learning or authority, or both; and Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's, a man still more remarkable for virtue and learning than for his eminence in the church and in the reformed party, had the melancholy honour of being singled out as the first victim. As instances of conversion were even more sought after by Gardiner than punishment, there was probably yet another reason why Rogers was selected for the first prosecution. He had a wife and ten children, and was remarkable for his affection both as a father and as a husband; and there was every probability that tenderness for them might lead him to avoid, by apostacy, a danger which otherwise he might have been expected to brave. But if Gardiner really reasoned thus, he was greatly mistaken. Rogers not only refused to recant an iota of his opinions at what was called his trial, but even after the fatal sentence of burning was passed upon him he still preserved such an equable frame of mind, that when the fatal hour arrived his gaolers actually had to awaken him from a sweet sound sleep to proceed to the stake. Such courage might, one would suppose, have disarmed even the wrath of bigotry; but Gardiner, when the condemned man asked permission to have a parting interview with his wife, brutally and scoffingly replied, that Rogers, being a priest, could not possibly have a wife! Rogers was burned at Smithfield, and the flames that consumed him may be said to have kindled a vast and moving pile that swallowed up sufferers of both sexes, and of nearly all ages, in every county in England.

Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, was tried at the same time with Rogers, and was also condemned to the stake, but, with a refinement upon cruelty, he was not executed at Smithfield, though tried in London, but sent for that purpose into his own diocese, that his agonies and death in the midst of the very scene of his labours of piety and usefulness, might the more effectually strike terror into the hearts of his flock. Hooper, however, turned what his enemies intended for an aggravation of his fate into a consolation, and an opportunity of giving to those whom he had long and faithfully taught, a parting proof of the sincerity of his teachings, and of the efficacy of genuine religion to uphold its sincere believers, even under the most terrible agonies that ruthless and mistaken man, in his pride of fierceness, can inflict upon his fellow worm. And terrible, even beyond the usual terrors of these abominable scenes, were the tortures of the martyred Hooper. The faggots provided for his execution were too green to kindle rapidly, and, a high wind blowing at the time, the flames played around his lower limbs without being able to fasten upon the vital parts. One of his hands dropped off, and with the other he continued to beat his breast, praying to heaven and exhorting the pitying spectators, until his swollen tongue could no longer perform its office; and it was three quarters of an hour before his tortures were at an end. Of the courage and sincerity of Hooper there is striking evidence in the fact that the queen's pardon was placed before him on a stool after he was tied to the stake, but he ordered it to be removed, preferring the direst torture with sincerity to safety with apostacy.

Sanders, burned at Coventry, also had the queen's pardon offered to him, and he also rejected it, embracing the stake and exclaiming, 'We have the cross of Christ! Welcome everlasting life.' Taylor, the clergyman of Hadley, in Hertfordshire, was burned at that place, in the presence of his parishioners. When tied to the stake he began to pray in English, which so enraged his guards, that, bidding him speak Latin, they struck him so violently on the head with their halberts, that he died on the instant, and was spared the lingering agonies prepared for him.

Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester, had very greatly distinguished himself by his zeal for protestantism. On one occasion, being engaged in a controversy with an Arian, the zeal of the archdeacon so far got the ascendancy over his good manners, that he actually spat in the Arian's face. Subsequently, and when he might have been expected to have repented on reflection of what he had done in the heat of passion, he published a formal justification of his conduct, in which he said that he felt bound to give that strong proof of the detestation of his opponent's blasphemy. So impetuous a man was not likely to escape notice in the persecution that now raged, and he was brought to trial for heresy and burned to death in Smithfield.

If Gardiner was the person to whom the persecution chiefly owed its commencement, it was Bonner, bishop of London, who carried it on with the coarsest and most unrelenting barbarity. Apart from all mere bigotry, this singularly brutal man appeared to derive positive sensual gratification from the act of inflicting torture. He occasionally, when he had prisoners under examination who did not answer to his satisfaction, would have them stripped

and flog them with his own hand. Nor was even this his worst brutality. An unfortunate weaver, on one occasion, refused to recant, when Bonner endeavoured to persuade him, and, as it is asserted, he first tore the unfortunate man's beard out by the root, and then held his hand in the flame of a lamp until the sinews burst, by way of giving him, as he said, some notion of what burning really was like!

When we say that this horrible system of persecution and cruelty endured for three years, and that in that time two hundred and twenty-seven persons are known to have suffered—while probably many more were similarly butchered of whom we have no account—while, besides men of all ranks from bishops to day-labourers, fifty-five women and four *children* thus perished, it must be obvious that a detailed account of this terrible season of cruelty would be disgusting, even were it not quite impracticable. We shall, therefore, add but a few more cases, and then leave a subject which cannot be treated of, even at this distance of time, without feelings of disgust and horror.

Ferrar, bishop of St. David's in Wales, being condemned to death as a heretic, appealed to cardinal Pole; but his appeal was wholly unattended to, and the unfortunate bishop was burned in his own diocese.

There yet remained two still more illustrious victims to be immolated. Ridley, formerly bishop of London, and Latimer, formerly bishop of Worcester, had long been celebrated for both the zeal and the efficiency of their support of the cause of the reformation. In the preaching of both there was a certain nervous homeliness, which made their eloquence especially effective upon the minds and hearts of the lower orders, and on that very account these two prelates were more formidable to the Romanists than they would have been had they affected a more learned and chastened style. That two such capital enemies of Romanism—one of whom, moreover, had even for some time been possessed of Bonner's own see—should escape, could not be expected. They were tried and condemned, and both burned at the same stake at Oxford. Both died with courage and a calm constancy not to be surpassed. Even when they were already tied to the stake, and the revolting tragedy commenced, Latimer cheerfully called out, 'Be of good courage, brother Ridley, we shall this day kindle such a torch in England, as, I trust in God, shall never be extinguished.' Latimer, who was very aged, suffered but little, being very early killed by the explosion of some gunpowder which the executioner had mercifully provided for that purpose; but Ridley was seen to be alive some time after he was surrounded by flames.

As neither age nor youth, neither learning nor courage, could make any impression upon the flinty heart of Bonner, so neither could even the most heroic proof of filial piety. A young lad, named Hunter, who was only in his nineteenth year, suffered himself, with the imprudence common to youth, to be drawn into a religious argument with a priest, in the course of which argument he had the farther imprudence to deny the real presence. Subsequently he began to apprehend the danger of what he had done, and absconded lest any treachery on the part of the priest should involve him in punishment. The priest, as the young man had feared, did give information, and Bonner, learning that the youth had absconded, caused his father to be seized, and not only treated him with great immediate severity, but threatened him with still worse future treatment. The youth no sooner heard of the danger and trouble to which he had unintentionally exposed his father, than he delivered himself up. To a generous man this conduct would have been decisive as to the propriety of overlooking the lad's speculative error or boldness; but Bonner knew no remorse, and the youth was mercilessly committed to the flames.

As though the national dread and detestation of the Spanish alliance had not already been but too abundantly justified by the event, spies were sent out in every direction, and a commission was appointed for enquiring into and punishing all spiritual and even some civil crimes; and two very brief extracts from the commission and instructions will show that in object, powers, and process, the commissioners were, only under another name, inquisitors, and their spies and informers officials of the inquisition. The commission said, that 'since many false rumours were published among the subjects, and many heretical opinions were also spread among them, the commissioners were to enquire into those either by presentments, by witnesses, or any other political way they could devise, and to search after all heresies, the bringers in, the sellers, the readers of all heretical books; to examine and punish all misbehaviours or negligences in any church or chapel; to try all priests that did not preach the sacrament of the altar; all persons that did not hear mass or go to their parish church to service; that would not go in processions or did not take holy bread or holy water; and if they found any that did obstinately persist in such heresies, they were to put them into the hands of their ordinaries, to be punished according to the spiritual laws; giving the commissioners full power to proceed as their discretion and *consciences* should direct them, and to use all such means as they would *invent* for the searching of the premises, empowering them, also, to call before them such witnesses as they pleased, and to *force them to make oath of such things as might discover what they sought after.*' This new commission was, in fact, an English inquisition! and the following extract from Hume abundantly shows the determination that that inquisition should not want for *officials* and *familiars.*

'To bring the method of proceeding in England still nearer to the practice of the inquisition, letters were written to lord North and others, enjoining them "to put to the torture" such obstinate persons as

would not confess, and there to order them at their discretion.'

While Philip and Mary were thus exhibiting an evil industry and zeal to bring about the reconcilement of the kingdom to Rome, Paul IV., who now filled the papal throne, took advantage of Mary's bigotry to assume the right of *conferring* upon Mary the kingdom of Ireland, which she already possessed *de facto et de jure* as part and parcel of the English sovereignty, and to insist upon the restoration to Rome of certain lands and money! Several of the counsel, probably fearing that by degrees Rome would demand back all the church property, pointed out the great danger of impoverishing the kingdom, and but that death had deprived Mary of the shrewd judgement of Gardiner, such concessions would probably not have been made to the grasping spirit of Rome. But Mary replied to all objections by saying that she preferred the salvation of her own soul to ten such kingdoms as England. A bill was accordingly presented to parliament for restoring to the church the tenths, first fruits, and all impropriations which remained in the hands of the queen. At first sight it might seem that parliament had little cause or right to interfere in a matter which, as far as the terms of the bill went, concerned only the queen herself. But the lay possessors of church lands naturally enough considered that subjects would scarcely be spared after the sovereign had been mulcted. Moreover, while some, probably a great number, of the members were chiefly moved by this consideration, all began to be both terrified and disgusted by the brutal executions which had disgraced the whole nation. A steady opposition consequently arose: and when the government applied for a subsidy for two years and for two fifteenths, the latter were refused, and the opposition, with equal bitterness and justice, gave as the reason of this refusal, that while the crown was wilfully divesting itself of revenue in behalf of Rome, it was quite useless to bestow wealth upon it. The dissatisfaction of the parliament was still farther evidenced by the rejection of two bills, enacting penalties against such exiles as should fail to return within a certain time, and for incapacitating for the office of justice of the peace such magistrates as were remiss in the prosecution of heretics. This fresh and pointed proof of the displeasure of the parliament determined the queen to dissolve it. But the dissolution of the parliament did not diminish the pecuniary embarrassment of the queen. Her husband had now been several months with his father in Flanders; and the very little of his correspondence with which he favoured her chiefly consisted of demands for money. Stern and unfeeling as she was to everyone else, the infatuated queen was passionately attached to the husband who certainly took no pains to conceal his dislike of her; and as the parliament, previous to its dissolution, had granted her but a scanty supply, she was led, by her anxiety to meet her husband's demands, to extort money from her subjects in a manner the most unjustifiable. From each of one thousand persons, of whose personal attachment she affected to be quite certain, she demanded a *loan* of 60*l.*; and even this large sum being inadequate to her wants, she demanded a farther general loan from all persons possessing twenty pounds a year and upwards; a measure which greatly distressed the smaller gentry. Many of them were obliged by her inroads upon their purses to discharge some of their servants, and as these men suddenly thrown upon the world became troublesome, the queen issued a proclamation to compel their former employers to take them back again! Upon seven thousand yeomen who had not as yet contributed, she levied sixty thousand marks, and from the merchants she obtained the sum of six and thirty thousand pounds. She also extorted money by the most tyrannous interference with trade, as regarded both the foreign and native merchants; yet after all this shameless extortion she was so poor, that she offered, and in vain, so bad was her credit, fourteen per cent. for a loan of 30,000*l.* Not even that high rate of interest could induce the merchants of Antwerp, to whom she offered it, to lend her the money, until by menaces she had induced her good city of London to be security for her! Who would imagine that we are writing of the self-same nation that so shortly afterwards warred even to the death with Charles I. for the comparatively trifling matter of the ship money?

The poverty which alone had induced Philip to correspond with her was now terminated, the emperor Charles the Fifth, that prince's father, resigning to him all his wealth and dominion, and retiring to a monastery in Spain.

A. D. 1556.—Cranmer, though during the whole of this reign he had been left unnoticed in confinement, was not forgotten by the vindictive queen. She was daily more and more exacerbated in her naturally wretched temper by the grief caused by the contemptuous neglect of her husband. Her private hours were spent in tears and complaints; and that misery which usually softens even the most rugged nature had in her case only the effect of making her still more ruthless and unsparing.

Cranmer, though he had during part of Henry's reign warded off that monarch's rage from Mary, was very much hated by her for the part he had taken in bringing about the divorce of her mother, and she was not only resolved to punish him, but also to make his death as agonising as possible. For the part he had taken in the opposition to her ascending the throne she could easily have had him beheaded, but nothing short of the flames seemed to her to be a sufficiently dreadful punishment for him. She caused the pope to cite him to Rome, there to take his trial for heresy. Being a close prisoner in the Tower, the unfortunate prelate perforce neglected the citation, and he was condemned *par contumace*, and sentenced to the stake. The next step was to degrade him from his sacred office: and Bonner, who with Thirlo-

by, bishop of Ely, was intrusted with this task, performed it with all the insolent and triumphant brutality consonant with his nature. Firmly believing that Cranmer's eternal as well as earthly punishment was assured, the queen was not yet contented; she would fain deprive him in his last hours even of human sympathy, and the credit attached to consistency and fidelity to the cause he had embraced. Persons were employed to persuade him that the door of mercy was still open to him, and that he, who was so well qualified to be of wide and permanent service to mankind, was in duty bound to save himself by a seeming compliance with the opinions of the queen. The fear of death, and the strong urgings of higher motives, induced Cranmer to comply, and he agreed to subscribe to the doctrines of the real presence and the papal supremacy.

Having induced Cranmer privately to sign his recantation, the queen now demanded that he should complete the wretched price of his safety by publicly making his recantation at St. Paul's before the whole people. Even this would not have saved Cranmer. But, either from his own judgement, or from the warning of some secret friend, Cranmer perceived that it was intended to send him to execution the moment that he should thus have completed and published his degradation. All his former high and courageous spirit was now again aroused within him; and he not only refused to comply with this new demand, but openly and boldly said that the only passage in his life of which he deeply and painfully repented was that recantation which, in a moment of natural weakness, he already had been induced to make. He now, he said, most sincerely repented and disavowed that recantation, and inasmuch as his hand had offended in signing it, so should his hand first suffer the doom which only that single weakness and insincerity had made him deserving. The rage of the court and its sycophants at hearing a public avowal so different from that which they expected scarcely left them as much decency of patience as would allow them to hear him to the end of his discourse; and the instant that he ceased to speak he was led away to the stake.

True to his promise, Cranmer when the faggots were lighted held out his hand into the rising flames until it was consumed, repeatedly exclaiming as he did so '*This unworthy hand!*' '*This hand has offended!*' The fierce flames, as they reached his body, were not able to subdue the sublime serenity to which he had wrought his Christian courage and endurance, and as long as his countenance was visible to the appalled bystanders, it wore the character not of agony but of a holy sacrifice, not of despair but of an assured and eternal hope. It is said by some protestant writers of the time, that when the sad scene was at an end, his heart was found entire and uninjured; but probably this assertion took its rise in the singular constancy and calmness with which the martyr died. Cardinal Pole, on the death of Cranmer, was made archbishop of Canterbury. But though this ecclesiastic was a man of great humanity as well as of great ability, and though he was sincerely anxious to serve the great interests of religion, not by ensnaring and destroying the unhappy and ignorant laity, but by elevating the clergy in the moral and intellectual scale, to render them more efficient in their awfully important service, there were circumstances which made his power far inferior to his will. He was personally disliked at Rome, where his tolerance, his learning, and his addiction to studious retirement, had caused him to be suspected of, at least, a leaning to the new doctrine.

A.D. 1557.—In the midst of Mary's fierce persecutions of her protestant subjects, she was self-tortured beyond all that she had it in her power to inflict on others, and might have asked, in the words of the dying inca to his complaining soldier, 'Think you that *I*, then, am on a bed of roses?' War raged between France and Spain, and next to her desire firmly to re-establish catholicism in England, was her desire to lavish the blood and treasure of her people on the side of Spain. Some opposition being made, Philip visited London, and the queen's zeal in his cause was increased, instead of being, as, in the case of a nobler spirit, it would have been, utterly destroyed, by his sullen declaration, that if England did not join him against France, he would see England no more. Even this, however much it affected the queen, did not bear down the opposition to a war which, as the clear-headed members discerned, would be intolerably expensive in any case, and, if successful, would tend to make England a mere dependency of Spain. Under the circumstances a true English patriot, indeed, must have wished to see Spain humbled not exalted; crippled in its finances, not enriched. It unfortunately happened, however, that an attempt was made to seize Scarborough, and Stafford and his fellows in this attempt confessed that they were incited to it by Henry of France. This declaration called up all the dominant national antipathy to France; the prudence of the opposition was at once laid asleep; war was declared, and every preparation that the wretched financial state of England would permit, was made for carrying it on with vigour. By dint of a renewal of the most shameless and excessive extortion, the queen contrived to raise and equip an army of ten thousand men, who were sent to Flanders under the earl of Pembroke. To prevent disturbances at home, Mary, in obedience probably to the advice of her cold and cruel husband, caused many of the first men in England, from whom she had any reason to fear any opposition, to be seized and imprisoned in places where even their nearest friends could not find them.

The details of the military affairs between France and Spain with her English auxiliaries belong to the history of France. In this place it may suffice to say, that the talents of Guise rendered all our attempts useless; and that, so far from benefiting Philip, we lost Calais, that key to France,

of which England was so chary and so proud. Even the cold and unpatriotic heart of Mary was touched by this capital misfortune; and she was often heard to say, in the agonies of her grief, that after her death 'Calais' would be found visibly graven upon her broken heart. But regrets were vain, and wisdom came too late. France improved her success by stirring up the Scotch; and, with such a danger threatening her very frontier, England was obliged sullenly and silently to withdraw from an onerous warfare, which she had most unwisely entered upon.

Philip continued the war for some time after England had virtually withdrawn from it; and he was negotiating a peace and insisting upon the restoration of Calais as one of its conditions, when Mary, long labouring under a dropsy, was seized with mortal illness and died, in the year 1558, after a most wretched and mischievous reign of five years and four months. This miserable woman has been allowed the virtue of sincerity as the sole good, the one oasis, in the dark desert of her character. But even this virtue must, on careful examination, be denied to her by the impartial historian. As a whole, indeed, her course is *not* marked by insincerity. But why? Her ferocity and despotism were too completely unresisted to leave any room for the exercise of falsehood, after the very first days of her disgraceful reign. But in those first days, while it was yet uncertain whether she could resist the power and ability of the ambitious and unprincipled Northumberland, she proved that she could use guile where force was wanting. Her promises to the protestants were in many cases voluntary, and in all profuse and positive; yet she no sooner grasped the sceptre firmly in her hand, than she scattered her promises to the winds, and commenced that course of bigotry and cruelty which has covered her memory with disgrace.

CHAPTER XLVI.

The Reign of ELIZABETH.

A.D. 1558.—So completely had the arbitrary and cruel reign of Mary disgusted her subjects, almost without distinction of rank or religious opinions, that the accession of Elizabeth was hailed as a blessing unalloyed and almost too great to have been hoped for. The parliament had been called together a few days before the death of Mary, and when Heath, archbishop of York, as chancellor, announced that event, he was hardly allowed to conclude ere both houses burst into the joyful cry of 'God save queen Elizabeth! Long and happily may she reign!'

Elizabeth when she received the news of her sister's death was at Hatfield, where she had for some time resided in studied retirement: for, even to the last, Mary had shown that her malignity against her younger sister had suffered no abatement, and required only the slightest occasion to burst out in even fatal violence. When she had devoted a few days to the appearance of mourning, she proceeded to London and took up her abode in the Tower. The remembrance of the very different circumstances under which she had formerly visited that blood-stained fortress, when she was a prisoner, and her life in danger from the malignity of her then all-powerful sister, affected her so much, that she fell upon her knees and returned thanks anew to the Almighty for her safe deliverance from danger, which, she truly said, was scarcely inferior to that of Daniel in the den of lions. Her immediately subsequent conduct showed that her heart was properly affected by the emotions which called forth this act of piety. She had been much injured and much insulted during the life of her sister; for such was the hateful and petty cast of Mary's mind, that there were few readier ways to win her favour than by insult or injury to the then friendless daughter of Anne Boleyn. But Elizabeth now seemed determined only to remember the past in her thankfulness for her complete and almost miraculous deliverance from danger. She allowed neither word nor glance to express resentment, even to those who had most injured her. Sir H. Bedingfield, who had for a considerable time been her host, and who had both harshly and disrespectfully caused her to feel that though nominally his guest and ward, she was in reality his jealously watched prisoner, might very reasonably have expected a cold if not a stern reception; but even this man she received with affability when he first presented himself, and never afterwards inflicted any severer punishment upon him than a good-humoured sarcasm. The sole case in which she manifested a feeling of dislike was that of the brutal and blood-stained Bonner, from whom, while she addressed all the other bishops with almost affectionate cordiality, she turned away with an expression of horror and disgust.

As soon as the necessary attention to her private affairs would allow her, the new queen sent off messengers to foreign courts to announce her sister's death and her own accession. The envoy to Philip, who at this time was in Flanders, was the lord Cobham, who was ordered to return the warmest thanks of his royal mistress for the protection he had afforded her when she so much needed it, and to express her sincere and earnest desire that their friendship might continue unbroken. The friendly earnestness of Elizabeth's message strengthened Philip in a determination he had made even during the illness of Mary, of whose early death he could not but have been expectant, and he immediately instructed his ambassador to the court of London to offer the hand of Philip to Elizabeth. Blinded by his eager desire to obtain that dominion over England which his marriage with Mary had failed to secure, Philip forgot that there were many objections to this measure; objections which he, indeed, would easily have overlooked, but which the sagacious Elizabeth could not fail to notice. As a catholic, Philip was necessarily disliked by the protestants who had so lately tasted of catholic persecution in its worst form; as a Spaniard, he was cordially detested by

Englishmen of either creed. But apart from and beyond these weighty objections, which of themselves would have been fatal to his pretensions, he stood in precisely the same relationship to Elizabeth that her father had stood in to Catherine of Arragon, and in marrying Philip, Elizabeth would virtually, and in a manner which the world would surely not overlook, pronounce her mother's marriage illegal and her own birth illegitimate. This last consideration alone would have decided Elizabeth against Philip; but while in her heart she was fully and irrevocally determined never to marry him, she even thus early brought into use that duplicity for which she was afterwards as remarkable as for her higher and nobler qualities, and sent him so equivocal and undecided an answer, that so far from despairing of success, Philip actually sent to Rome to solicit the dispensation that would be necessary.

With her characteristic prudence, Elizabeth, through her ambassador at Rome, announced her accession to the pope. That exalted personage was grieved at the early death of Mary, not only as it deprived Rome of the benefit of her bigotry, but as it made way for a princess who was already looked up to with pride and confidence by the protestants; and he suffered his double vexation to manifest itself with a very indiscreet energy. He treated Elizabeth's assumption of the crown without his permission as being doubly wrong; wrong, as treating with disrespect the holy see, to which he still deemed England subject, and wrong, as the holy see had pronounced her birth illegitimate. This sort of conduct was by no means calculated to succeed with Elizabeth: she immediately recalled her ambassador from Rome, and only pursued her course with the more resolved and open vigour. She recalled home all who had been exiled, and set at liberty all who had been imprisoned for their religious opinions during the reign of her sister; she caused the greater part of the service to be performed in English, and she forbade the elevation of the host in her own chapel, which she set up as the standard for all other places of worship. But, always cool and cautious, Elizabeth, while she did thus much and thus judiciously to favour the reformers, did not neglect to discourage those who not only would have fain outstripped her in advancing reform, but even have inflicted upon the Romanists some of the persecutions of which they themselves had complained. On occasion of a petition being presented to her, it was said, in that partly quaint and partly argumentative style which in that age was so greatly affected, that having graciously released so many other prisoners, it was to be hoped that she would receive a petition for the release of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. Being as yet undetermined as to the extent to which it would be desirable to permit or encourage the reading of the scriptures, she readily replied, that previous to doing so she must consult those prisoners, and learn whether they desired their liberty. To preaching she was never a great friend; one or two preachers, she was wont to say, were enough for a whole county. And, at this early period of her reign, she deemed that the indiscreet zeal of many of the most noted of the protestant preachers was calculated to promote that very persecution of the Romanists which she was especially anxious to avoid; and she, consequently, forbade all preaching save by special licence, and took care to grant licences only to men of discretion and moderation, from whose preaching no evil was to be apprehended.

The parliament was very early employed in passing laws for the suppression of the recently erected monasteries, and restoring the alienated tenths and first fruits to the crown. Sundry other laws were passed chiefly relating to religion; but those laws will be sufficiently understood by those who have attentively accompanied us thus far, when we say, that they, substantially, abolished all that Mary had done, and restored all that she had abolished of the laws of Edward.

The then bishops, owing everything to her sister and to catholicism, were so greatly offended by these clear indications of her intended course, that they refused to officiate at her coronation, and it was not without some difficulty that the bishop of Carlisle was at length prevailed upon to perform the ceremony.

The most prudent and effectual steps having thus been taken to secure the protestant interests without in any degree awakening or encouraging whatever there might be of protestant bigotry, and to despoil the Romanists of what they had violently acquired without driving them to desperation, the queen caused a solemn disputation to be held before Bacon, whom she had made lord keeper, between the protestant and the romanist divines. The latter were vanquished in argument, but were too obstinate to confess it; and some of them were so refractory that it was deemed necessary to imprison them. Having been thus far triumphant, the protestants proceeded to their ultimate and most important step; and a bill was passed by which the mass was abolished, and the liturgy of king Edward reestablished; and penalties were enacted against all who should either absent themselves from worship or depart from the order here laid down. Before the conclusion of the session, the parliament gave a still farther proof of its attachment to the queen, and of its desire to aid her in her designs, by voting her a subsidy of four shillings in the pound on land, and two and eightpence on goods, with two fifteenths. Well knowing all the dangers of a disputed succession, the parliament at the same time petitioned her to choose a husband. But the queen, though she acknowledged that the petition was couched in terms so general and so respectful that she could not take any offence at it, protested that always undesirous of changing her condition, she was now more than ever so; she was anxious only to be the wife of England and the mother of the English, and had no higher ambition than to have for

her epitaph, 'Here lies Elizabeth, who lived and died a maiden queen.'

A.D. 1559.—The parliament just prorogued had, as we have shown, got through a vast deal of important business in the session; but though that was the first session of a new reign, and of a reign, too, immediately following one in which such horrors of tyrannous cruelty had been enacted, it is to be remarked, to the praise of the moderation of both queen and parliament, that not a single bill of attainder was passed, though some attaints by former parliaments were mercifully or justly removed.

While the queen had been thus wisely busy at home, she had been no less active abroad. Sensible that her kingdom required a long season of repose to enable it to regain its power, she ordered her ambassadors, lord Effingham and the bishop of Ely, to conclude peace with France on any terms; and peace was accordingly concluded. But as the marriage of Henry and Anne Boleyn had been concluded in open opposition to Rome, France chose to deem Elizabeth wrongfully seated upon the throne; and the duke of Guise and his brothers, seeing that Mary, queen of Scots, the wife of the dauphin, would—supposing Elizabeth out of the question—be the rightful heir, persuaded the king of France to order his son and his daughter-in-law to assume both the title and the arms of England. The death of Henry of France at a tournament not being followed by any abandonment on the part of Mary and her husband, then Francis II. of France, of this most unwarrantable and insulting assumption, Elizabeth was stung into the commencement of that deadly hatred which subsequently proved so fatal to the fairer but less prudent Mary of Scotland.

A.D. 1561.—The situation of Scotland and the circumstances which occurred there at this period will be found in all necessary detail under the proper head. It will suffice to say, here, that the theological and civil disputes that raged fiercely among the turbulent and warlike nobility of Scotland and their respective followers, plunged that country into a state of confusion, which encouraged Elizabeth in her hope of extorting from Mary, now a widow, a clear and satisfactory abandonment of her assumption; an abandonment which, indeed, had been made for her by a treaty at Edinburgh, which treaty Elizabeth now, through Throgmorton, her ambassador, demanded that Mary should ratify. But wilfulness and a certain petty womanly pique determined Mary to refuse this, although immediately on the death of her husband she had laid aside both the title and the arms of queen of England.

Mary's residence in France, meanwhile, had become very disagreeable to her from the ill offices of the queen mother, and she resolved to comply with the invitation of the states of Scotland to return to that kingdom. She accordingly ordered her ambassador, D'Oisel, to apply to Elizabeth for a safe conduct through England; but Elizabeth, through Throgmorton, refused compliance with that request, except on condition of Mary's ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh. Mary remonstrated in severe though chastened terms, and immediately determined upon proceeding to Scotland by sea, for which purpose she embarked at Calais. Elizabeth at the same time sent out cruisers, ostensibly to pursue pirates, but, as it should seem, with the intention of seizing upon the person of Mary, who, however, passed through the English squadron in a fog, and arrived safely at Leith. But though safe, Mary was far from happy. She had loved France with even more than a native's love, and only ceased to gaze upon its receding shores when they were hidden by the darkness of night. The manners of the French were agreeable to her; she had become, as it were, 'native and to the manner born,' in that land of gaiety and frivolity; and all that she heard of the stern harsh bigotry of the predominant party in Scotland, led her to anticipate nothing but the most wearisome and melancholy feelings. Her youth, her beauty, her many accomplishments, and, above all, the novelty of seeing their sovereign once more among them, caused the Scots to give her a most joyous and affectionate reception. Her first measures were well calculated to confirm the favourable opinion which her people appeared to entertain. She gave, at least ostensibly, all her confidence and nearly all her attention to the leaders of the reformed party, who, indeed, had now complete power over the great mass of the Scottish people. Secretary Lidington and her brother, lord James, whom she created earl of Murray, ably seconded her endeavours to introduce something like order into that land so long and so grievously torn by faction and strife, and as the measures taken were at once firm and conciliatory, everything seemed to promise success.

But there was, amidst all this seeming promise of better times, one fatal element which rendered her success nearly impossible. Bigotry in England was personified mildness and toleration, compared to the intense and envenomed bigotry which at that time existed in Scotland. Mary on her very first entrance into Scotland had issued an order that every one should submit to the reformed religion. But she herself was still a papist; and scarcely was the first joy of her arrival subsided when the reformed preachers began to denounce her on that account. The celebration of catholic rites in her own chapel would have been sternly refused her by the zealous preachers and their zealous followers, had not the multitude been induced to side by her in that matter, from fear of her returning to France in disgust. But even that consideration did not prevent the preachers and some of their followers from proceeding to the most outrageous lengths; and this single circumstance sufficed to throw the whole Scottish people into confusion and uneasiness.

Wisely chary of expense, and profoundly politic, Elizabeth saw that the bigotry of Mary's subjects would find that princess other employment than that of making

any attempt to disturb the peace of England. She therefore turned her attention to improving the arts, commerce, navy, and artillery of England; and with so much judgement, and with such great as well as rapid success, that she well merited the title that was bestowed upon her, of 'the restorer of naval glory and queen of the northern seas.' Her spirit and prudence had naturally enough encouraged foreign princes to believe, that though she had in some sort pledged herself to a maiden life, it was not impossible to dissuade her from persevering in that resolution. The archduke Charles, second son of the emperor; Casimir, son of the elector palatine; Eric, king of Sweden; Adolph, duke of Holstein; and the earl of Arran, presumptive heir to the crown of Scotland, were among the suitors for her hand. Nor were there wanting aspirants to that high and envied honour even among her own subjects. The earl of Arundel, though old enough to be her father, and sir William Pickering were among those who flattered themselves with hope; as was lord Robert Dudley, a son of the ambitious duke of Northumberland beheaded in the reign of Mary; and as the fine person and showy accomplishments of this last caused the queen to treat him with more favour and confidence than his actual talents seemed to warrant from so acute a judge of men's merits as Elizabeth, it was for some time very generally imagined that he was a favoured lover. But the queen answered all addresses with a refusal, and yet not such a refusal as to utterly destroy that feeling of attachment which was so useful to her as a queen, and—can we doubt it?—so agreeable as well as flattering to her as a woman. But though Elizabeth appeared to be decidedly disinclined to marriage, nothing appeared to offend her more than the marriage of any who had pretensions to succeed her. A remarkable instance of this occurred in the case of the lady Catherine Grey, youngest sister of the hapless lady Jane. This lady married, in second nuptials, the earl of Hertford, son of the protector Somerset, and, the lady proving pregnant, Elizabeth confined both husband and wife in the Tower, where they remained for nine years. At the end of that time the countess died, and then the queen at length gave the persecuted earl his liberty.

A.D. 1562.—Besides all considerations of his personal and ineradicable bigotry, Philip of Spain had yet another motive for fulfilling the vow which, on escaping from a violent tempest he had made, to do all that in him lay for the extirpation of heresy. Of that 'heresy' Elizabeth, by the common consent not only of her own subjects but of the protestants of all Europe, was looked upon as the child and champion; and her rejection of Philip's hand, and her consequent baffling of all his hopes of obtaining sway over England, had excited his gloomy and vindictive nature to a fierce and personal hatred. In every negotiation, under every circumstance, he made this hatred to the queen appear in his virulent and obstinate opposition to the interests of England. Not content with the most violent persecution of the protestants wherever his own authority could be stretched to reach them, he lent his aid to the queen mother of France. That aid so fearfully turned the scale against the French Huguenots, that their chivalrous leader, the prince of Condé, was fain to apply for aid to the protestant queen of England. He appealed to her interest as well as to her religious sympathies. The Huguenots possessed nearly the whole of Normandy; and Condé offered to give Elizabeth possession of Havre-de-Grace, on condition that she should put a garrison of three thousand men into that place, send three thousand men to garrison Dieppe and Rouen, and supply money to the amount of a hundred thousand crowns. The offer was tempting. True it was that the French were by treaty bound to restore Calais, but there were many reasons for doubting whether that agreement would be fulfilled. Possessed of Havre, and thus commanding the mouth of the Seine, England would be the more likely to be able to command the restitution of Calais; the offer of Conde was accordingly accepted. Havre and Dieppe were immediately garrisoned, but the latter place was speedily found to be untenable, and evacuated accordingly. To Rouen the catholics were laying siege, and it was with great difficulty that Poynings threw in a small reinforcement of English to aid the Huguenot garrison. Thus aided, the Huguenots fought bravely and well, but were at length overpowered and put to the sword. About the same time three thousand more English arrived to the support of Havre, under the command of the earl of Warwick, eldest brother of the lord Robert Dudley. With this aid and a second sum of a hundred thousand crowns, the Huguenots, though severely beaten near Dreux, where Condé and Montmorency were taken prisoners by the catholics, still kept well together, and even took some considerable towns in Normandy.

A.D. 1563.—How sincerely desirous Elizabeth was of effectually aiding the Huguenots will appear from the fact that, while she had thus assisted them with a numerous body of admirable troops and with two hundred thousand crowns, as well as proffered her bond for another hundred thousand if merchants could be found to lend the amount, she was now so poor that she was obliged to summon a parliament and demand assistance. This demand led to a renewal of the parliament's request that she would marry. She had been dangerously ill of the small-pox, and her peril had reawakened all the national terrors of the evils inseparable from a disputed succession. The parliament, consequently, now added to its petition, that she would marry, the alternative, that she would at least cause her successor to be clearly and finally—save in the event of her marrying and having issue—named by an act of parliament.

Nothing could have been less agreeable to the queen than this petition. She well knew the claim of Mary of Scotland, and

shrewdly judged that the being named as her successor would not diminish the inclination of that queen to give her disturbance. On the other hand, to deny that claim and to decide in favour of the house of Suffolk, would be to incite Mary to instant enmity, and at the same time to create in another quarter the impatience, rarely unmixed with enmity, of the declared successor. In this dilemma she acted with her usual caution and policy; gave the parliament to understand that she had by no means irrevocably made up her mind against marriage, and assured them, in general terms, that she could not die with any satisfaction until she had settled the succession on solid and satisfactory foundations.

The parliament, sincerely attached to the queen, and, besides, well aware that her temper would but ill bear aught that bore the appearance of importunity or of dictation, was obliged to be contented, or seemingly so, with this reply; and proceeded to busy itself with passing needlessly severe laws against the catholics, and ridiculously severe laws against those imaginary and impossible offenders, witches and wizards. A subsidy and two fifteenths, and a subsidy of six shillings in the pound, the last to be paid in three years, were then voted to the queen, and parliament was again prorogued.

After long and mutually cruel butcheries, the French Huguenots and catholics came to an agreement. An amnesty and partial toleration of the Huguenots was published by the court, and Condé was reinstated in his appointments. To the great discredit of this gallant leader, his own and his party's interests were never attended to by him, almost to the entire forgetfulness of his agreements made with Elizabeth when she so nobly and liberally assisted him. He stipulated, indeed, that she should be repaid her expenses, but in return she was to give up Havre, and trust, as before, for the restitution of Calais to that treaty which the French had so evidently resolved upon breaking. Enraged at Condé's breach of faith, and believing the possession of Havre to be her best if not her sole security for the restitution of Calais, Elizabeth rejected these terms with disdain, and sent orders to the earl of Warwick to take every precaution to defend Havre from the attacks of the now united French.

Warwick, in obedience to these orders, expelled all French from that place, and prepared to defend himself against a large French army, encouraged by the presence of the queen mother, the king, the constable of France, and Condé himself. But the courage, vigour, and ability of Warwick, which promised to baffle all attempts upon Havre, or at the least to make it a right dear purchase to the enemy, were counterbalanced by the breaking out among his men of a most fatal and pestilential sickness. Seeing them die daily of this terrible disease, which was much aggravated by the great scarcity of provisions, Warwick urgently demanded a reinforcement and supplies from England. But these being withheld, and the French having succeeded in making two practical breaches, the earl had no alternative but to capitulate, and he was obliged to surrender the place upon the sole condition of being allowed life and safe conduct for his troops. He had hardly surrendered when a reinforcement of three thousand men arrived from England under lord Clinton, but, besides that they were too late, they also were suffering under the plague which at that period raged in England. As a consequence of the loss of Havre, Elizabeth was glad to consent to restore the hostages given by France for the restitution of Calais, on receiving two hundred and twenty thousand crowns,—but it was stipulated that nothing in this transaction should be held to prejudice the claim of either nation.

Though in reality the hatred and jealousy that subsisted between Elizabeth and Mary queen of Scots were bitter and constant, nothing of quarrel had as yet been openly allowed to appear. They corresponded weekly and assumed quite a sisterly tone of affection. So far was this deceptive conduct carried on the part of Elizabeth, that Hales, a lawyer, having published a book opposing the title of Mary as Elizabeth's successor, was fined and imprisoned; and Bacon, the lord keeper, on the mere suspicion of having encouraged that publication, was visited for some time with the queen's displeasure. An interview was even appointed to take place between the two queens at York, but Elizabeth, probably not very anxious to let her subjects see Mary's superiority of personal beauty, pleaded public affairs, and the meeting was abandoned.

A new source of care arose for Elizabeth. Mary, young and lovely, and of no frigid temperament, was naturally not disinclined to a second marriage; and her uncle's restless ambition would scarcely have allowed her to remain unmarried even had she been so. To prevent Mary's marriage was obviously not in Elizabeth's power; but as she, at least, had the power of getting her formally excluded from the English succession, she thought it not so impossible in the first instance to delay Mary's choice, and then to cause it to fall on the least likely person to aid and encourage her in any attempts prejudicial to England. With this view she raised objections, now of one and now of another sort, against the aspirants to Mary's hand, and at length named lord Robert Dudley, her own subject, and, as some thought, her own not unfavoured suitor, as the person upon whom it would be most agreeable to her that Mary's choice should fall.

The lord Robert Dudley—as the reader has hitherto known him, but who had now been created earl of Leicester—was handsome, greatly and generally accomplished, and possessed the art of flattery in its utmost perfection; an art to which, far more than to his solid merits, he owed his power of concealing from Elizabeth his ambition, rapacity, and intolerable haughtiness, or of reconciling her to them. The great and continued favour shown to him by

the queen had made himself as well as the multitude imagine, that he might reasonably hope to be honoured with her hand; and it was even believed that the early death of his young and lovely wife, the daughter of a wealthy gentleman named Robsart, had been planned and ordered by the earl, in order to remove what he deemed the sole obstacle to the success of his loftier views. To so ambitious a man, whatever the personal superiority of Mary over Elizabeth, the crown matrimonial of Scotland must have seemed a poor substitute indeed to that of England; and Leicester not only objected to the proposal, but attributed its conception to a deep scheme of his able and bitter enemy, Cecil, to deprive him of his influence by weaning Elizabeth from all personal feeling for him, and causing her to identify him with her rival Mary.

The queen of Scotland, on the other hand, wearied with the long and vexatious delays and vacillations of Elizabeth, and influenced, perhaps, by the personal beauty and accomplishments of the earl, as well as anxious by her marriage with him to remove Elizabeth's evident reluctance to naming her to the English succession, intimated her willingness to accept the powerful favourite. But Elizabeth had named him only in the hope that he would be rejected; he was too great a favourite to be parted with; and though she had herself distinctly named the earl as the only man whom she should choose to see the husband of Mary, she now coldly and suddenly withdrew her approbation.

The high, and never too prudent, spirit of Mary naturally revolted from this new proof of duplicity and unfriendly feeling; the correspondence between the rival queens grew less frequent and more curt and formal, and at length for a time wholly ceased. But Mary, probably under the advice of her friends in France, resolved to make yet another effort to avoid a final and irremediable breach with Elizabeth, and for that purpose sent sir James Melvil on a mission to London.

Englishmen are greatly and justly proud of queen Elizabeth; taken as a whole her reign was one of the greatest in our history. But even making all allowance for the prejudice Melvil may be supposed to have felt against Elizabeth, the account he gives of what he saw of her conduct on this occasion places her in so weak, so vain, so utterly puerile a light, that, would rigid impartiality allow it, one would gladly overlook this portion of her reign altogether. Every day she appeared in some new style of dress; every interview was marked by some question as to the difference in feature, person, or manner between herself and her far lovelier, far more accomplished, but far less worthy and less estimable rival, which is infinitely more characteristic of the petty but aching envy of some ill-nurtured schoolgirl, with vanity made only the more restless and craving of flattery from the occasional suggestions of shrewder sense on the score of personal inferiority, than of that high-souled and calm-browed queen who knew how to endure a dungeon and to dare an armada.

An accomplished courtier, Melvil was also a shrewd and practised man of the world; and it is quite clear, from his memoirs, that he saw through Elizabeth alike in the weakness of her vanity, and in the strength of her deep and iron determination. His report, and probably both her friends' advice and her own inclination, determined Mary no longer to hesitate about choosing a husband for herself. Lord Darnley, son of the earl of Lenox, cousin-german to Mary by the lady Margaret Douglas, niece of Henry VIII., was by all parties in Scotland considered a very suitable person. He was of the same family as Mary; was, after her, next heir to the crown of England, and would preserve the crown of Scotland in the house of Stuart. While these considerations made him eligible in the eyes of Mary's family and of all Scotsmen, he had been born and educated in England, and it was therefore not to be supposed that Elizabeth could have any of that jealousy towards him which she might have felt in the case of a foreign prince and a papist. And, in truth, perceiving that it was not to be hoped that Mary would remain single, Elizabeth was not ill pleased that Mary's choice should fall upon Darnley. He could add nothing in the way of power or alliance to the Scottish queen, whose marriage with him would at once release Elizabeth from the half-defined jealousy she felt as to Leicester's real sentiments, and would, at the same time, do away with all dread of the queen of Scots forming any one of the numerous foreign alliances which were open to her, and any one of which would be dangerous to England.

Lenox had been long in exile. Elizabeth now secretly advised Mary to recall him, reverse his attainder, and restore his forfeited possessions; but no sooner was this done than she openly blamed the proceedings, with the view at once of embarrassing Mary and of keeping up her own interest with the opposite faction in Scotland. Her duplicity did not stop here. When the negotiations for the marriage were far advanced, Darnley asked Elizabeth's permission to go into Scotland; and that permission was, to all appearance, cheerfully granted. But when she learned that his handsome person was admired by Mary and that the marriage was fully determined on, she sent to order Darnley on no account to go on with the marriage, but, on his allegiance, to return to England forthwith. Compliance with such caprice and tyranny was out of the question; and Elizabeth threw the countess of Lenox and her second son into prison, and seized all Lenox's English property without the shadow of a plea beyond the conduct of young Darnley, to which she had deliberately given her sanction! The insulting vacillation of Elizabeth's conduct in a matter of such delicate interest to Mary, can only be reconciled with her usual shrewdness by supposing that independent of any small feminine spitefulness, of which, we fear, that even the utmost partiality can hardly acquit her

she deliberately and as a matter of deep, though merciless, policy, sought thus to obtain a plea upon which to repudiate Mary as her successor in England, and a ready means of stirring up discontents among Mary's own subjects, and thus preventing them from being troublesome to England.

A.D. 1565.—Mary's relationship to the house of Guise, whose detestation of the reformed religion was so widely known and so terribly attested, was very unfortunate for her; inasmuch as it converted her warm attachment to her own religion into something like bigotry and intolerance. She not only refused to ratify the acts establishing the reformed religion, and endeavoured to restore civil power and jurisdiction to the catholic bishops, but was even imprudent enough to write letters to the council of Trent, in which she professed her hope not merely of one day succeeding to the crown of England, but also of so using her power and influence as to bring about the reconciliation of the whole of her dominions to the holy see. Considering her knowledge of Elizabeth's temper and feelings towards her, and considering, too, how much advantage Elizabeth would obviously obtain from every circumstance which could cause the Scotch zealots to sympathise with Elizabeth against their own queen, nothing could well have been more imprudent than this missive. Under any circumstances, probably, Mary, a zealous catholic, would have had but an uneasy reign among the fiercely bigoted Scottish protestants; but there is little reason to doubt that this very communication to the council of Trent was a main first cause of all her subsequent misfortunes. The protestants of Scotland were at that time no whit behind the catholics of any part of the world, either in self-righteousness, or in bitter and bigoted detestation of all who chanced to differ from them. Alarmed as well as indignant at the queen's ostentatious attachment to her own creed, the protestants not only murmured at her exercise of its rites, even in her own private residence and chapel, but abused her faith in the grossest terms while importuning her to abjure it. The queen answered these rude advisers with a temper which, had she always displayed it, might have spared her many a sorrowful day; assured them that besides that her apostacy would deprive Scotland of her most powerful friends on the continent, she was sincerely attached to her own faith and convinced of its truth. With the self-complacency peculiar to narrow-minded bigotry, the remonstrants assured her that they alone had truth on their side, and bade her prefer that truth to all earthly support and alliances. The rude zeal of the reformed was still farther increased by the belief, carefully encouraged by the agents of Elizabeth, that the Lenox family were also papists. It was in vain that Darnley, now king Henry, endeavoured to show that he was no papist by frequently making his appearance at the established church; this conduct was attributed to a jesuitical and profound wiliness, and the preachers often publicly insulted him; Knox, especially, not scrupling to tell him from the pulpit that boys and women were only put to rule over nations for the punishment of their sins.

While the violence of the clergy and the arts of Elizabeth's emissaries were thus irritating the common people of Scotland against their queen, the discontents of her nobility began to threaten her with a yet nearer and more ruinous opposition. The duke of Chatelrault and the earls of Murray and Argyle, with other malcontent nobles, actually raised forces, and soon appeared in arms against the king and queen, instigated to this treasonable conduct merely by their paltry fears of being losers of influence and power by the rise of the Lenox family consequent upon Darnley's marriage to the queen. The reformed preachers openly, and English emissaries secretly, aided the malcontent lords in endeavouring to seduce or urge the whole Scots population from its allegiance. But the people were, for once, in no humour to follow the seditious or the fanatical; and after but very trifling show of success, the rebels, being pursued by the king and queen at the head of an army of eighteen thousand, were fain to seek safety in England.

We dwell more upon the affairs of Scotland just at this period than we generally do, because thus much of Scottish history is necessary here to the understanding of that portion of English history with which Mary, queen of Scots, is so lamentably, and to England so disgracefully, connected.

The event of the Scottish revolt having thus completely disappointed all the hopes of Elizabeth, she now strenuously disavowed all concern in it; and having induced Murray and Chatelrault's agent, the abbot of Kilwinning, to make a similar declaration before the Spanish and French ambassadors, she, with a bitter practical satire, added to the force of their declaration, by instantly ordering them from her presence as detestable and unworthy traitors!

Hitherto the conduct of Mary had been morally irreproachable; for the coarse abuse of Knox is itself evidence of the strongest kind, that, save her papacy and her sex—of which he seems to have felt an equal detestation—even he had not wherewithal to reproach her. Having for her second husband a handsome and youthful man of her own choice, it might have been hoped that at least her domestic felicity was secured. But Darnley was a vain weak-minded man; alike fickle and violent; ambitious of distinction, yet weary of the slightest necessary care; easily offended at the most trivial opposition, and as easily governed by the most obvious and fulsome flattery. Utterly incapable of aiding the queen in the government, he was not the less anxious to have the crown-matrimonial added to the courtesy-title of king which Mary had already bestowed upon him. In this temper he was inclined to detest all who seemed able and willing to afford the queen counsel; and among these was an Italian musician, by name David Rizzio. He had attended an embassy sent

to Scotland by the duke of Savoy, and was retained at the Scotch court, in the first instance, merely on account of his musical talents. But he was both aspiring and clever, and he soon testified so much shrewdness and inclination to be useful, that he was made French secretary to the queen. Brought thus intimately into contact with the queen, he so rapidly improved on his advantages, that in a short time he was universally looked upon not only as the queen's chief confidant and counsellor, but also as the chief and most powerful dispenser of her favours. As is usually the case with favourites, the ability which had enabled Rizzio to conquer court favour did not teach him to use it with moderation; and he had scarcely secured the favour of the queen, before he incurred the deadly hate of nearly every one at court. The reformed hated him as a papist and the reputed spy and pensionary of the pope; the needy hated him for his wealth, the high-born for his upstart insolence; the aspiring detested his ambition, and many men—probably not too pure in their own morals—could find no other supposition on which to account for Mary's protection of him, save a criminal connection between them. It is true that Rizzio was ugly and by no means very young even when he first came to court, and some years had now passed since that event; and, moreover, Rizzio, whose ability had done much to clear away the obstacles to the marriage of Mary and Darnley, had at one time, at least, been as much in the favour of the king as of the queen. But Darnley, soured by the queen's coldness, which he was willing to attribute to any cause rather than to his own misconduct, easily fell into the snare set by the enemies alike of himself, his queen, and Rizzio, and became furiously jealous of an ugly and almost deformed secretary. Yet Darnley was one of the handsomest men of the age and a vain man too!

Among the extravagant reports to which the excessive favour already enjoyed by Rizzio had given rise, was one, that it was the intention of Mary to make him chancellor in the room of the earl of Morton! It was true that Rizzio knew nothing of the language or of the laws of Scotland; but the report was credited even by the astute Morton himself, who forthwith exerted himself to persuade Darnley that nothing but the death of Rizzio could ever restore peace and safety to either king or kingdom.

The earl of Lenox, the king's father, George Douglas, natural brother to the countess of Lenox, and the lords Lindesay and Ruthven, readily joined in the conspiracy against the unfortunate foreigner, and, to guard themselves against the known fickleness of the king, they got him to sign a paper authorising and making himself responsible for the assassination of Rizzio, as being 'an undertaking tending to the glory of God and the advancement of religion!' The banished lords who were ever hovering on the borders in hope of some event productive of disturbance, were invited by the king to return, and every preparation being made, a night was at length appointed for the murder of Rizzio.

Mary, now in the sixth month of her pregnancy, was at supper in her private apartments, attended by Rizzio, the countess of Argyle, her natural sister, and others of her personal attendants, when the king suddenly entered the room and placed himself behind the queen's chair. Immediately afterwards lord Ruthven, cased in armour and ghastly from long illness and anxiety, George Douglas, and others, rushed in and seized upon the unfortunate Rizzio as he sprang up to the queen and clung to her garments, shrieking the while for protection. The queen, with tears, intreaties, and even threats, endeavoured to save her secretary, but the resolved conspirators forced him into the antechamber, where he died beneath no fewer than fifty-six wounds!

The condition of the queen being considered, the presence of her husband while she was thus horribly outraged by being made witness of the atrocious murder of her servant, must necessarily have turned her former coldness towards Darnley into actual loathing. On learning that Rizzio was indeed dead, she immediately dried her tears, saying 'I will weep no more; henceforth I will only think of revenge.'

On the assumption that Mary was guilty of the participation in the murder of her husband with which she was afterwards so disastrously charged, though even this outrage upon her both as queen and woman would be no excuse for her misconduct as queen, woman, and wife, yet it ought not wholly to be left out of sight while we judge of the character of Mary. In a court such as the court of Scotland clearly was at that time, nothing short of the purity of angels could have escaped the general pollution of cruelty, deceit, and sensuality.

All resentments felt by Mary were now, it would seem, merged into detestation of the cruelly and insolently savage conduct of her husband. She showed him every mark of contempt in public, and avoided him in private as though in mingled hate and terror. At length, however, she was confined at Edinburgh castle of a son; and as Darnley had apartments there, they were at least apparently reconciled and living together.

A messenger was instantly sent to Elizabeth, who received the news while at a ball at Greenwich. She was much cast down at first, and even complained to some of her attendants that she was but a barren stock, while Mary was the glad mother of a fair boy. But she soon recovered her wonted self-possession, and on the following day she publicly congratulated Melvil, Mary's envoy, and sent the earl of Bedford and George Cary, son of her kinsman the earl of Hunsdon, to attend the christening of the young prince, and to carry some rich presents to his mother.

But whatever cordiality Elizabeth might affect upon this occasion, the birth of a son to the queen of Scots, as it increased the zeal of her partisans in England, so it made even the best friends of Elizabeth de-

sirous that she should take some effectual steps for the settlement of the succession.

It was proposed by some leading members of parliament that the question of the succession and that of the supply should go together. Sir Ralph Sadler, in order to elude this bringing of the question to a point, affirmed that he had heard the queen say that for the good of her people she had come to the resolution to marry. Others of the court affirmed the same, and then the house began to consider about joining the question of the queen's marriage to that of the settlement in general, when a message was brought from the queen ordering the house to proceed no farther in the matter. She pledged her queenly word as to her sincere intention to marry; and she said that to name any successor previously would be to increase her already great personal dangers. This message by no means satisfied the house, and Peter Wentworth, a popular member, bluntly said that such a prohibition was a breach of the privileges of the house; while some of the members on the same side added, that unless the queen would pay some regard to their future security by fixing a successor, she would show herself rather as the stepmother than as the natural parent of her people. The debates still continuing in this strain, the queen sent for the speaker, and her remonstrances with him having failed to produce the desired effect upon the house, she shortly afterwards dissolved the parliament, sharply reflecting, at the same time, upon the pertinacity with which they had pressed her to marry or fix the succession.

A.D. 1567.—The debates in parliament had more than ever awakened the zeal of the partisans of the queen of Scots. The catholics of England were to a man ready to rise on her behalf, should Elizabeth's death or any national calamity afford an inviting opportunity; and, moreover, the court of Elizabeth was itself full of Mary's partisans. But while Elizabeth and her sagacious friend and counsellor Cecil—to whom it is not too much to say that Elizabeth owed more than half the glory she acquired, and owed still more the freedom from the obloquy which her temper would but for him have caused her to incur—were using every expedient to avoid the necessity of declaring so dangerous a successor as the queen of Scots, that ill-fated princess was in the very act of plunging herself into a tissue of horrors and infamies, which were to render her the prisoner and the victim of the princess whom she had dared to rival and hoped to succeed.

After the death of Rizzio, Mary's perilous and perplexed situation had made some confidant and assistant indispensably necessary to her, especially situated as she was with her frivolous and sullen husband. The person who at this time stood highest in her confidence was the earl of Bothwell, a man of debauched character and great daring, whose fortune was much involved, and who was more noted for his opposition to Murray and the rigid reformers, than for any great civil or military talents. This nobleman, it is believed, suggested to her the expedient of being divorced from Darnley, but from some difficulties which arose to its execution that project was laid aside.

The intimate friendship of Mary with Bothwell, and her aversion to her husband, made observant persons much astonished when it was announced that a sudden return of the queen's affection to her husband had taken place; that she had even journeyed to Glasgow to attend his sick bed; that she tended him with the utmost kindness; and that, as soon as he could safely travel, she had brought him with her to Holyrood-house in Edinburgh. On their arrival there it was found, or pretended, that the low situation of the palace, and the noise of the persons continually going and coming, denied the king the repose necessary to his infirm state. A solitary house, called the Kirk o' Field, at some distance from the palace, but near enough to admit of Mary's frequent attendance, was accordingly taken, and here she continued her attentions to him, and *even slept for several nights in a room immediately below his.* On the ninth of February she excused herself to him for not sleeping at the palace, as one of her attendants was going to be married, and she had promised to grace the ceremony with her presence. About two o'clock in the morning an awful explosion was heard, and it was soon afterwards discovered that the Kirk o' Field was blown up, and the body of the unfortunate Henry Darnley was found in a field at some distance, but with no marks of violence upon it.

That Darnley had been most foully murdered no sane man could doubt, and the previous intimacy of Mary and Bothwell caused the public suspicion at once to be turned upon them, while the conduct of Mary was exactly calculated to confirm, instead of refuting, the horrible suspicion which attached to her. A proclamation was indeed made, offering a reward for the discovery of the king's murder; but the people observed that far more anxiety was displayed to discover those who attributed that terrible deed to Bothwell and the queen. With a perfectly infatuated folly, the queen neglected even the external decencies which would have been expected from her, even had she been less closely connected in the public eye with the supposed murderer, Bothwell. For the earl of Lenox, father of the murdered king, wrote a letter to the queen, in which, avoiding all accusation of the queen, he implored her justice upon those whom he plainly charged with the murder, namely, Bothwell, sir James Balfour and his brother Gilbert Balfour, David Chalmers, and four other persons of the queen's household; but Mary, though she cited Lenox to appear at court and support his charge, and so far seemed to entertain it, left the important fortress of Edinburgh in the hands of Bothwell as governor, and of his creature Balfour as his deputy.

A day for the trial of the charge made by Lenox was appointed; and that nobleman

with a very small attendance, had already reached Stirling on his way to Edinburgh when his information of the extraordinary countenance shown to Bothwell, and the vast power intrusted to him, inspired Lenox with fears as to even his personal safety, should he appear in Edinburgh; he therefore sent Cunningham, one of his suite, to protest against so hurried an investigation of this important affair, and to intreat Mary, for her own sake as well as for the sake of justice, to take time, and to make arrangements for a full and impartial trial, which obviously could not be had while Bothwell was not only at liberty, but in possession of exorbitant and overwhelming power. Not the slightest attention was paid to the manifestly just demand of Lenox; a jury was sworn, and as no prosecutor or witness was present, that jury could only acquit the accused—the verdict being accompanied by a protest, in which they stated the situation in which the very nature of the proceedings had placed them. But even *had* witnesses been present, their evidence could have availed little towards furthering the ends of justice, for, by a very evident wilfulness, those who drew the indictment had charged the crime as having been committed on the tenth day of the month, while the evidence must have proved it to have been the ninth, and this significant circumstance increased the odium of both Mary and Bothwell. Two days after this shameful trial, a parliament was held, and Bothwell, whose acquittal was such as must have convinced every impartial man of his guilt, was actually chosen to carry the royal sceptre!

Such indecent but unequivocal evidence of the lengths to which Mary was prepared to go in securing impunity to Bothwell, awed even those who most detested the proceedings; and a bond of association was signed, by which all the subscribers, consisting of all the chief nobility present at this parliament, referred to the acquittal of Bothwell as a legal and complete one, engaged to defend him against all future imputation of the murder of the late king, and recommended Mary to marry Bothwell! Degraded, indeed, by long and shameless faction must the nation have been, when the chief of its nobles could insult public justice and public decency by the publication of such a document as this!

Having thus paved the way towards his ultimate designs, Bothwell assembled a troop of eight hundred cavalry on pretence of pursuing some armed robbers who infested the borders, and waylaid Mary on her return from Stirling, where she had been paying a visit to her infant son. Mary was *seized* near Edinburgh; but sir James Melvil, her attached and faithful servant, who was with her at the time, not only confessed that he saw no surprise or unwillingness on her part, but adds, that some of Bothwell's officers openly laughed at the notion of seizure of Mary's person, and stated the whole matter to have been arranged between the parties themselves. Bothwell carried his prisoner to Dunbar, and there made himself master of her person, even if he had not been so before. Some of the nobility, either still doubtful of her guilty consent, or desirous, at the least, of forcing her into a more explicit declaration of it, now sent to offer their services to rescue her; but she, with infinite coolness, replied, that though Bothwell had originally obtained possession of her person by violence, he had since treated her so well that she was now quite willing to remain with him.

That no circumstance of infamy and effrontery might be wanting to this disgusting business, Bothwell, when he had himself proposed as the queen's husband and seized upon her person, was already a married man! But a divorce was now sued for, and obtained in four days from the commencement of the suit; the queen was then taken to Edinburgh, and the banns of marriage put up between her and the duke of Orkney, which title Bothwell now bore.

In the midst of the awful degradation exhibited by the Scottish nation at this time, it is pleasing to notice that Craig, a clergyman, being desired to solemnise the marriage thus abominably brought about, not only refused to perform the ceremony, but openly reprobated it, with a courage which so put the council to shame that it dared not punish him. The bishop of Orkney, a protestant, was more compliant, and was subsequently very deservedly deposed by his church. Unwarned by the disgust of her own people and by the remonstrances of her relations, the Guises of France, the infatuated Mary thus pursued her designs, and it became known that Bothwell, with her consent, was taking measures to get the young prince James into his power. This at length fairly aroused public indignation; the chief nobility, including most of those who had signed the ever infamous bond in favour of Bothwell, now formed an association for the protection of the young prince and for the punishment of the murderers of the king. The army of the associated lords and the royal troops under Bothwell met at Carbery-hill; but it was so clear both that Bothwell had no capacity equal to the occasion, and that her own troops looked upon their cause with disgust, that Mary, after making certain stipulations, put herself into the hands of the confederates and was taken to Edinburgh, the populace reproaching her in the coarsest terms, and holding up banners representing the murder of her husband and the distress of her infant son. Bothwell, in the meantime, escaped to the Orkneys, and for some time lived by actual piracy; he at length went to Denmark, where he was thrown into prison, and, maddened under the severity of his confinement and the horror of his reflections, died about ten years afterwards, so miserably, that even his wickedness cannot deprive him of our pity.

Though treated with scorn and humbled by the indignities to which she was now daily exposed, Mary was still so infatuated in her affection for the unworthy Bothwell, that she is reported to have said in a letter to him, that she would surrender her crown

and dignity rather than his affections; and as she appeared to be thus determined, the confederates, to decrease the chance of her once more getting power into her hands, sent her to a sort of honourable imprisonment in the castle of Lochleven lake. The owner of this place was mother of the earl of Murray, and as she pretended to have been lawfully married to the late king, she bore Mary a hatred which fully insured her vigilance.

Elizabeth was accurately informed of all that had passed in Scotland, and she could not fail to perceive the advantages to her own security to be obtained by her interference between Mary and her enraged subjects. She accordingly, through Throgmorton, sent a remonstrance to the confederated lords, and advice, mingled with some severity, to Mary, to whom she offered assistance, and protection at the English court for her infant son, but on condition that she should lay aside all thoughts of revenge or punishment, except as far as related to the murder of her late husband. As both queen and woman, Elizabeth acted well in her remonstrance to the lords and in her advice to Mary; but, judging from her whole course of policy at other times, it is no breach of charity to suppose that even her womanly pity for Mary's present distressed and perilous situation, did not prevent her from determining to make it available towards her own security and peace for the time to come.

In the meantime the confederated lords proceeded to arrange matters with very little deference either to the rights of their own queen or to the remonstrances of the queen of England. After much intrigue and dispute, it was agreed that the regency of the kingdom should be placed in the hands of Murray, and that Mary should resign the crown in favour of her son; nay, so desperate were her circumstances, that, though 'with abundance of tears,' she actually signed the deeds that made these extensive alterations, without making herself accurately mistress of their contents.

The prince James was immediately proclaimed king and crowned at Stirling, and in the oath which the earl of Morton took in his behalf at that ceremony, an oath to extirpate heresy was included. Elizabeth was so much annoyed at the disregard with which her remonstrance had been treated, that she forbade Throgmorton to attend the young king's coronation.

As soon as Murray had resumed the regency, a parliament was assembled, in which it was solemnly voted that she was an undoubted accomplice in the murder of her husband, but ought not to be imprisoned. Her abdication and her son's succession were at the same time ratified.

Murray proved himself equal to his high post. He obtained possession of the fortresses which held out for Mary or Bothwell, and everywhere compelled at least external obedience to his authority. But he had many enemies even among his seeming friends; many of those who had been most enraged against Mary, while she had openly lived in what was no better than adultery with Bothwell, were softened by the contemplation of her sorrows now that he was a fugitive upon the face of the earth, without the possibility of ever regaining his guilty power. To all these persons were added the eminent catholics and the great body of the people, who pitied her sorrows now with the same merely instinctive and unreasoning impulse with which recently they had heaped the coarsest contempt upon her misconduct. Even yet, then, it was quite within the bounds of possibility that she might recover her power, and so exert it as to cause the past to be forgiven.

A.D. 1568.—But Mary's own conduct, even when least blameworthy, was ever to be inimical to her. The constant insults and vexations that she endured from the lady of Lochleven determined her to attempt her escape from that melancholy confinement; and by those artful and winning blandishments which no beautiful woman ever better knew how to employ, she induced George Douglas, brother of the laird of Lochleven, to aid in her escape. After many vain endeavours the enamoured youth at length got her from the house in disguise, and rowed her across the lake in a small boat.

As soon as her escape was known many of the nobility hastened to offer her their aid, and to sign a bond to defend her against all comers. Among those who thus signed were the earls of Argyle, Huntley, Eglintoun, Cassilis, Crauford, Rothes, Montrose, Sunderland, and Errol, besides numerous barons and nine bishops, and in a very few days she found her standard surrounded by upwards of six thousand men. Elizabeth, too, offered to assist her, on condition that she would refer the quarrel to her arbitration and allow no French troops to enter the kingdom, but the offer came too late; Murray hastily drew together an army, and attacked her forces at Langside, near Glasgow; and though the regent was somewhat inferior in force, his superior ability inflicted a complete defeat upon Mary, who hastily fled in a fishing-boat to Galloway, and landed the same day at Wokington, in Cumberland, whence she immediately sent a messenger to crave the protection and hospitality of Elizabeth. The reality and extent of the generous sympathy of that princess were now to be developed; interest was now directly opposed to real or pretended generosity.

Mary had evidently relied upon the power of her insinuation and eloquence to be of service to her in a personal interview, which she immediately solicited. But the able and tried ministers of Elizabeth were not slower than Mary herself in perceiving the probable consequence of such an interview, and Elizabeth was advised by them that she as a maiden queen could not, consistently even with mere decency, admit to her presence a woman who was charged with murder and adultery, and that, too, under circumstances which made even these horrible crimes more than usually horrible. The queen of Scots was very indignant

at being, and on such a plea, deprived of the interview upon which she had so very much reckoned. She replied to the ministers with great spirit, and so evidently showed her determination to consider herself as a sister sovereign seeking Elizabeth's friendship, and not as an accused criminal whom Elizabeth could have any earthly right to sit in judgement upon, that Cecil determined to force her, indirectly at least, upon an investigation, by allowing Murray and his party to charge her before the queen in council with having been 'of fore-knowledge, counsel, and device, persuader and commander of the murder of her husband, and had intended to cause the innocent prince to follow his father and so to transfer the crown from the right line to a bloody murderer and godless tyrant.' To this point of this intricate and most painful affair the attention of general readers has never been sufficiently directed. The usual narrative of the historians leaves the careless or superficial reader to fancy that the conduct of Elizabeth must throughout have been unjustifiable, as to even the detention of Mary, the whole question being Mary's guilt and Elizabeth's right to punish. We have already sufficiently shown that we are not inclined to sacrifice truth to our admiration of the many admirable qualities of Elizabeth. For much of her treatment to Mary she is deserving of the highest blame, and as regards her execution every one must feel the utmost indignation; but the mere detention of her, and enquiry into her guilt as to her husband, and *her intentions as to her infant son*, were justified alike by the laws of nations and by every feeling of humanity and of morality. That Mary was 'an independent sovereign' can only be affirmed by a mere play upon words.

Stained with the deep charges of murder and adultery, beaten on the battle-field, and a fugitive from her enraged and horrified subjects, Mary was in no condition to exercise her sovereignty until she should have reestablished it by arms or treaty. By arms she could not proceed without great peril to England, for she must have relied upon aid from France; by treaty she could not proceed but by the aid of Elizabeth, whose territory might be perilled by some clause of such treaty. Situated as England was, both as to France and as to Spain, it is quite clear to all who pay due attention to the whole of the circumstances, that in an honourable detention of Mary, and a full, fair, and impartial enquiry into her conduct, Elizabeth would have been fully justified.

The subsequent conduct shown to Mary, her close imprisonment and unkind treatment, reflect no credit upon either Elizabeth or her ministers; but it must be remembered that Mary, besides those verbal insults which wound women more painfully than the sword itself, greatly provoked the harsh feeling of Elizabeth by her perpetual readiness to lend her name and influence to plots involving the life as well as the crown of Elizabeth.

It seems quite certain that, at the outset of the business, the main desire of both Elizabeth and her ministers was to place Mary in such a position that she would be unable practically to revoke her settlement of the crown upon her infant son, whose regency, being protestant, would have a common interest with England, instead of a temptation to aid France or Spain to her annoyance. One scheme for this purpose was to give her in marriage to an English nobleman, and Elizabeth proposed the alliance to the duke of Norfolk, who bluntly replied, 'That woman, madam, shall never be my wife who has been your competitor, and whose husband cannot sleep in security upon his pillow.' Unfortunately for the duke, his practice was by no means governed by the sound sense of his theory, and he very soon afterwards consented to offer himself to Mary, in a letter, which was also signed by Arundel, Pembroke, and Leicester. Mary pleaded that 'woeful experience had taught her to prefer a single life,' but she hinted pretty plainly that Elizabeth's consent might remove such reluctance as she felt. Norfolk, through the bishop of Ross, kept up the correspondence with Mary. Elizabeth was from the very first aware of it, and she at length significantly quoted Norfolk's own words to him, warning him to 'beware on what pillow he should rest his head.' Shortly afterwards the duke, continuing the correspondence, was committed to the Tower. Leicester was pardoned for the share he had had in the original correspondence; but there seemed so much danger that both Norfolk and the queen of Scots would be severely dealt with, that all the great catholic families of the north joined in a formidable insurrection. Mary, on the breaking out of this affair, was removed to Coventry; but the contest was short; the earl of Northumberland, who headed the revolt, fled to Scotland, was taken prisoner, and thrown into Lochleven castle. His countess, with the earl of Westmoreland and some other fugitives, were safe among the Scotch borderers, who were able to protect them equally against the regent Murray and the emissaries of Elizabeth.

Upon the English of the northern counties who had been beguiled into this hopeless revolt, the vengeance of Elizabeth was terrible and extensive. The poor were handed over to the rigours of martial law, and it is affirmed that from Newcastle to Netherby, in a district sixty miles long and forty miles wide, there was not a town or even a village which was not the scene of execution! The wealthier offenders were reserved for the ordinary course of condemnation by law, it being anticipated that their forfeitures would reimburse the queen the large sums which it had cost her to put down the revolt.

A.D. 1570.—The vigour of the regent Murray had kept the greater part of Scotland perfectly quiet, even while the north of England was in arms for Mary: and as among the numerous projects suggested to Elizabeth for safely ridding herself of Mary was that of delivering her up to Murray, it is most probable that the Scottish queen

would have been restored to her country and —though partially and under strong restrictions—to her authority, but for the death of the regent. While amusing Mary with a variety of proposals which came to nothing, varied by sudden objections which had been contrived from the very first, Elizabeth's ministers were sedulously strengthening the hands and establishing the interests of their mistress in Scotland; they, however, seem really to have intended the eventual restoration of Mary under the most favourable circumstances to England, when the enmity and suspicion of the English cabinet against her, as a zealous papist, were made stronger than ever by the publication of a bull by Pius V., in which he insultingly spoke of Elizabeth's as a merely 'pretended' right to the crown, and absolved all her subjects from their allegiance. Of this bull, insolent in itself and cruel towards Mary, several copies were published both in Scotland and in England; and a catholic gentleman, named Felton, whose zeal bade defiance alike to prudence and decency, was capitally punished for affixing a copy of this document to the gates of the bishop of London's palace.

It must be clear that no sovereign could overlook such an invitation to rebellion and assassination. It would in any state of society be likely to urge some gloomy and half-insane fanatic to the crime of murder; though as to any national effect, even while the catholics were still so numerous, the papal bull had now become a mere *brutum fulmen*. Lingard, the ablest catholic historian, says, upon this very transaction, 'If the pontiff promised himself any particular benefit from this measure, the result must have disappointed his expectations. The time was gone by when the thunders of the Vatican could shake the thrones of princes. By foreign powers the bull was suffered to sleep in silence; among the English catholics it served only to breed doubts, dissensions, and dismay. Many contended that it had been issued by incompetent authority; others, that it could not bind the natives until it should be carried into actual execution by some foreign power: all agreed that it was, in their regard, an imprudent and cruel expedient, which rendered them liable to the suspicion of disloyalty, and afforded their enemies a pretence to brand them with the name of traitors. To Elizabeth, however, though she affected to ridicule the sentence, it proved a source of considerable uneasiness and alarm.'*

The parliament, at once alarmed and indignant at the bull of Pius V., very naturally laid some heavy restrictions upon the catholics, who were supposed to be ready at any moment to rise in favour of the queen of Scots and for the deposition of Elizabeth, should Philip of Spain or his general Alva, governor of the Netherlands, land a sufficiently numerous army of foreign papists in England. And these fears of the parliament and the ministry had but too solid foundation. The duke of Norfolk from his confinement was constantly intriguing with Mary; and that unhappy princess, wearied and goaded to desperation by her continued imprisonment, and the constant failure of all attempts at gaining her liberty, even when she the most frankly and completely agreed to all that was demanded of her, sent Rudolphi, an Italian, who had her confidence, to solicit the co-operation of the pope, Philip of Spain, and Alva. Some letters from Norfolk to the latter personage were intercepted by the English ministry, and Norfolk was tried for treasonable leaguing with the queen's enemies to the danger of her crown and dignity. Norfolk protested that his aim was solely to restore Mary to her own crown of Scotland, and that detriment to the authority of Elizabeth he had never contemplated and would never have abetted.

A.D. 1572.—His defence availed him nothing; he was found guilty by his peers and condemned to death. Even then the queen hesitated to carry the sentence into effect against the premier duke of England, who was, also, her own relative. Twice she was induced by the ministers to sign the warrant, and twice she revoked it. This state of hesitation lasted for four months. At the end of that time the parliament presented an address strongly calling upon her to make an example of the duke, to which she at length consented, and Norfolk was beheaded, dying with great courage and constancy, and still protesting that he had no ill design towards his own queen in his desire to aid the unhappy queen of Scots. We are inclined to believe that the duke was sincere on this head; but certainly his judgement did not equal his sincerity; for how could he expect to overturn the vast power of Elizabeth, so far as to reestablish Mary on the throne, but by such a contest as must have perilled Elizabeth's throne, and, most probably, would have led to the sacrifice of her life?

Burleigh, devoted to the glory of his royal mistress and to the welfare of her people, and plainly perceiving that the catholics, both at home and abroad, would either find or feign a motive to mischief in the detention of the queen of Scots, resolutely advised that that unhappy queen should be violently dealt with, as being at the bottom of all schemes and attempts against the peace of England. But Elizabeth was not even yet so far irritated or alarmed as to consent to anything more than the detention of Mary; and to all the suggestions of Burleigh she contented herself with replying, with a touch of that poetic feeling which even intrigues of state never wholly banished from her mind, that 'she could not put to death the bird that, to escape the lure of the hawk, had flown to her feet for protection.'

Burleigh was aided in his endeavours against Mary by the parliament; but Elizabeth, though both her anxiety and her anger daily grew stronger, personally interfered to prevent a bill of attainder against Mary, and even another bill which merely went to exclude her from the succession.

Towards the friends of Mary Elizabeth

* History of England, vol. viii. ch. i.

was less merciful. The earl of Northumberland was delivered by Morton—who had succeeded Lenox in the Scotch regency—into the hands of the English ministers; and that chivalrous and unfortunate nobleman was beheaded at York.

The state of France at this time was such, from the fierce enmity of the catholics to the Huguenots or protestants, as to give serious uneasiness to Elizabeth. The deep enmity of Charles IX. of France towards the leaders of his protestant subjects was diguised, indeed, by the most artful caresses bestowed upon Colligni, the king of Navarre, and other leading Huguenots: but circumstances occurred to show that the king of France not only detested those personages and their French followers, but that he would gladly seize any good opportunity to aid Philip of Spain in the destruction, if possible, of the protestant power of England.

The perfidious Charles, in order to plunge the Huguenots into the more profoundly fatal security, offered to give his sister Margaret in marriage to the prince of Navarre; and Colligni, with other leaders of the Huguenot party, arrived in Paris, to celebrate a marriage which promised so much towards the reconciliation of the two parties. But so far was peace from being the real meaning of the court of France, that the queen of Navarre was poisoned. This suspiciously sudden death, however, of so eminent a person did not arouse the doomed Colligni and the other protestants to a sense of their real situation. The marriage was concluded: and but a few days after, on the eve of St. Bartholomew, the designs of Charles IX., or, more strictly speaking, of his execrable mother, burst forth. The venerable Colligni was murdered almost by the king's side; men, women, and children alike were butchered by the king's troops, so that in Paris alone above five hundred persons of rank and above ten thousand of the lower order are known to have perished in this most sanguinary and cowardly affair. Orders were at the same time sent to Rouen, Lyons, and other great towns of France, where the same detestable butcheries were committed on a proportionably large scale.

The king of Navarre and the prince of Condé narrowly escaped. The duke of Guise advised their destruction, but the king had contracted as much personal affection for them as he could feel for any one but the she-wolf his mother, and he caused their lives to be spared on condition of their seeming conversion to popery.

The frightful massacre of St. Bartholomew could not but be greatly alarming as well as disgusting to Elizabeth. She could not but perceive, from a butchery so frightful and extensive, that there was among the catholic princes of the continent a determination to exterminate protestantism; nor could she but feel that she, as the champion of that faith, was henceforth more conspicuously than ever marked out for destruction, could it be accomplished either by warfare or in the more dastardly way of private assassination.

Charles IX. was himself conscious of the offence this atrocious massacre of his protestant subjects must necessarily give to Elizabeth, and he sent a strong apology to her through Fenelon, his ambassador. To us it has ever appeared that this apology did, in reality, only make the offence the blacker; Charles now calumniated the unfortunate persons whom he had murdered. He pretended that he had discovered, just as it was about to be carried into execution, a Huguenot conspiracy to seize his person, and that it was as a necessary matter of self-defence that his catholic soldiery had acted. The single fact that orders for wholesale massacre were acted upon at distant provincial cities, as well as at Paris, would at once and for ever give the lie to this statement. Even Charles's own ambassador confessed that he was ashamed alike of his country and of the apology which he was, by his office, compelled to make for so outrageous a crime. His office, however, left him no choice, and he went to court. Here he found every one, male and female, attired in the deepest mourning, and bearing in their features the marks of profound grief and alarm. No one spoke to him until he arrived at the throne, where the queen, who respected his personal character, heard his apology with all the calmness that she could muster. Elizabeth very plainly, in her reply, showed that she utterly disbelieved Charles's calumny upon his protestant subjects, but she concluded that she should defer making up her mind upon the real feelings of Charles until she should see how he would act in future, and that in the meantime, as requested by his own ambassador, she would rather pity than blame him.

The massacres in France, joined to the Spanish massacres and persecutions in the Low Countries, and the favour into which Charles IX. now visibly took the Guises, made it evident to Elizabeth that nothing but opportunity was wanting to induce the French and Spaniards to unite for her destruction, and she took all possible precautions. She fortified Portsmouth, paid all requisite attention to her militia and fleet, and, while she renewed her open alliances with the German princes, she lent all the aid that she secretly could to the people of the Low Countries to assist them against their Spanish tyrants.

A. D. 1579.—Beyond what we have just now said of the foreign policy of Elizabeth we need not here say anything; the events that took place, whether in Spain, the Netherlands, or France, falling properly under those heads. The attention of Elizabeth, as to foreigners, was addressed chiefly to aiding the protestants with secresy and with as rigid economy and stringent conditions as were consistent with effectual aid; and to keeping up such a constant demonstration of vigour and a prepared position, as might intimidate catholic princes from any such direct hostility to her as would be likely to provoke her into openly encouraging and assisting their malcontent subjects.

This policy enabled Elizabeth to enjoy a profound peace during years which saw

nearly all the rest of Europe plunged in war and misery.

A.D. 1580.—The affairs of Scotland just at this time gave Elizabeth some uneasiness. During several years the regent Morton had kept that kingdom in the strictest amity. But the regent had of late wholly lost the favour of the turbulent nobles, and he found himself under the necessity of giving in his resignation; and the government was formally assumed by king James himself, though he was now only eleven years of age. The count D'Aubigny, of the house of Lenox, was employed by the duke of Guise to detach James from the interests of Elizabeth, and to cause him to espouse those of his mother. Elizabeth endeavoured to support and reinstate Morton, but D'Aubigny had now obtained so much influence with the king, that he was able to have Morton imprisoned and subsequently beheaded, as an accomplice in the murder of the late king.

With Spain, too, Elizabeth's relations were at this period uneasy and threatening. In revenge for the aid which he knew Elizabeth to have given to his revolted subjects of the Netherlands, Philip of Spain sent a body of troops to aid her revolted subjects of Ireland; and her complaints of this interference were answered by a reference to the piracies committed by the celebrated admiral Drake, who was the first Englishman who sailed round the world, and who obtained enormous booty from the Spaniards in the New World.

A.D. 1581.—The jesuits, and the scholars generally of the continental seminaries which the king of Spain had established to compensate to the catholics the loss of the universities of England, were so obviously and so intrusively hostile to the queen and the protestant faith, that some stringent laws against them and the catholics generally were now passed.

Campion, a jesuit who had been sent over to explain to the catholics of England that they were not bound, in obedience to the bull of Pius V., to rebel until the pope should give them a second and explicit order to that effect—i. e. not until the state of England should by accident, or by jesuitical practices, be placed in convenient confusion, was first racked and then executed.*

Elizabeth had formerly been addressed with offers of marriage by Alençon, now duke of Anjou, brother to the late tyrant Charles IX. of France, and he now renewed his addresses through his agent Simier, a man of great talent and most insinuating manners. The agent so well played his part in the negotiation that he excited the jealousy of the powerful and unprincipled Leicester, who offered him every possible opposition and insult. The queen, whom Simier informed of Leicester's marriage to the widow of the earl of Essex, formally took Simier under her especial protection, and ordered Leicester to confine himself to Greenwich.

Simier so well advocated the cause of Anjou, that Elizabeth went so far as to invite that prince to England; and after making stipulations for the aid of France, should the interests of Anjou in the Netherlands involve her in a quarrel with Philip of Spain, Elizabeth, in presence of her whole court and the foreign ambassadors, placed a ring on Anjou's finger, and distinctly said that she did so in token of her intention to become his wife. As she was now nine-and-forty years of age, and might be supposed to have outlived all the youthful fickleness imputed to her sex, and as she gave orders to the bishops to regulate the forms of the marriage, every one supposed that it was certain. Despatches were sent to notify the approaching event abroad, and in many parts of England it was anticipatively celebrated by public holiday and rejoicing.

But the marriage of Elizabeth to Anjou was looked upon with great dislike by the leading men of the English court. The duke, as a catholic and a member of a most persecuting family, could not but be viewed with fear and suspicion by sound statesmen like Walsingham and Hatton; while Leicester, conscious that with the queen's marriage his own vast power and influence would end, heartily wished her not to marry at all. These courtiers employed her favourite ladies to stimulate her pride by hinting the probability of her husband, instead of herself, becoming the first personage in her dominions; and to appeal to her fears by suggesting the dangers to which she would be exposed should she have children; the latter, surely, a danger not very probable at her time of life. However, the courtiers' artifices were fully successful. Even while the state messengers were on their way to foreign courts with the news of the queen's approaching marriage, she sent for Anjou, and told him, with tears and protestations of regret, that her people were so much prejudiced against her union with him, that though her own happiness must needs be sacrificed she had resolved to consult the happiness of her people, and therefore could not marry him. The duke on leaving her presence threw away the costly ring she had given him, and declared that English women were as capricious as the waves that surround their island. He soon after departed, and being driven from Belgium to France, died there, deeply and sincerely regretted by Elizabeth.

A.D. 1584.—Several attempts having been made to raise new troubles in England in favour of the queen of Scots, the ministers of Elizabeth made every exertion to detect the conspirators. Henry Piercy, earl of Northumberland, brother to that earl who was some time before beheaded for his connection with Mary's cause; Howard, earl of Arundel, son of the duke of Norfolk, that princess's late suitor; lord Paget and Charles Arundel; and Francis Throgmorton, a private gentleman, were implicated.

* Hallam professes himself unable to find 'the slightest proof of Campion's concern in treasonable practices, though his connections and profession as a jesuit render it by no means unlikely.'—*Constitutional History of England*, vol. i. ch. iii.

Most of them escaped, but Throgmorton was executed. Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, who had been the prime mover of this plot, was sent home in disgrace. Some farther proofs of a widely spread and dangerous conspiracy having been discovered in some papers seized upon Creighton, a Scotch jesuit, the English ministers, who found Mary connected with all these attempts, removed her from the custody of the earl of Shrewsbury, who seemed not to have been sufficiently watchful of her conduct, and committed her to that of sir Amias Paulet and sir Drue Drury, men of character and humanity, but too much devoted to Elizabeth to allow any unreasonable freedom to their prisoner.

Farther laws were at the same time passed against jesuits and popish priests, and a council was named by act of parliament with power to govern the kingdom, settle the succession, and avenge the queen's death, should that occur by violence. A subsidy and two fifteenths were likewise granted to the queen.

During this session of parliament a new conspiracy was discovered, which greatly increased the general animosity to the catholics, and proportionally increased the attachment of the parliament to the queen, and their anxiety to shield her from the dangers by which she seemed to be perpetually surrounded. A catholic gentleman named Parry, who had made himself so conspicuous in the house of commons by his intemperate opposition to a bill for restraining the seditious practices of Romish priests, that he was committed to the custody of the serjeant-at-arms and only liberated by the clemency of the queen, was now, in but little less than six weeks, charged with high treason. This man had been employed as a secret agent by lord Burleigh, but not deeming himself sufficiently well treated he went to Italy, where he seems to have deeply intrigued with both the papal party at Rome and the ministers of his own sovereign at home. Having procured from the Romish authorities a warm sanction of his professed design of killing queen Elizabeth with his own hand, this sanction he hastened to communicate to Elizabeth, and being refused a pension he returned to his old vocation of a spy, and was employed to watch the pernicious jesuit Persons, in conjunction with Nevil. Though actually in the service of the government, both Nevil and Parry were men of desperate fortune, and their discontent at length grew so desperate that they agreed to shoot the queen when she should be out riding. The earl of Westmoreland, under sentence of exile, chanced to die just at this period, and Nevil, who, though a salaried spy, was also in exile in Normandy, thought it very likely that he, as next heir to the deceased earl, would recover the family estate and title by revealing the plot to which he was a party. Nevil's revelations to the government were confirmed by Parry's own confession, and the latter, a double traitor,—alike traitor to his native land and to his foreign spiritual sovereign,—was very deservedly executed.

A fleet of twenty sail under admiral sir Francis Drake, with a land force of two thousand three hundred volunteers under Christopher Carlisle, did the Spaniards immense mischief this year, taking St. Jago, near Cape Verd, where they got good store of provision, but little money; St. Domingo, where they made the inhabitants save their houses by the payment of a large sum of money; and Carthagena, which they similarly held to ransom. On the coast of Florida they burned the towns of St. Anthony and St. Helen's; and thence they went to the coast of Virginia, where they found the miserable remnant of the colony so long before planted there by sir Walter Raleigh. The poor colonists were at this time reduced to utter misery and despair by long-continued ill success, and gladly abandoned their settlements and returned home on board Drake's fleet. The enormous wealth that was brought home by that gallant commander, and the accounts given by his men of both the riches and the weakness of the Spaniards, made the notion of piracy upon the Spanish main extremely popular, and caused much evil energy to be employed in that direction, which would otherwise have been of serious annoyance to the government at home.

Meanwhile the earl of Leicester, who had been sent to Holland in command of the English auxiliary forces to aid the states against Spain, proved himself to be unfit for any extensive military power. His retinue was princely in splendour, and his courtly manners and intriguing spirit caused him to be named captain-general of the United Provinces, and to have the guards and honours of a sovereign prince. But here his achievements, which gave deep offence to Elizabeth, began to diminish in brilliancy. Though nobly aided by his nephew, sir Philip Sidney, one of the most gallant and accomplished gentlemen who have ever done honour to England, he was decidedly inferior to the task of opposing so accomplished a general as the prince of Parma. He succeeded in the first instance in repulsing the Spaniards and throwing succours into Grave; but the cowardice or treachery of Van Hemert—who was afterwards put to death pursuant to the sentence of a court martial—betrayed the place to the Spaniards. Venlo was taken by the prince of Parma, as was Nuys, and the prince then sat down before Rhimberg. To draw the prince from before this last-named place, which was garrisoned by twelve hundred men and well provided with stores, and upon which, consequently, Leicester should have allowed the prince to have wasted his strength and *then* have brought him to action, Leicester laid siege to Zutphen. The prince thought this place far too important to be allowed to fall into the hands of the English, and he hastened to its aid, sending an advanced guard under the marquis of Cuesto to throw relief into the fortress. A body of English cavalry fell in with this advance, and a gallant action commenced, in which the Spaniards were completely routed, with the

loss of the marquis of Gonzaga, an Italian noble of great military reputation and ability. In this action, however, the English were so unfortunate as to lose the noble sir Philip Sidney, whose accomplishments, humanity, and love of literature made him the idol of the great writers of the age. The humanity which had marked his whole life was conspicuous even in the last sad scene of his death. Dreadfully wounded, and tortured with a raging thirst, he was about to have a bottle of water applied to his parched lips, when he caught the eyes of a poor private soldier who lay near him in the like fevered state, and was looking at the bottle with the eager envy which only a wounded soldier can know. 'Give him the water,' said the dying hero, 'his necessity is greater than mine.'

While Leicester was barely keeping ground against Spain in the Netherlands, and Drake was astounding and ruining the Spaniards in various parts of the New World, Elizabeth was cautiously securing herself on the side of Scotland. Having obtained James's alliance by a dexterous admixture of espionage and more open conduct, Elizabeth felt that she had but little to fear from foreign invasions; it being stipulated in their league 'that if Elizabeth were invaded, James should aid her with a body of two thousand horse and five thousand foot; that Elizabeth, in the like case, should send to his assistance three thousand horse and six thousand foot; that the charge of these armies should be defrayed by the prince who demanded assistance; that if the invasion should be made upon England, within sixty miles of the frontiers of Scotland, this latter kingdom should march its whole force to the assistance of the former; and that the present league should supersede all former alliances of either state with any foreign kingdom so far as religion was concerned.'

And, in truth, it was requisite that Elizabeth should be well prepared at home, for her enemies abroad grew more and more furious against her, as every new occurrence more strongly displayed the sagacity of her ministers and her own prudence and firmness in supporting them. Partly on account of the imprisonment of the queen of Scots, but chiefly on account of those rigorous laws which their own desperate and shameful conduct daily made more necessary, the foreign papists, and still more the English seminary at Rheims, had become wrought up to so violent a fury, that nothing short of the assassination of Elizabeth was now deemed worthy their contemplation.

John Ballard, a priest of the seminary at Rheims, having been engaged in noticing and stirring up the fanatical zeal of the catholics in England and Scotland, proposed, on his return to Rheims, the attempt to dethrone Elizabeth and to reestablish papacy in England, an enterprise which he pretended to think practicable, and that, too, without any extraordinary difficulty. At nearly the same time a desperate and gloomy fanatic, John Savage, who had served for several years under the prince of Parma in the Low Countries, and who was celebrated for a most indomitable resolution, offered to assassinate Elizabeth with his own hands. As that deed would greatly facilitate the proposed revolution in England, the priests of Rheims, who had long preached up the virtuous and lawful character of the assassination of heretical sovereigns, Savage was encouraged in his design, which he vowed to pursue, and the more fanatical catholics of England were instructed to lend him all possible aid. Savage was speedily followed to England by Ballard, who took the name of captain Fortescue, and busied himself night and day in preparing means to avail himself of the awe and confusion in which the nation could not fail to be plunged by the success of the attempt which he doubted not that Savage would speedily make.

Anthony Babington, a Derbyshire gentleman, had long been known to the initiated abroad as a bigoted catholic and as a romantic lover of the imprisoned queen of Scots. To this gentleman, who had the property and station requisite to render him useful to the conspirators, Ballard addressed himself. To restore the catholic religion and place Mary on the throne of England, Babington considered an enterprise that fully warranted the murder of Elizabeth; but he objected to intrusting the execution of so important a preliminary to the proposed revolution to one hand. The slightest nervousness or error of that one man, Babington truly remarked, would probably involve the lives or fortunes of all the chief catholics in England. He proposed, therefore, that five others should be joined to Savage in the charge of the assassination. So desperate was the villany of Savage, that it was only with some difficulty that his priestly colleague induced him to share what the wretch impiously termed the 'glory' of the deed, with Barnwell, Charnock, Tilney, and Tichborne; all of them gentlemen of station, character, and wealth.

It was determined that at the very same hour at which Savage and his colleagues should assassinate Elizabeth, the queen of Scots should be out riding, when Babington, with Edward, brother of Lord Windsor, and several other gentlemen, at the head of a hundred horse, should attack her guards and escort her to London, where she would be proclaimed amid the acclamations of the conspirators and, doubtless, all catholics who should see her.

That this horrible plot would have succeeded there can be little doubt, but for the watchful eye of Walsingham, which had from the first been upon Ballard; and while that person was busily plotting a revolution which, commencing with the assassination of the queen, would almost infallibly have ended with a general massacre of the protestants, he was unconsciously telling all his principal proceedings to Walsingham, that able and resolute minister having placed spies about him who reported every thing of importance to the secretary. Gifford, another seminary priest, also entered the pay of the minister, and enabled him

to obtain copies of correspondence between Babington and the queen of Scots, in which he spoke of the murder of Elizabeth as a *tragical execution* which he would willingly undertake for Mary's sake and service, and she replied that she highly approved of the whole plan, including the assassination of the queen, a general insurrection aided by foreign invasion, and Mary's own deliverance. Nay, the queen of Scots went still farther; she said that the gentlemen engaged in this enterprise might expect all the reward it should ever be in her power to bestow; and reminded them that it would be but lost labour to attempt an insurrection, or even her own release from her cruel imprisonment, until Elizabeth were dead.

We have not scrupled to declare our dislike of the original conduct of Elizabeth, so far as we deem it criminal or mean. But we cannot therefore shut our eyes to the fact, that though party writers have made many and zealous attempts to show that the whole plot was of Walsingham's contrivance, the evidence against Mary was as complete and satisfactory as human evidence could be. That Walsingham employed spies, that these were chiefly priests who were false to their own party, and that some of them were men of bad character—what do these things prove? Circumstanced as Walsingham was, knowing his queen's life to be in perpetual danger from restless and desperate plotters, we really cannot see how he was to avoid that resort to spies, which under any other circumstances we should be among the first to denounce. But with whom, then, did these spies act? With catholics of station and wealth, whom no spies could possibly have engaged in perilous and wicked proceeding, but for their own fierce fanaticism. And how and from whom did these spies procure Walsingham the important letters which divulged all the particulars of the intended villany? By letter-carrying from Mary to the enamoured Babington, and from Babington to Mary. What film bigotry may throw across the eyes of fierce political partisans we know not, but assuredly we can imagine nothing to be clearer than the guilt of Mary, as far as she could be guilty of conspiring against the life of Elizabeth—who had so long embittered her life and deprived her of all enjoyment of her crown and kingdom, who had mocked her with repeated promises which she never intended to fulfil, and who had carried the arts of policy so far as to outrage nature by making the utter neglect of the imprisoned mother a tacit condition, at the least, of friendship and alliance with the reigning son. The commissioners on their return from Fotheringay castle, pronounced sentence of death upon Mary, queen of Scots, but accompanied the sentence with what—considering that from the moment of her abdication in his favour, his right to reign became wholly independent of his mother—seemed a somewhat unnecessary clause of exception in favour of James; which said that 'the sentence did in no wise derogate from the title and honour of James, king of Scotland; but that he was in the same place, degree, and right, as if the sentence had never been pronounced.'

It is an extraordinary fact, and one which is unnoticed not only by the partial writers who have endeavoured to throw the deserved degree of blame upon Elizabeth, and also to represent Mary as altogether free from blame even where her criminality was the most glaringly evident, but even by the impartial Hume, that when the sentence on Mary was published in London, the people received it with the ringing of bells, lighting of bonfires, and all the ordinary tokens of public rejoicing. Does not this single fact go to prove that it was notorious that Mary, during her confinement, was perpetually plotting against the life of the queen, and endeavouring to deliver England and Scotland over to the worst horrors that could befall them—the restoration of papacy and the arbitrary rule of Philip of Spain? That this was the true state of the case was made evident not merely by the rejoicings of the multitude out of doors, but by the solemn application of the parliament to Elizabeth to allow the sentence to be executed. The king of France, chiefly by the compulsion of the house of Guise and the league, interceded for Mary; and James of Scotland, who had hitherto been a most cold and neglectful son, whatever might be the errors of his mother, now sent the master of Gray and sir Robert Melvil to try both argument and menace upon Elizabeth.

Most historians seem to be of opinion that the reluctance which Elizabeth for some time exhibited to comply with what was undoubtedly the wish of her people, was wholly feigned. We greatly doubt it. That Elizabeth both hated and feared Mary was inevitable. Mary's position, her bigotry, the personal ill-feeling she had often shown towards Elizabeth, and her obvious willingness to sacrifice her life, were surely not additions to the character of a woman who had connived at her husband's death and then married his murderer, which could have engendered any kindly feelings on the part of a princess so harassed and threatened as Elizabeth was by that faction of which Mary, in England at least, was the recognised head. But apart from all womanly and humane relenting, Elizabeth could not but be conscious that the death of Mary would cause a great accession to the rage of the catholic powers: and apathetic as James had shown himself hitherto, it was but reasonable to suppose that the violent death of his mother would rouse him into active enmity to England. However, the queen's hesitation, real or assumed, was at length overcome, and she signed the fatal warrant which Davison, her secretary, acting under the orders and advice of lord Burleigh, Leicester, and others of the council, forthwith despatched to Fotheringay by the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, who were charged with seeing it executed.

A.D. 1587.—Immediately on the arrival of the two earls, they read the warrant and warned Mary to be prepared for execution at eight on the following morning. She re-

ceived the news with apparent resignation; professed that she could not have believed that Elizabeth would have enforced such a sentence upon a person not subject to the laws and jurisdiction of England, but added, 'As such is her will, death, which puts an end to all my miseries, shall be to me most welcome; nor can I esteem that soul worthy the felicities of heaven which cannot support the body under the horrors of the last passage to those blissful mansions.'

She then asked for the admission of her own chaplain, but the earl of Kent said that the attendance of a papist priest was unnecessary, as Fletcher dean of Peterborough, a most learned and pious divine, would afford her all necessary consolation and instruction. She refused to see him, which so much angered the earl of Kent, that he coarsely told her that her death would be the life of the protestant religion, as her life would have been the death of it.

Having taken a sparing and early supper, the unhappy Mary passed the night in making a distribution of her effects and in religious offices, until her usual hour for retiring, when she went to bed and slept for some hours. She rose very early, and resumed her religious exercises, using a consecrated host which had been sent to her by pope Pius.

As the fatal hour approached she dressed herself in a rich habit of velvet and silk. Scarcely had she done so when Andrews, sheriff of the county, entered the room and summoned her to the last dread scene, to which she was supported by two of sir Amias Paulet's guards, an infirmity in her legs preventing her from walking without aid. As she entered the hall adjoining her room she was met by the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, sir Amias Paulet, sir Drue Drury, and other gentlemen; and here sir Andrew Melvil, her attached steward, threw himself upon his knees before her, lamenting her fate and wringing his hands in an agony of real and deep grief. She comforted him by assurances of her own perfect resignation, bade him report in Scotland that she died a true woman to her religion, and said, as she resumed her way to the scaffold, 'Recommend me, Melvil, to my son, and tell him that, notwithstanding all my distresses, I have done nothing prejudicial to the state and kingdom of Scotland. And now, my good Melvil, farewell; once again, farewell, good Melvil, and grant the assistance of thy prayers to thy queen and mistress.'

She now turned to the earls, and begged that her servants might freely enjoy the presents she had given them and be sent safely to their own country; all which was readily promised. But the earls objected to the admission of her attendants to the execution, and some difficulty was even made about any of them being present in her last moments. This really harsh refusal roused her to a degree of anger she had not previously shown, and she indignantly said to the earls, 'I know that your mistress, being a maiden queen, would vouchsafe, in regard of womanhood, that I should have some of my own people about me at my death. I know that her majesty hath not given you any such strict command but that you might grant me a request of far greater courtesy, even though I were a woman of inferior rank to that which I bear. I am cousin to your queen, and descended from the blood royal of Henry VIII., and a married queen of France, and an anointed queen of Scotland.'

This remonstrance had due effect, and she was allowed to select four of her male and two of her female servants to attend her to the scaffold; her steward, physician, apothecary, and surgeon, with her maids Curle and Kennedy.

Thus attended, she was led into an adjoining hall in which was a crowd of spectators, and the scaffold, covered with black cloth. The warrant having been read, the dean of Peterborough stepped forward and addressed her in exhortation to repentance of her sins, acknowledgement of the justice of her sentence, and reliance for mercy and salvation only upon the mediation and merits of Christ. During the dean's address Mary several times endeavoured to interrupt him, and at the conclusion she said, 'Trouble not yourself any more about the matter, for I was born in this religion, I have lived in this religion, and I will die in this religion.'

She now ascended the scaffold, saying to Paulet, who lent her his arm, 'I thank you, sir; it is the last trouble I shall give you, and the most acceptable service that you have ever rendered me.' The queen of Scots now, in a firm voice, told the persons assembled that 'She would have them recollect that she was a sovereign princess, not subject to the parliament of England, but brought there to suffer by violence and injustice. She thanked God for having given her this opportunity to make public profession of her faith, and to declare, as she often before had declared, that she had never imagined, nor compassed, nor consented to the death of the English queen, nor even sought the least harm to her person. After her death many things, which were then buried in darkness, would come to light. But she pardoned, from her heart, all her enemies, nor should her tongue utter that which might chance to prejudice them.'

At a sign from the earls the weeping maid servants now advanced to disrobe their mistress. The executioners, in their sordid fear lest they should thus lose their perquisites, the rich attire of the queen, hastily interfered. Mary blushed and drew back, observing that she had not been accustomed to undress before such an audience, or to be served by such valets. But as no interference was made by the earls, she submitted; her neck was bared; her maid Kennedy pinned a handkerchief edged with gold over her eyes; and an executioner, taking hold of each of her arms, led her to the block, upon which she laid her head, saying audibly, and in firm tones, 'Into thy hands, O God, I commend my spirit.'

The executioner now advanced, but was so completely unnerved that his first blow missed the neck, deeply wounding the skull

a second was likewise ineffectual; at the third the head was severed from the body. The unhappy lady evidently died in intense agony, for when he exhibited the head to the spectators, the muscles of the face were so distorted that the features could scarcely be recognised.

When the executioner, on exhibiting the head, cried 'God save queen Elizabeth,' the dean of Peterborough replied, 'And so perish all her enemies;' to which the earl of Kent added, 'So perish all the enemies of the gospel.'

The body was on the following day embalmed and buried in Peterborough cathedral, whence, in the next reign, it was removed to Westminster abbey.

CHAPTER XLVII.

The Reign of ELIZABETH (*continued*).

A.D. 1587.—THE tragical scene we have just described must have convinced even the most devoted of Elizabeth's subjects that their 'virgin queen' was not over abundantly blessed with the 'godlike quality of mercy,' whatever opinion they might entertain of Mary's participation in the crime for which she suffered. But there are many circumstances connected with the history of this period which may be pleaded in extenuation of conduct that in less critical times could only be viewed with unalloyed abhorrence and disgust. The massacre of St. Bartholomew was still fresh in the recollection of everyone, and the bigoted zeal which the queen of Scots ever displayed in favour of the catholics, whose ascendancy in England she ardently desired, gave a mournful presage of what was to be expected by the protestant population should their opponents succeed in their desperate machinations. But whatever may have been the secret wishes, or real intentions of Elizabeth, her subsequent behaviour had the semblance of unfeigned sorrow. Elizabeth, in fact, did what she could to throw off the odium that this sanguinary transaction had cast upon her. She wrote to the king of Scotland in terms of the deepest regret, declared that the warrant she had been induced to sign was to have lain dormant, and imprisoned Davison, fining him in the sum of 10,000*l.*, which reduced him to a state not far removed from actual beggary.

One of the most memorable events in English history was now near at hand; one which called for all the energy and patriotic devotion that a brave and independent people were capable of making; and consequently, every minor consideration vanished at its approach. This was the projected invasion of our island by Philip of Spain. This monarch, disappointed in his hopes of marrying Elizabeth, returned the queen her collar of the garter, and from that time the most irreconcilable jealousy appears to have existed between them. In all the ports throughout his extensive dominions the note of preparation was heard, and the most powerful navy that ever had been collected was now at his disposal. An army of 50,000 men was also assembled under experienced generals, and the command of the whole was given to the celebrated duke of Parma. The catholics on the continent were in an ecstasy of delight; the pope bestowed his benediction on an expedition that seemed destined once more to restore the supremacy of the holy see, and it was unanimously hailed by all who wished it success as the *invincible armada*.

To repel this mighty array, no means within the reach of Elizabeth and her able ministers were forgotten, nor could anything exceed the enthusiastic determination of her subjects to defend their altars and their homes. Among the newly raised levies the militia formed a very important item; the nobility also vied with each other in their efforts of assistance; and lord Huntingdon alone raised 40,000 foot and 10,000 horse. The royal navy had, fortunately, been on the increase for a long time previous, and the successful exertions of admiral Drake in the Indies had infused a degree of confidence into our sailors, before unknown in the service.

The views of the Spanish king having been fully ascertained by the emissaries of Elizabeth, she ordered 20,000 troops to be cantoned along the southern coast of the kingdom, in such a manner that in forty-eight hours the whole might be assembled at any port where there was a probability of the enemy's landing. A large and well-disciplined corps, also, amounting to 24,000 men, was encamped at Tilbury-fort, near the mouth of the Thames, under the immediate command of the earl of Leicester, who was appointed generalissimo of the army. These troops the queen reviewed, and having harangued them, rode through the lines with the general—her manner evincing great firmness and intrepidity, which, while it gave *éclat* to the scene, filled every breast with patriotic ardour. The residue of her troops, amounting to 34,000 foot and 2,000 horse, remained about the queen's person; and the militia were in readiness to reinforce the regular troops wherever there might be occasion.

All the ports and accessible points on the coast were fortified and strongly garrisoned; but though orders were given to oppose the enemy's descent, wherever it might be, the respective commanders were directed not to come to a general engagement in the event of their landing, but to retire and lay waste the country before them, that the Spaniards might meet with no subsistence and be perpetually harassed in their march. Nor was anything left undone that might be likely to contribute to the defeat of the armada by sea. Lord Howard of Effingham was created lord high admiral, and sir Francis Drake vice-admiral. These, together with Hawkins and Frobisher, were stationed near Plymouth, to oppose the enemy as he entered the channel; while lord Henry Seymour commanded another fleet upon the coast of Flanders to prevent the duke of Parma from bringing over troops from that quarter.

A.D. 1588.—The armada sailed from Lisbon on the 30th of May, but being dis-

persed by a storm, rendezvoused at Corunna and did not enter the English channel until the 19th of July, when Effingham suffered them to pass him, but kept close in their rear until the 21st. The duke of Medina Sidonia (the Spanish admiral) expected to have been here joined by the duke of Parma and the land forces under his command, but the latter had found it impracticable to put to sea without encountering the fleet of lord Seymour, by which he justly feared that both his ships and men would be put in the utmost jeopardy.

For four days a kind of brisk running fight was kept up, in which the English had a decided advantage; and the alarm having now spread from one end of the coast to the other, the nobility and gentry hastened out with their vessels from every harbour, and reinforced the English fleet, which soon amounted to 140 sail. The earls of Oxford, Northumberland, and Cumberland, sir Thomas Cecil, sir Robert Cecil, sir Walter Raleigh, sir Thomas Vavasor, sir Thomas Gerrard, sir Charles Blount, and many others distinguished themselves by this generous and seasonable proof of their loyalty. On the 24th the lord admiral divided the fleet into four squadrons, the better to pursue and annoy the enemy; the first squadron he himself commanded; the second he assigned to sir Francis Drake; the third to sir John Hawkins; and the fourth to sir Martin Frobisher. The result of this was, that in the three succeeding days the armada had become so shattered by the repeated skirmishes in which it had been engaged, that it was compelled to take shelter in the roads of Calais.

The English admiral having been informed that 10,000 men belonging to the duke of Parma's army had marched towards Dunkirk, and apprehending serious consequences from the enemy's receiving such a reinforcement, determined to spend no more time in making desultory attacks on the huge galleons with his comparatively small vessels. Accordingly, in the night of the 28th of July, he sent in among them eight or ten fire-ships; and such was the terror of the Spanish sailors, that they cut their cables, hoisted sail, and put to sea with the utmost hurry and confusion. In their anxiety to escape, victory was no longer thought of. The duke of Medina Sidonia, dreading again to encounter the English fleet, attempted to return home by sailing round the north of Scotland; but the elements were now as fatal to the Spanish fleet as the skill and bravery of the English sailors. Many of the ships were driven on the shores of Norway, Ireland, and the north of Scotland; and out of that vast armament which, from its magnitude and apparent completeness, had been styled *invincible*, only a few disabled vessels returned to tell the tale of its disastrous issue. In the several engagements with the English fleet in the channel, in July and August, the Spaniards lost fifteen great ships and 4,791 men; seventeen ships, and 5,394 men (killed, taken, or drowned) upon the coast of Ireland, in September; and another large ship with 700 men, cast away on the coast of Scotland. But this enumeration by no means included their total loss. On the part of the English the loss was so trifling as scarcely to deserve mention.

The destruction of the Spanish armada inspired the nation with feelings of intense delight; the people were proud of their country's naval superiority, proud of their own martial appearance, and proud of their queen. A medal was struck on the occasion with this inscription, '*Venit, vidit, fugit*'—'It came, saw, and fled:' another, with fire-ships and a fleet in confusion with this motto, '*Dux fœmina facti*'—'A woman conducted the enterprise.' But on the fatal news being conveyed to Philip, he exclaimed, in real or affected resignation, 'I sent my fleet to combat the English, not the elements. God be praised the calamity is not greater.'

If the destruction of the Spanish armada had saved England from the domination of a foreign power, whose resentment for past indignities was not likely to be easily appeased, it was no less a triumph for the protestant cause throughout Europe; the Huguenots in France were encouraged by it, and it virtually established the independence of the Dutch; while the excessive influence which Spain had acquired over other nations was not only lost by this event, but it paralysed the energies of the Spanish people and left them in a state of utter hopelessness as to the future. A day of public thanksgiving having been appointed for this great deliverance, the queen went in state to St. Paul's, in a grand triumphal car, decorated with flags and other trophies taken from the Spaniards.

The public rejoicings for the defeat of the armada were scarcely over when an event occurred, which, in whatever light it might be felt by Elizabeth herself, certainly cast no damp on the spirits of the nation at large;—we mean the death of Leicester. The powerful faction of which the favourite had been the head acknowledged a new leader in the earl of Essex, whom his stepfather had brought forward at court as a counterpoise to the influence of Raleigh, and who now stood second to none in her majesty's good graces. But Essex, however gifted with noble and brilliant qualities, was confessedly inferior to Leicester in several endowments highly essential to the leader of a court party. Though not void of art, he was by no means master of the dissimulation, address, and wary coolness, by which his predecessor well knew how to accomplish his ends. The character of Essex was frank and impetuous, and experience had not yet taught him to distrust either himself or others.

A.D. 1589.—After the defeat of the armada, a thirst for military achievements against the Spaniards pervaded the mind of the English public. The queen encouraged this spirit, but declared her treasury was too poor to sustain the expenses of a war. An association was soon formed by the people, and an army of 21,000 men, under the command of Norris and Drake, sailed from Plymouth to avenge the insult

offered to England by Philip of Spain. The young earl of Essex, without consulting the pleasure of his sovereign, made a private journey to Plymouth, and joined the expedition. No sooner was the queen made acquainted with his absence, than she dispatched the lord Huntingdon to bring the fugitive to her feet; but he had already sailed.

It was the queen's order that the armament should first proceed to Portugal, and endeavour to join the army of Don Antonio, who contended with Philip for the possession of the throne of Portugal; but Drake would not be restrained by instruction, and he proceeded to Corunna, where he lost a number of men, without obtaining the slightest advantage. In Portugal they were scarcely more successful; but at their return their losses were concealed, their advantages magnified, and the public were satisfied that the pride of Spain had been humbled.

Elizabeth might probably have expected that the death of the queen of Scots would put an end to conspiracies against her life; but plots were still as rife as ever: nor can we feel surprise that it should be so, considering that Elizabeth, as well as Philip of Spain, employed a great number of spies, who, being men of ruined fortunes and bad principles, betrayed the secrets of either party as their own interests led them; and sometimes were the fabricators of alarming reports to enhance the value of their services.

England and France were now in alliance, and the French king called for English aid in an attack upon Spain, but the queen had begun to repent of the sums she had already advanced to Henry, and demanded Calais as a security for her future assistance; for the preparations on the peninsula alarmed her, lest Philip should make a second attempt to invade England. At length the English council adopted a measure proposed by the lord admiral, Howard of Effingham, to send out an expedition that should anticipate the design of the enemy, and destroy his ports and shipping. Essex had the command of the land forces, and Howard that of the navy. When the English troops entered Cadiz, the council of war was divided in opinion as to the fitness of that step, which ended in the possession of the city and fleet, from which the troops returned with glory for their bravery, and with honour for their humanity, as no blood had been wantonly spilt, nor any dishonourable act committed. Though Essex had been the leading conqueror at Cadiz, the victory was reported as chiefly attributable to sir Walter Raleigh, and to have been in itself a cheap and easy conquest.

A.D. 1591.—The maritime war with Spain, notwithstanding the cautious temper of the queen, was strenuously waged at this time, and produced some striking indications of the rising spirit of the English navy. A squadron, under lord Thomas Howard, which had been waiting six months at the Azores to intercept the homeward-bound ships from Spanish America, was there surprised by the enemy's fleet, which had been sent out for their convoy. The English admiral, who had a much smaller force, put to sea in all haste, and got clear off, with the exception of one ship, the Revenge, the captain of which had the temerity to confront the whole Spanish fleet of fifty-six sail rather than strike his colours. It was however a piece of bravery as needless as it was desperate; for after his crew had displayed prodigies of valour, and beaten off fifteen boarding parties, his ammunition being gone and the whole of his men killed or disabled, the gallant commander was compelled to strike his flag, and soon after died of his wounds on board the Spanish admiral's ship.

A.D. 1593.—In those days, when an English sovereign required money, and then only, the services of a parliament were called for; and Elizabeth was now under the necessity of summoning one. But she could ill brook any opposition to her will; and fearing that the present state of her finances might embolden some of the members to treat her mandates with less deference than formerly, she was induced to assume a more haughty and menacing style than was habitual to her. In answer to the three customary requests made by the speaker, for liberty of speech, freedom from arrests, and access to her person, she replied by her lord keeper, that such liberty of speech as the commons were justly called to — liberty, namely, of aye and no, she was willing to grant, but by no means a liberty for every one to speak what he listed. And if any idle heads should be found careless enough for their own safety to attempt innovations in the state, or reforms in the church, she laid her injunctions on the speaker to refuse the bills offered for such purposes till they should have been examined by those who were better qualified to judge of these matters. But language, however imperious or scornful, was insufficient to restrain some attempts on the part of the commons to exercise their known rights and fulfil their duty to the country. Peter Wentworth, a member whose courageous and independent spirit had already drawn upon him repeated manifestations of the royal displeasure, presented to the lord keeper a petition, praying that the upper house would join with the lower in a supplication to the queen for fixing the succession. Elizabeth, enraged at the bare mention of a subject so offensive to her, instantly committed Wentworth, sir Thomas Bromley, who seconded him, and two other members, to the Fleet prison; and such was the general dread of offended majesty, that the house was afraid to petition her for their release.

A.D. 1596.—Essex, whose vanity was on a par with his impetuosity, had now attained the zenith of his prosperity; but confident in the affections of Elizabeth, he frequently suffered himself to forget that a subject's dutiful respect was due to her as his queen. On one memorable occasion, it is related that he treated her with indignity uncalled for and wholly indefensible: a dispute had arisen between them in the presence of the lord high admiral the secretary and the

clerk of the signet, respecting the choice of a commander for Ireland, where Tyrone at that time gave the English much trouble. The queen had resolved to send sir William Knolles, the uncle of Essex; while the earl with unbecoming warmth urged the propriety of sending sir George Carew, whose presence at court, it appears, was displeasing to him, and therefore, with courtier-like sincerity, he thus sought to remove him out of the way. Unable, either by argument or persuasion, to prevail over the resolute will of her majesty, the favourite at last forgot himself so far as to turn his back upon her with a laugh of contempt; an indignity which she revenged in the true 'Elizabethan style,' by boxing his ears, and bidding him 'Go to the devil,' or 'Go and be hanged!'—for our chroniclers differ as to the exact phrase, though all agree that she suited the word to the action. This retort so inflamed the blood of Essex, that he instantly grasped his sword, and while the lord admiral interposed to prevent a further ebullition of passion, the earl swore that not from her father would he have taken such an insult, and foaming with rage he rushed out of the palace. For a time this affair furnished ample scope for idle gossip and conjecture; the friends of Essex urged him to lose no time in returning to his attendance at court and soliciting her majesty's forgiveness. This, however, he could not be prevailed on to do: but, like many other quarrels among individuals of a humbler grade, it was at length patched up, and the reconciliation appeared to the superficial observer as perfect, as it was, in all probability, hollow and insincere.

Essex had long thirsted for military distinction, and had often vehemently argued with Burleigh on the propriety of keeping up a perpetual hostility against the power of Philip; but the prudent and experienced minister contended that Spain was now sufficiently humbled to render an accommodation both safe and honourable; and his prudential counsel was adhered to by the queen. Economy in the public expenditure was, in fact, necessary; and one of the last acts of Burleigh's life was the completion of an arrangement with the states of Holland for the repayment of the sums which Elizabeth had advanced to them, whereby the nation was relieved of a considerable portion of its former annual expense.

After exercising very considerable influence in the administration of affairs in England for forty years, the faithful Burleigh, whose devotion to the queen and attachment to the reformed faith were constant and sincere, died in the 78th year of his age; and in about a month after, his great opponent Philip II. also bowed to death's stern decree. Under his successor the Spanish monarchy declined with accelerated steps; all apprehensions of an invasion ceased, and the queen's advisers had an opportunity of turning their whole attention to the pacification of Ireland.

A.D. 1598.—The Irish rebel Tyrone had successfully resisted the English forces in several encounters; and at length the whole province of Munster declared for him. It was evident that much time had been spent on minor objects, while the great leader of the rebels was in a manner left to overrun the island and subjugate it to his will. This subject was earnestly canvassed by Elizabeth and her council; by the majority of whom lord Mountjoy was considered as a person fully equal to the office of lord-deputy at so critical a juncture. Essex, however, offered so many objections to his appointment, arguing the point with so much warmth and obstinacy, and withal intimating his own superior fitness for the office with so much art and address, that the queen, notwithstanding certain suspicions which had been infused into her mind respecting the probable danger of committing to Essex the chief command of an army, and notwithstanding her presumed unwillingness to deprive herself of his presence, appears to have adopted his suggestion with an unusual degree of earnest haste. The earl of Essex was accordingly made lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and with 20,000 choice troops he went forward on his long-desired mission.

A.D. 1599.—Having landed at Dublin in the spring, Essex immediately appointed his friend the earl of Southampton to the office of general of the horse; but instead of opening the campaign, as was expected by his friends in England, with some bold and decisive operation against Tyrone, the summer was spent in temporising, and before the close of the year a suspicious truce between the parties put an end to all his anticipations of success. Nay, so unexpected was the issue of this expedition, that it afforded the best possible opportunity to his enemies to shake the queen's confidence even in his loyalty. An angry letter from her majesty was the immediate consequence; and Essex, without waiting for the royal permission, hurried over to England in order to throw himself at the feet of his exasperated sovereign. The sudden appearance of her favourite, just after she had risen from her bed, imploring her forgiveness on his knees, disarmed the queen of her anger; and on leaving the apartment, he exclaimed exultingly 'that though he had encountered much trouble and many storms abroad, he thanked God he found a perfect calm at home.'

The earl of Essex doubtless thought the troubled waters were at rest; his vanity favoured the notion, and self-gratulation followed as a matter of course; but he soon found that the tempest was only hushed for the moment, for at night he found himself a prisoner in his own house by the peremptory orders of Elizabeth. A severe illness was the quick result of this proceeding, and for a brief interval the queen not only showed some signs of pity, but administered to his comfort. A warrant was, however, soon afterwards made out for his committal to the Tower, and though it was not carried into effect, yet his chance of liberty seemed too remote for prudence to calculate on. But the fiery temper of Essex had no alloy of prudence in it: he gave way to his natural violence, spoke of the queen in peevish

and disrespectful terms, and, among other things, said, 'she was grown an old woman, and was become as crooked in her mind as in her body.'

A.D. 1600.—Shortly after his disgrace, Essex wrote to James of Scotland, informing him that the faction who ruled the court were in league to deprive him of his right to the throne of England, in favour of the infanta of Spain; and he offered his services to extort from Elizabeth an acknowledgment of his claims. It appears, indeed, from concurrent testimony, that the conduct of Essex had now become highly traitorous, and that he was secretly collecting together a party to aid him in some enterprise dangerous to the ruling power. But his plans were frustrated by the activity of ministers, who had received information that the grand object of the conspirators was to seize the queen's person and take possession of the Tower. A council was called, and Essex was commanded to attend; but he refused, assembled his friends, and fortified Essex-house, in which he had previously secreted hired soldiers. Four of the privy council being sent thither to enquire into the reason of his conduct, he imprisoned them, and sallied out into the city; but he failed in his attempt to excite the people in his favour, and on returning to his house, he and his friend the earl of Southampton were with some difficulty made prisoners, and after having been first taken to Lambeth palace, were committed to the Tower.

A.D. 1601.—The rash and aspiring Essex now only begged that he might have a fair trial, still calculating on the influence of the queen to protect him in the hour of his utmost need. Proceedings were commenced against him instanter; his errors during his administration in Ireland were represented in the most odious colours; the undutiful expressions he had used in some of his letters were greatly exaggerated; and his recent treasonable attempt was dwelt on as calling for the exercise of the utmost severity of the law. His condemnation followed; judgement was pronounced against him, and against his friend, the earl of Southampton. This nobleman was, however, spared; but Essex was conducted to the fatal block, where he met his death with great fortitude, being at the time only in the thirty-fourth year of his age. His most active accomplices were Cuff, his secretary, Merrick, his steward, sir Christopher Blount, his father-in-law, and sir Robert Davers, who were executed some few days after.

The parliamentary proceedings of this year were more elaborate than before, particularly as regarded the financial state of the country. It was stated that the whole of the last subsidies amounted to no more than 160,000*l*., while the expense of the Irish war alone was 300,000*l*. On this occasion it was observed by sir Walter Raleigh that the estates of the nobility and gentry, which were charged at thirty or forty pounds in the queen's books, were not charged at a hundredth part of their real value. He also moved, that as scarcely any justices of the peace were rated above eight or ten pounds a-year, they might be advanced to twenty pounds at least, which was the qualification required by the statute for a justice of peace: but the commons declined to alter the rate of taxation and leave themselves liable to be taxed at the rack-rent. Monopolies upon various branches of trade were next brought under consideration; and as they were generally oppressive and unjust (some obtained by purchase and others given to favourites), many animated discussions followed, which ended in a motion, that the monopolies should be revoked, and the patentees punished for their extortions. Of course there were members present who were venal enough to defend this iniquitous mode of enriching certain individuals at the expense of the public. A long list of the monopolising patents being, however, read—among which was one on salt, an article that had been thus raised from fourteen pence to fourteen shillings a bushel—a member indignantly demanded whether there was not a patent also for *making bread*; at which question some courtiers expressing their resentment, he replied that if bread were not already among the *patented* luxuries, it would soon become one unless a stop was put to such enormities. That the arguments of the speakers were not lost upon the queen seems certain; for although she took no notice of the debates, she sent a message to the house, acquainting them that several petitions had been presented to her against monopolies, and declared 'she was sensibly touched with the people's grievances, expressing the utmost indignation against those who had abused her grants, and appealed to God how careful she had ever been to defend them against oppression, and promised they should be revoked.' Secretary Cecil added, 'her majesty was not apprised of the ill tendency of these grants when she made them, and hoped there would never be any more;' to which gracious declaration the majority of the house responded 'Amen.'

In this memorable session was passed the celebrated act, to which allusion is so often made in the present day, for the relief and employment of the poor. Since the breaking up of the religious establishments, the country had been overrun with idle mendicants and thieves. It was a natural consequence that those who sought in vain for work, and as vainly implored charitable aid, should be induced by the cravings of hunger to lay violent hands upon the property of others. As the distresses of the lower orders increased, so did crime; till at length the wide-spreading evil forced itself on the attention of parliament, and provision was made for the bettering of their condition, by levying a tax upon the middle and upper classes for the support of the aged and infirm poor, and for affording temporary relief to the destitute, according to their several necessities, under the direction of parochial officers.

We must now briefly revert to what was going on in Ireland. Though the power of the Spaniards was considered as at too

low an ebb to give the English government any great uneasiness for the safety of its possessions, it was thought sufficiently formidable to be the means of annoyance as regarded the assistance it might afford Tyrone, who was still at the head of the insurgents in Ireland. And the occurrence we are about to mention shows that a reasonable apprehension on that head might well be entertained. On September 23, the Spaniards landed 4,000 men near Kinsale, and having taken possession of the town, were speedily followed by 2,000 more. They effected a junction with Tyrone; but Mountjoy, who was now lord-deputy, surprised their array in the night, and entirely defeated them. This led to the surrender of Kinsale and all other places in their possession; and it was not long before Tyrone, as a captive, graced the triumphal return of Mountjoy to Dublin.

A.D. 1602.—The most remarkable among the domestic occurrences of this year was a violent quarrel between the jesuits and the secular priests of England. The latter accused the former, and not without reason, of having been the occasion, by their assassinations, plots, and conspiracies against the queen and government, of all the severe enactments under which the English catholics had groaned since the fulmination of the papal bull against her majesty. In the height of this dispute intelligence was conveyed to the privy council of some fresh plots on the part of the jesuits and their adherents; on which a proclamation was immediately issued, banishing this order from the kingdom on pain of death; and the same penalty was declared against all secular priests who should refuse to take the oath of allegiance.

That queen Elizabeth deeply regretted the precipitancy with which she signed the warrant for the execution of her favourite Essex there is every reason to believe. She soon became a victim to hypochondria, as may be seen from a letter written by her godson, sir John Harrington; and as it exhibits a curious example of her behaviour, and may be regarded as a specimen of the epistolary style of the age, we are induced to quote some of the sentences:—'She is much disfavoured and unattired, and these troubles waste her much. She disregardeth everie costlie cover that cometh to her table, and taketh little but manchet and succory pottage. Every new message from the city doth disturb her, and she frowns on all the ladies.' He farther on remarks, that 'The many evil plots and designs hath overcome her highness's sweet temper. She walks much in her privy chamber, and stamps much at ill news; and thrusts her rusty sword, at times, into the arras in great rage.' And in his postscript he says, 'So disordered is all order, that her highness has worn but one change of raiment for many daies, and swears much at those who cause her griefs in such wise, to the no small discomfiture of those that are about her; more especially our sweet lady Arundel.' Her days and nights were spent in tears, and she never spoke but to mention some irritating subject. Nay, it is recorded, that having experienced some hours of alarming stupor, she persisted, after her recovery from it, to remain seated on cushions, from which she could not be prevailed upon to remove during ten days, but sat with her finger generally on her mouth, and her eyes open and fixed upon the ground, for she apprehended that if she lay down in bed she should not rise from it again. Having at length been put into bed, she lay on her side motionless, and apparently insensible. The lords of the council being summoned, Nottingham reminded her of a former speech respecting her successor: she answered, 'I told you my seat had been the seat of kings, and I will have no rascal to succeed me. Who should succeed me but a king?' Cecil, wishing a more explicit declaration, requesting her to explain what she meant by 'no rascal,' she replied that 'a king should succeed, and who could that be but her cousin of Scotland?' Early the following morning the queen tranquilly breathed her last: she was in the 70th year of her age and the 45th of her reign.

Elizabeth was tall and portly, but never handsome, though from the fulsome compliments which she tolerated in those who had access to her person, she appears to have entertained no mean opinion of her beauty. Her extravagant love of finery was well known, and the presents of jewellery, &c. she received from such of her loving subjects as hoped to gain the royal favour were both numerous and costly. Like her father, she was irritable and passionate, often venting her rage in blows and oaths. Her literary acquirements were very considerable; and in those accomplishments which are in our own day termed 'fashionable,' namely, music, singing, and dancing, she also greatly excelled. The charges which have been made against the 'virgin queen' for indulging in amatory intrigues are not sufficiently sustained to render it the duty of an historian to repeat them; and when it is considered that though she possessed a host of sturdy friends, yet she had many bitter enemies, we need not to be surprised that in the most vulnerable point her character as a female has often been unjustly assailed.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

The Reign of JAMES I.

A. D. 1603.—THE advanced age to which the late queen lived, and the constant attention which her remaining unmarried had caused men to pay to the subject of the succession, had made the succession of James become a thing as fully settled in public opinion as though it had been settled by her will or an act of parliament. All the arguments for and against him had been canvassed and dismissed, and he ascended the throne of England with as little opposition as though he had been Elizabeth's eldest son.

As the king journeyed from Edinburgh to London all ranks of men hailed him with the thronging and applause which had seemed so acceptable to his predecessor. But if James liked flattery, he detested

noise and bustle; and a proclamation was issued forbidding so much congregating of the lieges, on the ground that it tended to make provisions scarce and exorbitantly dear. It was only shyness, however, and not any insensibility to the hearty kindness of his new subjects, that dictated the king's proclamation. So pleased, indeed, was he with the zealous kindness shown to him by the English, that he had not been two months before them when he had honoured with the order of knighthood nearly two hundred and forty persons! Peerages were bestowed pretty nearly in the same proportion; and a good-humoured pasquinade was posted at St. Paul's, promising to supply weak memories with the now very necessary art of remembering the titles of the new nobility.

It was not merely the king's facility in granting titles that was blamed, though that was in remarkable, and, as regarded his judgement at least, in by no means favourable contrast to the practice of his predecessor: but the English, already jealous of their new fellow-subjects, the Scots, were of opinion that he was more than fairly liberal to the latter. But if James made the duke of Lenox, the earl of Mar, lord Hume, lord Kinross, sir George Hume, and secretary Elphinstone members of the English privy council, and gave titles and wealth to sir George Hume, Hay, and Ramsay, he at least had the honour and good sense to leave nearly the whole of the ministerial honours and political power in the hands of the able English who had so well served his predecessor. Secretary Cecil, especially, who had kept up a secret correspondence with James towards the close of the late reign, had now the chief power, and was created, in succession, lord Effingham, viscount Cranbourne, and earl of Salisbury.

It is not a little surprising that while James was so well received by the nation at large, and had the instant support of the ministers and friends of the late queen, he had scarcely finished renewing treaties of peace and friendship with all the great foreign powers, when a conspiracy was discovered for placing his cousin, Arabella Stuart, upon the throne. Such a conspiracy was so absurd, and its success so completely a physical impossibility, that it is difficult not to suspect that it *originated* in the king's own excessive and unnecessary jealousy of the title of Arabella Stuart, who, equally with himself, was descended from Henry VII., but who in no other respect could have the faintest chance of competing with him. But, however it originated, such a conspiracy existed; and the lords Grey and Cobham, and sir Walter Raleigh, lord Cobham's brother Mr. Broke, sir Griffin Markham, sir Edward Parham, and Mr. Copley, together with two catholic priests named Watson and Clarke, were apprehended for being concerned in it. The catholic priests were executed, Cobham, Grey, and Markham were pardoned while their heads were upon the block, and Raleigh was also reprieved, but *not* pardoned; a fact which was fatal to him many years after, as will be perceived. Even at present it was mischievous to him, for, though spared from death, he was confined in the Tower, where he wrote his noble work the History of the World.

A.D. 1604.—A conference was now called at Hampton Court to decide upon certain differences between the church and the puritans, and generally to arrange that no injurious religious disputes might arise. As James had a great turn for theological disputation, he was here quite in his element; but instead of showing the puritans all the favour they expected from him in consequence of his Scotch education, that very circumstance induced the king to side against them, at least as far as he prudently could; as he had had abundant proof of the aptness of puritanical doctrine to produce seditious politics. He was importuned, for instance, by the puritans to repeal an act passed in the reign of Elizabeth to suppress certain puritanical societies called *prophesyings*, at which there was usually more zeal than sense, and more eloquence than religion. The reply of James was at once so coarsely practical, and so indicative of his general way of thinking upon such points, that we transcribe it literally. 'If what you aim at is Scottish presbytery, as I think it is, I tell you that it agrees as well with monarchy as the devil with God. There Jack, and Tom, and Will, and Dick, shall meet and censure me and my council. Therefore I reiterate my former speech; *le roi s'avisera*. Stay, I pray you, for seven years before you demand, and then if I be grown pursy and fat, I may perchance hearken to you, for that sort of government would keep me in breath and give me work enough!'

Passing over the business of parliament at the commencement of this reign, as concerning matters of interest rather to the statesman and scholar than to the general reader, we have now to advert to one of the most striking and remarkable events in our history—the *gunpowder plot*.

A.D. 1604.—The affection that the catholics had ever shown his mother, and their interpretation of some obliging expressions that he had either artfully or in mere carelessness made use of, had led them to hope that he would greatly relax, if not wholly repeal, the severe laws passed against them during the reign of his predecessor. But James had clearly and unequivocally shown that he had no intention of doing aught that could diminish the authority and security of the crown; and the more enthusiastic catholics were in consequence very greatly excited against him.

Catesby, a gentleman of good birth and excellent character, first looked upon the subject as one demanding the absolute punishment of the king, and he communicated his feelings to his friend Piercy, a descendant of the time-honoured house of Northumberland. Piercy proposed simply to assassinate the king, but in the course of the discussion of the plan Catesby suggested a wider and more effectual plan, by which they would rid catholicism not merely of the king, but of the whole protestant strength of the kingdom. He pointed out

that the mere death of the king, and even of his children, would be of little avail while the protestant nobles and gentry could raise another king to the throne who, in addition to all the existing causes of the protestant severity, would be urged to new rigour by the very circumstance to which he would owe his power to indulge it. To make the deed effectual, Catesby continued, it would be necessary to take the opportunity of the first day of the parliament, when king, lords, and commons would be all assembled, and, by means of a mine below the house, blow the whole of their enemies up at once with gunpowder.

Nothing but a fierce and mistaken fanaticism could allow one man to suggest so dreadful a scheme, or another man to approve of it; but Piercy at once entered into Catesby's plan, and they took means for preparing for its execution. Thomas Winter was sent over to Flanders in search of Guido Vaux, an officer in the Spanish service, and well known alike as a bigoted catholic and a cool and daring soldier. Catesby and Piercy in the meantime, aided by Desmond and Garnet, jesuits, and the latter the superior of the order in England, were busily engaged in communicating their awful design to other catholics; and every newly enlisted confederate had the oath of secresy and faithfulness administered to him, in conjunction with the communion, a rite peculiarly awful as understood by the catholics.

The destruction of protestants all the confederates seem to have considered to be a quite unexceptionable act; but some of the more thoughtful and humane among them suggested the certainty that, besides several catholic peers who would attend, there might be many other catholics present, either as mere spectators or as official attendants. Even this suggestion, which one might suppose effectual as to forbidding the execution of Catesby's wholesale scheme, was silenced by the truly jesuitical remark of the two jesuits, that the sacrifice of a few innocent among the guilty many, was lawful and highly meritorious, because it was required by the interests of religion!

A.D. 1605.—Towards the end of summer Piercy hired a house adjoining to that in which parliament used to assemble; and having instruments, arms, and provisions with them, they laboured hard in it for many hours each day, and had already mined three feet through the solid wall when they were stopped and alarmed by plainly hearing on the other side a noise for which they could give no account. On enquiry it seemed that the noise arose from the sale of the stock of a coal dealer who had occupied a vault, next to their own, and immediately below the house of lords. This opportunity was seized; Piercy hired the vault, and six-and-thirty barrels of gunpowder were clandestinely conveyed thither and concealed beneath the loads of wood, for the reception of which alone Piercy had seemed to need the place.

Having thus surmounted all the great and apparent obstacles to the success of their design, the conspirators distributed among themselves the several parts they were to act on the eventful day. Guido Vaux was to fire the fatal train; Piercy was to seize or slay the infant duke of York; and the princess Elizabeth, also a mere infant, who would be a powerless instrument in the hands of the catholics, was to be seized and proclaimed queen by Grant, Rookwood, and sir Everard Digby, three of the leading conspirators, who were to have a large armed party in readiness on pretence of a hunting match.

The dreadful scheme had now been on foot for above a year and a half, and was known to more than twenty persons, but neither fear of punishment, the hope of reward, or any of the motives which ordinarily make conspirators untrue to each other, had caused any one of the desperate band to falter. A personal feeling of gratitude now did what no other feeling, perhaps, could have done, and caused one of the conspirators to take a step which saved the nation from horrors of which even at this distance of time one cannot contemplate the mere possibility but with a shudder.

Some one of the conspirators lying under obligations to lord Monteagle, a catholic and a son of lord Morley, sent him the following letter, which evidently was intended to act upon his personal prudence and secure his safety, without enabling him in anywise to oppose the ruthless butchery that was designed:—

'My Lord,—Out of the love I bear to some of your friends I have a care of your preservation, therefore I would advise you as you tender your life to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance upon this parliament. For God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of the time. Think not lightly of this advertisement, but retire yourself into your country, where you may expect the event in safety. For though there be no appearance of any stir, yet, I say, they will receive a terrible blow this parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm, for the danger is past as soon as you burn this letter. And I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it, unto whose holy protection I commit you.'

Cecil, now earl of Salisbury, was the principal and most active of the king's ministers, and to that nobleman Monteagle fortunately determined to carry the letter, though he was himself strongly inclined to think it nothing but some silly attempt to frighten him from his attendance in parliament. Salisbury professed to have the same opinion of the letter, but laid it before the king some days before the meeting of parliament. James, who, amidst many absurdities, was in the main a shrewd man, saw the key to the enigma in the very style of the letter itself; and lord Suffolk, the lord chamberlain, was charged to examine the vaults beneath the houses of parliament on the day before that appointed for opening the session. He did so in open day, and, as if as a simple matter of form, went through the cellars and came out withou:

affecting to see anything amiss. But he had been struck by the singularity of Piercy, a private gentleman who lived but little in town, having amassed such an inordinate store of fuel: and he read the conspirator in the desperate countenance of Guido Vaux, who was lurking about the place in the garb and character of a servant to Piercy. Acting on these suspicions, the ministers caused a second search to be made at midnight by a well-armed party under sir Thomas Knivet, a justice of peace. At the very door of the vault they seized Vaux, who had made all his preparations and even had his tinder-box and matches ready to fire the train; the faggots of wood were turned over, and the powder found. Vaux was sent under an escort to the Tower, but was so far from seeming appalled by his danger, that he sneeringly told his captors that if he had known a little earlier that they intended to pay him a second visit he would have fired the train, and sweetened his own death by killing them with him. He behaved in the same daring style when examined by the council on the following day; but two or three days' residence in the Tower and a threat of putting him on the rack subdued him, and he made a full discovery of his confederates. Catesby, Piercy, and their other friends who were to act in London, heard not only of a letter being sent to lord Monteagle, but also of the first search made in the vaults; yet were they so infatuated and so resolute to persevere to the last, that it was only when Vaux was actually arrested that they left London and hurried down to Warwickshire, where Digby and his friends were already in arms to seize the princess Elizabeth. But the sheriff raised the county in time to convey the young princess to Coventry; and the baffled conspirators, never more than eighty in number, had now only to think of defending themselves until they could make their escape from the country. But the activity of the sheriff and other gentry surrounded them by such numbers that escape in any way was out of the question, and having confessed themselves to each other, they prepared to die with a desperate gallantry worthy of a nobler cause. They fought with stern determination, but some of their powder took fire and disabled them; Catesby and Piercy were killed by a single shot; Digby, Rookwood, and Winter, with Garnet, the jesuit, were taken prisoners, and soon after perished by the hands of the executioner. It is a terrible proof of the power of superstition to close men's eyes to evil, that though Garnet's crime was of the most ruffianly description, though he had used his priestly influence to delude his confederates and tools when their better nature prompted them to shrink from such wholesale and unsparing atrocity, the catholics imagined miracles to be wrought with this miserable miscreant's blood, and in Spain he was even treated as a martyr! Throughout this whole affair, indeed, the evil nature of superstition was to blame for all the guilt and all the suffering. The conspirators in this case were not low ruffians of desperate fortune; they were for the most part men of both property and character; and Catesby was a man who possessed an especially and enviably high character. Digby also was a man of excellent reputation, so much so that his being a known and rigid papist had not prevented him from being highly esteemed and honoured by queen Elizabeth.

When the punishment of the wretches who had mainly been concerned in this plot left the court leisure for reflection, some minor but severe punishments were inflicted upon those who were thought by connivance or negligence to have been in any degree aiding the chief offenders. Thus the earl of Northumberland was fined the then enormous sum of thirty thousand pounds, and imprisoned for seven years afterwards, because he had not exacted the usual oaths from Piercy on admitting him to the office of gentleman pensioner. The catholic lords Stourton and Mordaunt, too were fined, the former four and the latter ten thousand pounds by that ever-arbitrary court, the star-chamber, for no other offence than their absence from parliament on this occasion. This absence was taken as a proof of their knowledge of the plot, though surely, if these two noblemen had known of it, they would have warned many other catholics; while a hundred more innocent reasons might cause their own absence.

Of the conduct of James, in regard to the duty he owed to justice in punishing the guilty, and confining punishment strictly to those of whose guilt there is the most unequivocal proof, it is not easy to speak too warmly. The prejudice shown against catholics in the case of the lords Stourton and Mordaunt, and the infinite brutalities inflicted upon the wretched conspirators, were the crimes of the age; but the severe and dignified attention to a just and large charity of judgement as a general principle, which is displayed in the king's speech to this parliament, is a merit all his own.

He observed, says Hume, 'that though religion had engaged the conspirators in so criminal an attempt, yet ought we not to involve all the Roman catholics in the same guilt, or suppose them equally disposed to commit such enormous barbarities. Many holy men, and our ancestors among the rest, had been seduced to concur with that church in her scholastic doctrines, who yet had never admitted her seditious principles, concerning the pope's power of dethroning kings or sanctifying assassination. The wrath of heaven is denounced against crimes, but innocent error may obtain its favour; and nothing can be more hateful than the uncharitableness of the puritans who condemn alike to eternal torments even the most inoffensive partisans of popery. For his own part, that conspiracy, however atrocious, should never alter, in the least, his plan of government; while with one hand he would punish guilt, with the other he would still support and protect innocence.'

A.D. 1606.—The protestants, and especially the puritans, were inclined to plunge

to a very great extent into that injustice of which the king's speech so ably warned them. But the king, even at some hazard to himself and at some actual loss of popularity, persisted in looking at men's secular conduct as a thing quite apart from their ghostly opinions. He bestowed employment and favour, other things being equal, alike on catholic and protestant; and the only hardship caused to the great body of the papists by the horrible gunpowder plot was the enactment of a bill obliging everyone without exception to take oath of allegiance. No great hardship upon any good subject or honest and humane man, since it only abjured the power of the pope to dethrone the king!

Almost as soon as James arrived in England he showed himself in one respect, at the least, far more advanced in true statesmanship than most of his subjects. They for a long time displayed a small and spiteful jealousy of the Scots; he almost as soon as he mounted the English throne, endeavoured to merge England and Scotland, two separate nations, always sullen and sometimes sanguinary enemies, into a Great Britain that might indeed bid defiance to the world, and that should be united in laws and liberties, in prosperity and in interests, as it already was by the hand of nature. There was nothing, however, in the earlier part of his reign, by which so much heart-burning was caused between the king and his parliament, as by the wisdom of the former and the ignorance and narrow prejudice of the latter on this very point. All the exercise of the king's earnestness and influence, aided by the eloquence of, perhaps, all things considered, the greatest man England has ever had, sir Francis Bacon, could not succeed over the petty nationalities of the Scotch and English parliaments any farther for the present, than to procure an ungracious and reluctant repeal of the directly hostile laws existing in the two kingdoms respectively. Nay, so hostile, at the onset, was the English parliament to a measure the grand necessity and value of which no one could now dispute without being suspected of the sheerest idiocy, that the bishop of Bristol, for writing a book in favour of the measure which lay ignorance thus condemned, was so fiercely clamoured against, that he was obliged to save himself from still harder measures by making a humble submission to these ignorant and bigoted legislators.

A.D. 1607.—The practical tolerance of the king as opposed to his arbitrary maxims of government, and the parliament's lust of persecution as contrasted with its perpetual struggles to obtain more power and liberty for itself, were strongly illustrated this year. A bill was originated in the lower house for a more strict observance of the laws against popish recusants, and for an abatement towards such protestant clergymen as should scruple at the still existing church ceremonials. This measure was doubly distasteful to the king: as a highly liberal protestant he disliked the attempt to recur to the old severities against the catholics; and as a high prerogative monarch he was still more hostile to the insidious endeavour of the puritans, by weakening the church of England, to acquire the power to themselves of bearding and coercing the civil government.

In this same year, however, the very parliament which, on the remonstrance of the king, obediently stopped the progress of that doubly disagreeable measure, gave a striking proof of its growing sense of self-importance by commencing a regular journal of its proceedings.

A.D. 1610.—James was so careful to preserve peace abroad that much of his reign might be passed over without remark, but for the frequent bickerings which occurred between him and his parliament on the subject of money. Even in the usually arbitrary reign of Elizabeth the parliament had already learned the power of the purse. The puritan party was now gradually acquiring that feeling, at once tyrannical and republican, which was to be so fatal to the monarchy and so disgraceful to the nation, and although James was allowed a theoretical despotism, a mere tyranny of maxims and sentences, some merely silly, and others—could he have acted upon them—to the last degree dangerous, the true tyranny was that of the parliament, which exerted their power with the merciless and fitful malignity of a dwarf which has suddenly become possessed of a giant's strength. The earl of Salisbury, who was now the treasurer, laid before both houses, this session, the very peculiar situation in which the king was placed. Queen Elizabeth, though she had received large supplies during the latter part of her reign, had made very considerable alienations of the crown lands; the crown was now burdened with debt to the amount of 300,000*l.*, and the king was obliged, instead of a single court, as in the late reign, to keep three courts, his own, that of the queen, and that of the prince of Wales. But though these really strong and most reasonable arguments were also urged by the king himself in his speech to parliament, they granted him only one hundred thousand pounds—his debts alone being thrice that sum! It cannot, after this statement of the situation of the king and the temper in which parliament used the power we have spoken of, be astonishing that henceforth there was one perpetual struggle between them, he striving for the means of supporting the national dignity, and indulging a generosity of temper which, imprudent in any king, was doubly so in one who had to deal with so close-fisted a parliament; and they striving at once to abridge the king's prerogative, and to escape from supplying even his most reasonable demands.

An incident occurred this year which, taken in contrast with the extreme horror of foreign disputes which James usually displayed, affords a rather amusing illustration of the extent to which even so petty a 'ruling passion' as pedantry may domineer over all others.

Vorstius, a divinity professor of a German university, was appointed to the chair of a

Dutch university. He was a disciple of Arminius, and moreover had the presumption to be opposed in argument to king James, who did not think it beneath his royal dignity, or too manifest and dangerous a departure from his pacific foreign policy, seriously to demand of the states that they should deprive and banish the obnoxious professor. The procedure was at once so absurd and so severe, that the Dutch at first refused to remove Vorstius; but the king returned to the charge with such an earnest fierceness, that the states deemed it politic to yield, and the poor professor, who was luckless enough to differ from king James, was deprived of both his home and employment. In the course of this dispute, James, who had so creditably argued for charity in the case of the attempt of his puritans to oppress their catholic fellow-subjects, made use of this revolting observation:—'He would leave it to the states themselves *as to the burning of Vorstius for blasphemies and atheism, but surely never heretic better deserved the flames!*'

Of James's conduct in and towards Ireland we have given a full account, which is very creditable to him, under the head of that country. We now, therefore, pass forward to the domestic incidents of England, commencing with the death of Henry, prince of Wales, an event which was deeply and with good reason deplored.

A.D. 1612.—This young prince, who was only in his eighteenth year, was exceedingly beloved by the nation, having given every promise of a truly royal manhood. Generous, high-spirited, brave, and anxious for men's esteem, perhaps, in the turbulent days that awaited England, even his chief fault—a too great propensity to things military—would have proved of service to the nation, by bringing the dispute between the crown and the puritans to an issue before the sour ambition of the latter could have sufficiently matured its views. Dignified and of a high turn of mind, he seems to have held the finessing and the somewhat vulgar familiarity of his father in something too nearly approaching contempt. To Raleigh, who had so long been kept a prisoner, he openly and enthusiastically avowed his attachment, and was heard to say, 'Sure no king except my father would keep such a bird in a cage.' So sudden was the young prince's death that evil tongues attributed it to poison, and some even hinted that the prince's popularity and free speech had become intolerable to his father. But the surgical examination of the body clearly proved that there was no poison in the case; and moreover, if James failed at all in the parental character, it was by an excessive and indiscriminate fondness and indulgence.

A.D. 1613.—The marriage of the princess Elizabeth to Frederic, the elector palatine, took place this year, and the entertainments in honour of that event served to dispel the deep gloom which had been caused by the death of prince Henry. But this event, so much rejoiced at, was one of the most unfortunate that occurred during the generally fortunate reign of James, whom it plunged into expenses on account of his son-in-law which nothing could have induced him to incur for any warlike enterprise of his own.

But before we speak of the consequence of this unfortunate connection, we must, to preserve due order of time, refer to an event which created a strong feeling of horror and disgust throughout the nation—the murder of sir Thomas Overbury at the instance of the earl and countess of Somerset.

Robert Carre, a youth of respectable but not wealthy family in Scotland, arrived in London in the year 1609, bringing with him letters of recommendation to lord Hay. Carre, then quite a youth, was singularly handsome and possessed in perfection all the merely external accomplishments: though his education was so imperfect, that it is stated that long after his introduction to the king's notice he was so ignorant of even the rudiments of the then almost indispensable Latin, that James was wont to exchange the sceptre for the birch, and personally to play the pedagogue to the boy-favourite. Noting the comely aspect and graceful bearing of young Carre, lord Hay took an opportunity to place him in the king's sight at a tilting match, and it chanced that on that very occasion James's attention was the more strongly drawn to him by an accident occurring by which young Carre's leg was broken. The sight of this so affected the king, that in the course of the day he went to the young patient's chamber, consoled him with many kind words, and became so pleased with his spirit and general behaviour, that he instantly adopted him as an especial and favoured personal attendant. Attentive to the lessons of the kingly pedagogue, and skilful in discovering and managing his weaknesses, young Carre also possessed the art for lack of which so many favourites have perished; he was a courtier not only to the king but to all who approached the king. By thus prudently aiding the predilection of the king, Carre rapidly rose. He was knighted, then created earl of Rochester and K.G., and introduced into the privy council. Wealth and power accompanied this rapid rise in rank, and in a short time this new favourite, without any definite office in the ministry, actually had more real influence in the management of affairs than the wise Salisbury himself.

Much of his success Carre owed to the wise counsels of sir Thomas Overbury, whose friendship he claimed, and who became at once his adviser and his client, and counselled him none the less earnestly and well because he felt that his own chief hope of rising at court rested upon the success of Carre. Thus guided, the naturally sagacious and flexible youth soon ripened into the powerful, admired, and singularly prosperous man. Unfortunately he became passionately attached to the young countess of Essex, who as unfortunately returned his passion. This lady when only thirteen years of age, as lady Frances Howard, daughter of the earl of Suffolk, was, by the king's request, married to the young

earl of Essex, then only fourteen. In consideration of their extreme youth the ceremony was no sooner completed than the youthful bridegroom departed to the continent, and did not return from his travels until four years after. In the meantime the young countess of Essex and viscount Rochester had met, loved, and sinned; and when the young earl, with the impatient ardour of eighteen, flew to his fair countess, he was thunder-struck at being received not with mere coolness, but with something approaching to actual loathing and horror. The countess's passion for and guilty connection with Rochester were not even suspected, and every imaginable means were resorted to for the purpose of overcoming what was deemed to be a mere excess of maidenly coyness. All means, however, were alike vain, nothing could induce her to live with her husband, and she and Rochester now determined to make way for their marriage by a divorce of the lady from the earl of Essex.

Rochester consulted sir Thomas Overbury; but that prudent courtier, though he had been privy to and had even encouraged their criminal connection, was too sincerely anxious for the character and happiness of his friend not to dissuade him from the ignominy of procuring this divorce, and the folly of committing his own peace and honour to the keeping of a woman of whose inconstancy he had personal knowledge. Connected as Rochester and the countess were, the latter was not long ignorant of this advice given by Overbury, and, with the rage of an insulted woman and the artful blandishments of a beauty, she easily persuaded the enamoured Rochester that he too was injured by that very conduct in which Overbury had undoubtedly most proved the sincerity and the wisdom of his friendship. Having brought Rochester to this point, the countess found little difficulty in determining him to the ruin of that friend to whom he owed so much, and by artfully getting Overbury a mission from the king and then privately counselling Overbury to reject it, he managed so to dupe and enrage James that the unfortunate Overbury was committed to the Tower, where, however, it does not appear that James meant him long to remain. But the instant he entered there, sir Thomas was fully in the power of his arch enemies. The lieutenant of the Tower, a mere creature and dependant of Rochester, confined Overbury with such strictness, that for six months the unfortunate man did not see even one of his nearest relatives.

Having got rid of the grave and troublesome opposition of Overbury, the guilty lovers now pushed forward matters; and the earl of Essex, completely cured of his love for the lady by what appeared to him the unaccountable capriciousness of her conduct, very gladly consented to a ridiculously indecent plea, which induced the proper authorities to pronounce a divorce between the earl and countess of Essex. The latter was immediately married to her paramour Rochester, upon whom, that the lady might not lose a step in rank by her new marriage, the king now conferred the title of earl of Somerset.

Though the imprisonment of Overbury had thus completely served her purpose as to her divorce and re-marriage, it had by no means satiated the revenge of the countess. The forcible and bitter contempt with which Overbury had spoken of her was still farther envenomed by her own consciousness of its justice, and she now exerted all the power of her beauty and her blandishments, until she persuaded the uxorious Somerset that their secret was too much in danger while Overbury still lived, and that their safety demanded his death. Poison was resorted to; both Somerset and his wife's uncle, the earl of Northampton, joining in the cowardly crime with some accomplices of lower rank. Slight doses, only, were given to the doomed victim in the first place, but these failing of the desired effect, the foul conspirators gave him a dose so violent that he died, and with such evident marks of the foul treatment that he had met with, that an instant discovery was only avoided by burying the body with an indecent haste.

From the moment that the unfortunate Overbury was destroyed, the whole feeling and aspect of the once gay and brilliant Somerset were changed. He became sad, silent, inattentive to the humours of the king, indifferent to the fatal charms of the countess, morose to all, shy of strangers, weary of himself. He had a doomed aspect; the wild eye and hasty yet uncertain gait of one who sees himself surrounded by the avengers of blood and is every instant expecting to feel their grasp.

As what was at first attributed to temporary illness of body or vexation of mind became a settled and seemingly incurable habit, the king, almost boyish in his love of mirth in his hours of recreation, gradually grew wearied of the presence of his favourite. All the skill and polity of Somerset, all the artful moderation with which he had worn his truly extraordinary fortunes, had not prevented him from making many enemies; and these no sooner perceived, with the quick eyes of courtiers, that the old favourite was falling, than they helped to precipitate his fall by the introduction of a young and gay candidate for the vacant place in the royal favour.

Just at this critical moment in the fortunes of Somerset, George Villiers, the cadet of a good English family, returned from his travels. He was barely twenty-one years of age, handsome, well educated, gay, possessed of an audacious spirit, and with precisely that love and aptitude for personal adornment which became his youth. This attractive person was placed full in the king's view during the performance of a comedy. James, as had been anticipated, no sooner saw him than he became anxious for his personal attendance After some very ludicrous coquetting between his desire for a new favourite and his unwillingness to cast off the old one, James had the young man introduced at court

and very soon appointed him his cup-bearer. Though the conscience of Somerset had long made him unfit for his former gaiety, he was by no means prepared to see himself supplanted in the royal favour; but before he could make any effort to ruin or otherwise dispose of young Villiers, a discovery was made which very effectually ruined himself.

Among the many persons whom Somerset and his guilty countess had found it necessary to employ in the execution of their atrocious design, was an apothecary's apprentice who had been employed in mixing up the poisons. This man, now living at Flushing, made no scruple of openly stating that Overbury had died of poison, and that he had himself been employed in preparing it. The report reached the ears of the English envoy in the Low Countries, and was by him transmitted to the secretary of state, Winwood, who at once communicated it to the king. However weary of his favourite, James was struck with horror and surprise on receiving this report, but with a rigid impartiality which does honour to his memory, he at once sent for sir Edward Coke, the chief justice, and commanded him to examine into the matter as carefully and as unsparingly as if the accused persons were the lowest and the least cared for in the land. The stern nature of Coke scarcely needed this injunction; the enquiry was steadily and searchingly carried on, and it resulted in the complete proof of the guilt of the earl and countess of Somerset, sir Jervis Elvin, lieutenant of the Tower, Franklin, Weston, and Mrs. Turner. Of the temper of Coke this very trial affords a remarkable and not very creditable instance. Addressing Mrs. Turner, he told her that she was 'guilty of the seven deadly sins; being a harlot, a bawd, a sorceress, a witch, a papist, a felon, and a murderer!'

The honourable impartiality with which the king had ordered an enquiry into the murder of sir Thomas Overbury was not equally observed afterwards. All the accused were very properly condemned to death; but the sentence was executed only on the accomplices; by far the worst criminals, the earl and countess, were pardoned! A very brief imprisonment and the forfeiture of their estates were allowed to expiate their enormous crimes, and they were then assigned a pension sufficient for their support, and allowed to retire to the country. But the pardon of man could not secure them the peace of heart which their crime had justly forfeited. They lived in the same house, but they lived only in an alternation of sullenness and chiding, and thus they dragged on many wretched years, a mutual torment in their old age as they had been a mutual snare in their youth, until they at length sank unregretted and unhonoured into the grave.

A.D. 1616.—The fall of Somerset necessarily facilitated and hastened the rise of young George Villiers, who in a wonderfully short time obtained promotions—which, that the regularity of narrative may be preserved, we insert here—as viscount Villiers, earl, marquis, and finally duke, of Buckingham, knight of the garter, master of the horse, chief justice in eyre, warden of the cinque ports, master of the King's Bench office, steward of Westminster, constable of Windsor, and lord high admiral of England. His mother was made countess of Buckingham, his brother viscount Purbeck, and a whole host of his previously obscure and needy friends obtained honours, places, patents, or wealth.

The profusion of the king—to which justice demands that we add the parsimony of the parliament—made him throughout his whole reign an embarrassed man; and he now incurred great, though undeserved, odium by the course he took to supply his pressing and immediate wants. When Elizabeth aided the infant states of Holland against the gigantic power of Spain, she had the important towns of Flushing, the Brille, and Rammekins placed in her hands as pledges for the repayment of the money to England. Various payments had been made which had reduced the debt to 600,000*l.*, which sum the Dutch were under agreement to pay to James at the rate of 40,000*l.* per annum. This annual sum would doubtless have been of vast service to the king—but 26,000*l.* per annum were spent in maintaining his garrisons in the cautionary or mortgaged towns. Only 14,000*l.* remained clear to England, and even that would cease in the event of new warfare between Holland and Spain. Considering these things, and being pressed on all sides for money to satisfy just demands and the incessant cravings of his favourite and the court, the king gladly agreed to surrender the cautionary towns on the instant payment by the Dutch of 250,000*l.*; and, under all the circumstances of the case, James appears to have acted with sound policy in making the bargain.

A.D. 1617.—In the course of this year James paid a visit to Scotland with the view to a favourite scheme which he had long pondered,—probably even before he ascended the English throne, and while he still was personally annoyed by the rude and intrusive presumption of the puritans. His scheme was 'to enlarge the episcopal authority, to establish a few ceremonies in public worship, and to settle and fix the superiority of the civil to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction.'

But though the king's personal influence was now very high, as well from the peace he had preserved throughout his dominions and the pride the Scotch, themselves a pedantic people, felt in hearing the king whom they had given to England cited as 'the British Solomon,' as from the great, not to say unjust, preference which the king took every opportunity to show to Scottish suitors for promotion, even his influence, after much opposition on the part of the clergy, could only procure him a sullen adoption of but a small portion of his plan. 'Episcopacy' was so much the detestation of the Scotch, that it is surprising that so shrewd a king as James should have made a point of endeavouring to force it upon

them. But as if he had not done sufficient in the way of affronting the religious prejudices of the Scotch, James no sooner returned home than he equally affronted those of that large party of his English subjects, the puritans. That dark, sullen, joyless, and joy-hating set of men had, by degrees, brought the original decorous Sunday of England to be a day of the most silent and intense gloom. This was noticed by the king in his return from Scotland, and he immediately issued a proclamation by which all kinds of lawful games and exercises were allowed after divine service. However imprudent this proclamation on the part of the king, we are inclined to believe that in spirit his extreme was wiser than that of the puritans. But whatever may be the good or the bad policy of the practice, it is certain that the king chose a wrong time for recommending it. Even his authority was as nothing against superstitious fanaticism. But while he failed to check or persuade the puritans, did he not irritate them? Might not the sharpening of many a sword that was bared against Charles I. be traced to the vexation caused in puritan bosoms by this very proclamation of his father?

CHAPTER XLIX.

The Reign of JAMES I. *(continued).*

A.D. 1618.—SIR WALTER RALEIGH, the favourite of Elizabeth, the opponent and enemy of Essex, to whom he had shown an implacable and savage spirit which makes us doubt whether the world had not been greatly mistaken in deeming him a good as well as great man, had now been for thirteen years lingering in his prison. Though advanced in years and broken in fortune, even imprisonment could not break his unquestionably daring and resolved spirit. Soldier, seaman, courtier, and man of intrigue during so much of his life, instead of resigning himself to despair when led to the Tower of London, he there commenced his elaborate and really learned History of the World! Thirteen years of confinement could not quell that enduring and daring spirit; and as the report of his friends informed him that public opinion was very favourably and greatly changed on his behalf, he now began to scheme for obtaining his enlargement. He caused it to be noised abroad that during one of his voyages he had discovered a gold mine in Guiana, so rich, that it would afford enormous wealth not only to any gallant adventurers who, under proper guidance, should seek it, but also to the nation at large. These reports, as Raleigh from the first intended, reached the ears of the king; but James doubted the existence of the mine, and the more so because it was clear that a man in the sad situation of Raleigh might be expected to say almost anything to obtain freedom. But the report was so far serviceable to Raleigh, that it reminded the king of the long dreary years the once gallant soldier and gay courtier of Elizabeth had passed in the gloom of a dungeon, and he liberated him from the Tower, but refused to release him from the original sentence of death which, he said, he considered a necessary check upon a man of Raleigh's character, which assuredly had more of talent and audacity than of either probity or mercy.

Though James was by no means inclined to give credit to the tale of Raleigh, he gave full leave to all private adventurers who might choose to join him; and Raleigh's intrepid assertions, backed by his great repute for both talent and courage, soon placed him at the head of twelve ships, well armed and manned, and provided with everything necessary for piracy and plunder, but with nothing calculated for digging the pretended treasure.

On the river Oronoko, in Guiana, the Spaniards had built a town called St. Thomas, which, at this time, was exceedingly wealthy. Raleigh had taken possession of the whole district above twenty years before in the name of queen Elizabeth; but, as he had immediately left the coast, his claim on behalf of England was totally unknown to the Spaniards. It was to this wealthy Spanish settlement that Raleigh now steered, and on arriving there he staid at the mouth of the Oronoko with five of his largest ships, sending the remainder of the expedition up to St. Thomas's under the command of his son and his fellow-adventurer, captain Kemyss. The Spaniards, seeing the English adventurers approach St. Thomas in such hostile guise, fired at them, but were speedily repulsed and driven into the town. As young Raleigh headed his men in the attack on the town, he exclaimed, *This is the true mine, and they are but fools who look for any other!* He had scarcely spoken the words when he received a shot and immediately fell dead; Kemyss, however, still continued the attack and took the town, which they burned to ashes in their rage at finding no considerable booty in it.

Raleigh had all along said not that he had himself ever seen the wonderfully rich mine of which he gave so glowing an account, but that it had been found by Kemyss on one of their former expeditions together, and that Kemyss had brought him a lump of ore which proved the value as well as the existence of the mine. Yet now that Kemyss, by his own account, was within two hours' march of the mine, he made the most absurd excuses to his men for leading them no farther, and immediately returned to Raleigh, at the mouth of the Oronoko, with the melancholy news of the death of the younger Raleigh, and the utter failure of all their hopes as far as St. Thomas's was concerned. The scene between Raleigh and Kemyss was probably a very violent one; at all events it had such an effect upon Kemyss that he immediately retired to his own cabin and put an end to his existence.

The other adventurers now perceived that they had entered into both a dangerous and unprofitable speculation, and they inferred from all that had passed, that Raleigh from the outset had relied upon piracy and plundering towns—a kind of speculation for which their ill success at

St. Thomas's gave them no inclination, whatever their moral feelings upon the subject might have been. On a full consideration of all the circumstances, the adventurers determined to return to England and take Raleigh with them, leaving it to him to justify himself to the king in the best manner he could. On the passage he repeatedly endeavoured to escape, but was brought safely to England and delivered up to the king. The court of Spain in the meantime loudly and justly complained of the destruction of St. Thomas's; and, after a long examination before the privy council, Raleigh was pronounced guilty of wilful deceit from the first as to the mine, and of having from the first intended to make booty by piracy and land plunder. The lawyers held, however, as a universal rule, that a man who already lay under attaint of treason could in no form be tried anew for another crime; the king, therefore, signed a warrant for Raleigh's execution for that participation in the setting up of the lady Arabella Stuart, for which he had already suffered imprisonment during the dreary period of thirteen years! He died with courage, with gaiety almost, but quite without bravado or indecency. While there was yet a faint hope of his escape he feigned a variety of illnesses, even including madness, to protract his doom; but when all hope was at length at an end, he threw off all disguise, and prepared to die with that courage on the scaffold with which he had so often dared death on the field. Taking up the axe with which he was about to be beheaded, he felt the edge of it and said, 'Tis a sharp, but it is also a sure remedy for all ills.' He then calmly laid his head upon the block, and was dead at the first stroke of the axe. Few men had been more unpopular a few years earlier than sir Walter Raleigh; but the courage he displayed, the long imprisonment he had suffered, and his execution on a sentence pronounced so long before, merely to give satisfaction to Spain, rendered this execution one of the most unpopular acts ever performed by the king.

It will be remembered that we spoke of the marriage of the princess Elizabeth to the elector palatine as an event which in the end proved mischievous both to England and to the king.

A.D. 1619.—The states of Bohemia being in arms to maintain their revolt from the hated authority of the catholic house of Austria, the mighty preparations made by Ferdinand II. and the extensive alliances he had succeeded in forming to the same end made the states very anxious to obtain a counterbalancing aid to their cause. Frederick, elector palatine, being son-in-law to the king of England and nephew to prince Maurice, who at this time was possessed of almost unlimited power over the United Provinces, the states of Bohemia considered that were he elected to their crown which they deemed elective—their safety would be insured by his potent connections. They, therefore, offered to make Frederick their sovereign; and he, looking only at the honour, accepted the offer without consulting either his uncle or father-in-law, probably because he well knew that they would dissuade him from an honour so costly and onerous as this was certain to prove. Having accepted the sovereignty of Bohemia, Frederick immediately marched all the troops he could command to the defence of his new subjects. On the news of this event arriving in England the people of all ranks were strongly excited. As we have elsewhere said, the people of England are essentially affectionate towards their sovereigns; and Frederick, merely as the son-in-law of the king, would have had their warmest wishes. But they were still further interested on his behalf, because he was a protestant prince opposing the ambition and the persecution of the detested Spaniard and Austrian, and there was a general cry for an English army to be sent forthwith to Bohemia. Almost the only man in the kingdom who was clear-sighted and unmoved amid all this passionate feeling was James. He was far too deeply impressed with the opinion that it was dangerous for a king's prerogative and for his subjects' passive obedience, to look with a favourable eye upon revolted states conferring a crown even upon his own son-in-law. He would not acknowledge Frederick as king of Bohemia, and forbade his being prayed for in our churches under that title.

A.D. 1620.—However wise the reasonings of James, it would, in the end, have been profitable to him to have sent an English army, even upon a vast scale, to the assistance of Frederick in the first instance. Ferdinand, with the duke of Bavaria and the count of Bucquoy, and Spinola with thirty thousand veteran troops from the Low Countries, not only defeated Frederick at the great battle of Prague, and sent him and his family fugitives into Holland, but also took possession of the palatinate. This latter disaster might surely have been prevented, had James at the very outset so far departed from his pacific polity as to send a considerable army to occupy the palatinate, in doing which he would by no means have stepped beyond the most strictly legitimate support of the legitimate right of his son-in-law.

Now that Frederick was expelled even from his palatinate, James still depended upon his tact in negotiations to spare him the necessity for an actual recourse to arms; but he at the same time, with the turn for dissimulation which was natural to him, determined to use the warlike enthusiasm of his subjects as a means of obtaining money, of which, as usual, he was painfully in want. Urging the necessity of instant recourse to that forcible interference, which, in truth, he intended never to make, he tried to gain a benevolence; but even the present concern for the palatine would not blind the people to the arbitrary nature of that way of levying heavy taxes upon them, and James was reluctantly obliged to call a parliament.

A.D. 1621.—The unwise inclination of the people to plunge into war on behalf of the palatine was so far serviceable to James

that it caused this parliament to meet him with more than usually dutiful and liberal dispositions. Some few members, indeed, were inclined to make complaint and the redress of certain gross grievances their first subject of attention. But the general feeling was against them, and it was with something like acclamation that the parliament proceeded at once to vote the king two subsidies.

This done, they proceeded to enquire into some enormous abuses of the essentially pernicious practice of granting patent monopolies of particular branches of trade. It was proved that sir Giles Mompesson and sir Francis Michel had outrageously abused their patent for licensing inns and ale-houses; the former was severely punished, and the latter only escaped the same by breaking from prison and going abroad.

Still more atrocious was the conduct of sir Edward Villiers, brother of the favourite, Buckingham. Sir Edward had a patent, in conjunction with Mompesson and Michel, for the sole making of gold and silver lace. This patent had not only been abused to the great oppression of the persons engaged in that, then, very extensive trade, but also to the downright robbery of all who used the articles, in which the patentees sold a vast deal more of copper than of gold or silver. Villiers, instead of being dealt with as severely as his accomplices, was sent abroad on a mission, intrusted with the care of the national interests and honour, as a means of screening him from the punishment due to his shameless extortion and robbery at home. Hume, somewhat too tenderly, suggests that the guilt of Villiers was less enormous or less apparent than that of his accomplices. But the true cause of his impunity was the power of his insolent and upstart brother.

The king having expressed himself to be well pleased that the parliament had enabled him to discover and punish this enormous system of cruelty and fraud, the commons now ventured to carry their enquiries into the practices of a higher offender. That offender, was the illustrious Bacon;

The wisest, greatest, meanest of mankind.

Kind-hearted, learned, wise, witty, eloquent, and beyond all his contemporaries deep-thoughted and sagacious, the viscount St. Albans, chancellor of England, was greedy almost to insanity; greedy not with the miser's wretched love of hoarding, but with the reckless desire of lavishing. His emoluments were vast, his honours and appointments many, and no one could be more eloquent in behalf of justice and moderation than this great man, who may be justly styled the apostle of common-sense in reasoning. Yet his profusion was so vast and so utterly reckless, and his practice so little in accordance with his preaching, that he took the most enormous bribes in his office of judge in equity. Hume suggests the odd apology that though he took bribes he still did justice, and even gave hostile judgements where he had been paid for giving favourable ones! To us it appears that this, if true, was merely adding the offence of robbing individuals to that of abusing his office. He was very justly sentenced to imprisonment during the royal pleasure, or fine of ten thousand pounds, and incapacity for again holding any office. The fine was remitted, and he was soon released from imprisonment and allowed a pension for his support; a lenity of which we think he was undeserving in precise proportion to the vastness of his ability which ought to have taught him to keep his conscience clear.

Many disputes now occurred from time to time between the king and his parliament; and at length the king dissolved them; imprisoned Coke, Philips, Selden, and Pym; and, in his whimsical way of punishing refractory people, sent sir Dudley Digges, sir Thomas Crew, sir Nathaniel Rick, and sir James Perrot on a commission to Ireland, a country to which a scholar and a fine gentleman of that time would about as readily go as a club-lounger of our day would to Siberia, or the salt mines of Poland.

We do not deem it necessary to dwell at all minutely upon this parliamentary opposition to the king, because it is less important in itself than in its consequences, which we shall have to develope in the succeeding reign. The seed of the civil war was now being sowed. The commons were daily gaining power and the consciousness of power; but without the large and generous as well as wise spirit which knows how to *reform gradually*.

Even the king himself, with all his high opinion of prerogative and his only too great readiness to exert it, perceived that the day was past for governing with the high hand alone. A curious instance of this occurs in his buying off of sir John Saville, from the gathering opposition. While others were sent to prison, or, which was but little better, to Ireland, sir John, whose opposition had been eager and spirited, made his talent so much feared, that the king made him comptroller of the household, a privy councillor, and a baron.

A.D. 1622.—Whatever intention James might have professed of going to war on behalf of his son-in-law, his real intention was to obtain the friendship of Spain, and thus secure the accomplishment of his own and the nation's wishes by marrying his son, prince Charles, to the Spaniard's sister. Upon this marriage, besides his regarding it as a master-stroke of polity, he was passionately bent as a matter of personal feeling; as he deemed no one below a princess of Spain or France a fitting match for his son.

The war between the emperor and the palatine was still vigorously kept up, the latter prince, in spite of all his misfortunes, making the most heroic exertions. The details of this war will be found in their proper place. Here it suffices to say, that though James greatly aided his gallant son-in-law with money, he did him almost equal injury by his negotiations, which everyone saw through, and of course treated with

disrespect proportioned to their knowledge that they originated in the most intense political prudence, carried to the very verge of actual cowardice. This excessive caution of the king, and his equally excessive addiction to perpetual negotiation perpetually ending in nothing, was made the subject of much merriment on the continent. At Brussels a farce was acted, in the course of which a messenger was made to announce the sad news that the palatinate was at length on the eve of being wrested from the house of Austria. Nothing, the messenger said, could resist the aid which Frederick was now about to receive; the king of Denmark having agreed to send him a hundred thousand pickled herrings, the Dutch a hundred thousand butter-boxes, and the king of England—a hundred thousand dispatches!

But though James was in reality somewhat ridiculously profuse in his efforts to 'negotiate' the duke of Bavaria into restoring the palatinate, he really was resting his main hope upon the Spanish match.

Digby, afterwards earl of Bristol, was sent to Madrid to endeavour to hasten the negotiation which, with more or less earnestness, had now been carried on for five years. The princess being a catholic, a dispensation from the pope was necessary for the marriage; and as various motives of policy made Spain anxious to avoid a total and instant breach with James, this circumstance was dexterously turned to advantage. Spain undertook to procure the dispensation, and thus possessed the power of retarding the marriage indefinitely or of concluding it at any moment, should circumstances render that course advisable. Suspecting at least a part of the deception that was practised upon him, James, while he sent Digby publicly to Spain, secretly sent Sage to Rome to watch and report the state of affairs and feeling there. Learning from that agent that the chief difficulty, as far as Rome was concerned, was the difference of religion, he immediately discharged all popish recusants who were in custody. By this measure he hoped to propitiate Rome; to his own subjects he stated his reason for resorting to it to be—his desire to urge it as an argument in support of the applications he was continually making to foreign princes for a more indulgent treatment of their protestant subjects.

Digby, now earl of Bristol, was incessant in his exertions, and seems to have been minutely informed of the real intentions and feelings of Spain; and the result of his anxious and well-directed enquiries was his informing James that there was no doubt that the princess would shortly bestow her hand upon his son, and that her portion would be the then enormous sum of eight hundred thousand pounds sterling. Pleased as James was with the news as regarded the anticipated marriage, he was enraptured when he considered it in conjunction with the restoration of the palatinate, which undoubtedly would instantly follow. Nothing now remained but to procure the dispensation from Rome; and that supposing, as seems to have been the case, that Spain was sincere, was not likely to be long delayed when earnestly solicited by Spain—when all James's hopes were shipwrecked and his finely drawn webs of polity scattered to the winds by Buckingham. Did a prince *ever* fail to rue the folly of making an upstart too great for even his master's control!

A.D. 1623.—It would have been comparatively a small mischief had the king made Buckingham merely an opulent duke, if he had not also made him, practically, his chief minister. Accomplished, showy, and plausible, he was, however, totally destitute of the solid talents necessary to the statesman, and was of so vindictive as well as impetuous a nature, that he would willingly have plunged the nation into the most destructive war for the sake of avenging a personal injury or ruining a personal enemy. Importunate and tyrannical even with the king himself, he was absolute, arrogant, and insulting to all others; and he had even insulted the prince of Wales. But as the king grew old, and evidently was fast sinking, Buckingham became anxious to repair his past error, and to connect himself in such wise with Charles, while still only prince of Wales, as to continue to be the chief minion of court when the prince should have expanded into the king.

Perceiving that the prince of Wales was greatly annoyed by the long and seemingly interminable delays that had taken place in bringing about the Spanish match, Buckingham resolved to make that circumstance serviceable to his views. Accordingly, though the prince had recently shown a decided coolness towards the overgrown favourite, Buckingham approached his royal highness, and in his most insinuating manner—and no one could be more insinuating or supple than Buckingham when he had an object in view—professed a great desire to be serviceable. He descanted long and well upon the unhappy lot of princes in general in the important article of marriage, in which both husband and wife were usually the victims of mere state policy, and strangers even to each other's persons until they met at the altar. From these undeniable premises he passed to the conclusion, so well calculated to inflame a young and enthusiastic man, that for the sake both of making the acquaintance of his future wife, and of hastening the settlement of the affair by interesting her feelings in behalf alike of his gallantry and of his personal accomplishments, Charles would act wisely by going *incognito* to the Spanish court. A step so unusual and so trusting could not fail to flatter the Spanish pride of Philip and his court, while, as seeming to proceed from his passionate eagerness to see her, the infanta herself must inevitably be delighted.

Charles, afterwards so grave and so melancholy, was then young, ingenuous, and romantic. He fell at once into Buckingham's views, and, taking advantage of an hour of unusual good humour, they so earnestly importuned the king that he gave his consent to the scheme. Subsequently he changed his mind cool re-

flection enabled him to see some good reasons against the proposed expedition, and his natural timidity and suspicion no doubt suggested still more than had any such solid foundation. But he was again importuned by the prince with earnestness, and by the duke with that tyrannous insolence which he well knew when to use and when to abstain from; and again the king consented.

Endymion Porter, gentleman of the prince's chamber, and sir Francis Cottington were to be the only attendants of the prince and duke, except their mere grooms and valets. To sir Francis Cottington the king communicated the scheme, in the duke's presence, and asked his opinion of it. The scene that followed is so graphically characteristic of the terms upon which the duke lived with his benefactor and sovereign, that we transcribe it in full from the pages of Hume.

'James told Cottington that he had always been an honest man, and, therefore, he was now about to trust him with an affair of the highest importance, which he was not, upon his life, to disclose to any man whatever. "Cottington," added he, "here is baby Charles, dog Steenie (these ridiculous appellations he usually gave to the prince and Buckingham), who have a great mind to go post into Spain and fetch home the infanta. They will have but two more in their company, and they have chosen you for one. What think you of the journey?" Sir Francis, who was a prudent man, and had resided some years in Spain as the king's agent, was struck with all the obvious objections to such an enterprise, and scrupled not to declare them. The king threw himself upon his bed and cried "I told you all this before," and fell into a new passion and new lamentations, complaining that he was undone and should lose baby Charles.

'The prince showed by his countenance that he was extremely dissatisfied with Cottington's discourse, but Buckingham broke into an open passion against him. The king, he told him, had asked him only of the journey, and of the manner of travelling, particulars of which he might be a competent judge, having gone the road so often by post; but that he, without being called to it, had the presumption to give his advice upon matters of state and against the prince, which he should repent as long as he lived.'

'A thousand other reproaches he added which put the poor king into a new agony on behalf of a servant who, he foresaw, would suffer for answering him honestly. Upon which he said, with some emotion, "Nay, by God, Steenie, you are much to blame for using him so. He answered me directly to the question which I asked him, and very honestly and wisely; and yet you know he said no more than I told you before he was called in." However, after all this passion on both sides, James renewed his consent, and proper directions were given for the journey. Nor was he at any loss to discover that the whole intrigue was originally contrived by Buckingham, as well as pursued violently by his spirit and impetuosity.'

The prince and Buckingham, with their attendants, passed through France; and so well were they disguised that they even ventured to look in at a court ball at Paris, where the prince saw the princess Henrietta, his afterwards unfortunate and heroically attached queen.

In eleven days they arrived at Madrid, where they threw off their disguises and were received with the utmost cordiality The highest honours were paid to Charles The king paid him a visit of welcome, cordially thanked him for a step which, unusual as it was among princes, only the more forcibly proved the confidence he had in Spanish honour, gave him a gold passport key that he might visit at all hours, and ordered the council to obey him even as the king himself. An incident which in England would be trivial, but which in Spain, so haughty and so pertinacious of etiquette, was of the utmost importance, will at once show the temper in which the Spaniards responded to the youthful and gallant confidence of Charles. Olivarez, a grandee of Spain—a haughtier race far than any king, out of Spain—though he had the right to remain covered in the presence of his own sovereign, invariably took off his hat in presence of the prince of Wales!

Thus far, in point of fact, whatever obvious objections there might be to Buckingham's scheme, it had been really successful; the pride and the fine spirit of honour of the Spaniard had been touched precisely as he anticipated. But if he had done good by accident, he was speedily to undo it by his selfish wilfulness.

Instead of taking any advantage of the generous confidence of the prince, the Spaniards gave way upon some points which otherwise they most probably would have insisted upon. The pope, indeed, took some advantage of the prince's position, by adding some more stringent religious conditions to the dispensation; but, on the whole, the visit of the prince had done good, and the dispensation was actually granted and prepared for delivery when Gregory XV. died. Urban VIII., who succeeded him, anxious once more to see a catholic king in England, and judging from Charles's romantic expedition that love and impatience would probably work his conversion, found some pretexts for delaying the delivery of the dispensation, and the natural impatience of Charles was goaded into downright anger by the artful insinuations of Buckingham, who affected to feel certain that Spain had been insincere from the very first. Charles at length grew so dissatisfied that he asked permission to return home, and asked it in such evident ill-humour, that Philip at once granted it without even the affectation of a desire for any prolongation of the visit. But the princes parted with all external friendship, and Philip had a monument erected on the spot at which they bade each other adieu.

That the craft of Urban would speedily have given way before the united influences

of James and Philip there can be no doubt, and as little can there be of the loyal sincerity of the Spaniard. Why then should Buckingham, it may be asked, overset, when so near its completion, the project he had so greatly exerted himself to advance? We have seen that his object in suggesting the journey to the prince was one of purely selfish policy. He then was selfish with respect to future benefit to himself. His sowing discord between Charles and the Spaniard was equally a selfish procedure. His dissolute and airy manners disgusted that grave court; and his propensity to debauchery disgusted that sober people. He insulted the pride of their proud nobility in the person of Olivarez, the almost omnipotent prime minister of Spain; and when by all these means he had worn out his welcome in Spain, and perceived that even respect to the prince could not induce the Spaniards to endure himself, he resolved to break off the amity between the prince and Philip, and succeeded as we have seen. When Buckingham was taking leave of Spain he had the wanton insolence to say to the proud Olivarez, 'With regard to you, sir, in particular, you must not consider me as your friend, but must ever expect from me all possible enmity and opposition.' To this insolent speech, the grandee, with calm greatness, merely replied that he very willingly accepted of the offer of enmity so obligingly made.

On their return to England both Charles and Buckingham used all their influence with the king to get him to break off all farther negotiation of the Spanish match; Charles being actuated by a real though erroneous belief of the insincerity of the Spaniard, and Buckingham, by a consciousness that he could expect nothing but ruin should the infanta, after being stung by so much insult shown to herself and her country, become queen of England. In want of money, and looking upon the Spanish match as a sure means by which to get the palatinate restored without going to war, James was not easily persuaded to give up all thought of an alliance he had had so much at heart and had brought so near to a conclusion. But the influence of Buckingham was omnipotent in parliament, and his insolence irresistible by the king; the Spanish match was dropped, enmity to the house of Austria was henceforth to be the principle of English polity, and a war was to be resorted to for the restoration of the palatinate. It was in vain that the Spanish ambassador endeavoured to open James's eyes. The deluded monarch was utterly in the hands of the haughty duke, and moreover, from growing physical debility, was daily growing less fit to endure scenes of violent disputation.

The earl of Bristol, who throughout this strange and protracted affair had acted the part of both an honest and an able minister, would most probably have made such representations in parliament as would have overcome even Buckingham; but he had scarcely landed in England ere, by the favourite's influence, he was arrested and carried to the Tower. The king was satisfied in his heart that the minister was an honest and an injured man; but though he speedily released him from the Tower, Buckingham only suffered him thus far to undo his involuntary injustice on condition that Bristol should retire to the country and abstain from all attendance on parliament!

From Spain the prince turned to France in search of a bride. He had been much struck by the loveliness of the princess Henrietta, and he now demanded her hand; negotiations were accordingly immediately entered into on the same terms previously granted to Spain, though the princess could bring no dowry like that of the infanta.

James, in the meantime, found himself, while fast sinking into the grave, plunged into that warlike course which during his whole life he had so sedulously, and at so many sacrifices of dignity and even of pretty certain advantage, avoided.

The palatinate, lying in the very midst of Germany, possessed by the emperor and the duke of Bavaria, and only to be approached by an English army through other powerful enemies, was obviously to be retaken by force only at great risks and sacrifices. But the counsels of Buckingham urged James onward. Count de Mansfeldt and his army were subsidized, and an English army of two hundred horse and twelve thousand foot was raised by impressment. A free passage was promised by France, but when the army arrived at Calais it was discovered that no formal orders had been received for its admission, and after vainly waiting for such orders until they actually began to want provision, the commanders of the expedition steered for Zealand. Here, again, no proper arraugements had been made for the disembarkation, a sort of plague broke out among the men from short allowances and long confinement in the close vessels, nearly one half of the troops died, and Mansfeldt very rightly deemed the remainder too small a force for so mighty an attempt as that of the reconquest of the palatinate.

A. D. 1625. — Long infirm, the king had been so much harassed of late by the mere necessity of looking war in the face, that this awful loss of life and the utter failure of the hopes he had been persuaded to rest upon the expedition, threw him into a tertian ague. From the first attack he felt that his days were numbered; for when told, in the old English adage, that

> An ague in spring
> Is health to a king,

he replied, with something of his old quaintness—'Hoot mon! Ye forget it means a *young* king.'

He was right. Every successive fit left him still weaker, till he sank into the arms of death, on March 27, 1625, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, the fifty-eighth of his reign over Scotland, and the twenty-third of his reign over England.

CHAPTER L.

The Reign of CHARLES I.

A.D. 1625. — THE singular submissiveness with which James had been obeyed, even

when his principles and practice were most arbitrary, was well calculated to mislead his son and successor Charles I. into a very fatal mistake as to the real temper and inclination of the people. Authority had not as yet ceased to be obeyed, but it had for some time ceased to be respected. Even as early as the reign of Elizabeth, a sturdy and bitter spirit of puritanism had begun to possess considerable influence both in parliament and among the people at large, and that spirit had vastly increased during the long reign of James I., whose familiar manners and undignified character were so ill calculated to support his claim to an almost eastern submission on the part of subjects towards their anointed sovereign.

But the real temper of the people was, as it seems to us, totally misunderstood both by Charles I. and his counsellors. Charles had imbibed very much of his father's extravagant notion of the extent of the royal prerogative; and while the bitter puritans were ready to carry out their fanatical feelings to the extent of crushing alike the throne and the church, the king commenced his reign by the exaction of a *benevolence*, an arbitrary mode of raising money which had been denounced long before. The pecuniary situation of the king was, in fact, such as ought to have excited the sympathy and liberality of his subjects, and even the unconstitutional and arbitrary conduct of the king in issuing privy seals for a benevolence must not blind us to the *cause* of that conduct. In the reign of James, as we have seen, the cause of the prince palatine was unreasonably popular, and England had entered into a treaty to keep up the war on behalf of that prince. Bound by that treaty, Charles appealed to his parliament, which gave him only two subsidies, though well aware that sum would be quite unequal to the military demonstrations which both the cause of his brother-in-law and the credit of the English nation required at his hands.

An inefficient expedition to Cadiz plainly showed that, even with the aid of the forced *benevolence*, the king was very insufficiently supplied with money, and a new parliament was called. Warned by the experience he now had, the king exerted himself to exclude the more obstinate and able of the opposition members from the new parliament. Something like what in later times has been called the *management* of parliament had already been tried in the reign of James. But the chief step now taken was arbitrarily to name the popular members of the late parliament sheriffs of counties, by which means they were effectually excluded from sitting in the new parliament. But the puritanical spirit was too widely spread, and, while the expedient of the king aggravated the excluded and their friends, the members who were returned proved to be quite as obstinate and unreasonable as their predecessors. The king and his friends and advisers fairly stated to parliament the great and urgent necessities of the crown; but in the face of the fact that those necessities were in a great measure created by the former enthusiasm of parliament and the people in favour of the palatine, the new parliament would only grant three subsidies, or something more than a hundred and fifty thousand pounds, a sum really paltry as compared to the king's need. It cannot be too emphatically impressed upon the reader that here, at the very outset of the king's reign, the foundation of all its subsequent troubles was laid. Measures over which the king had had no control made a vigorous and offensive course of action imperative upon him; but the parliament, while looking to him for that course, doled out the sinews of war with a paltry and buckstering spirit, that left the king no choice save that between disgrace abroad or arbitrary conduct at home. Charles, unfortunately, looked rather at the abstract nature and privileges of his royalty than at the power and fierceness of real *popular* feeling which he had to combat or to elude. He openly authorised commissioners to sell to the catholics a dispensation from all the penal laws especially enacted against them; he borrowed large sums of money from the nobility, many of whom lent them with great reluctance; and he levied upon London, and upon other large towns, considerable sums, under the name of ship-money, for the equipment and support of a fleet. Wholly to justify this conduct of the king is no part of our business or desire; but no little blame is due to the niggardly and unpatriotic conduct of the parliament; an unjust extortion was the natural and inevitable result of a no less unjust and unprincipled parsimony.

War being declared against France, the haughty Buckingham, who was as high in favour with the dignified and refined Charles as he had been with the plain and coarse James, was intrusted with an expedition for the relief of Rochelle, which at that time was garrisoned by the oppressed protestants and besieged by a formidable army of the opposite persuasion. Buckingham's talents were by no means equal to his power and ambition. He took not even the simplest precautions for securing the concert of the garrison that he was sent to relieve, and on his arrival before Rochelle he was refused admittance, the besieged very naturally suspecting the sincerity of a commander who had sent no notice of his intention to aid them. This blunder was immediately followed up by another no less glaring and capital. Denied admittance to Rochelle, he disregarded the island of Oleron, which was too weak to have resisted him and abundantly well provided to have subsisted his force, and sailed for the isle of Rhe, which was strongly fortified and held by a powerful and well-provisioned garrison. He sat down before the castle of St. Martin's with the avowed intention of starving the garrison into submission; but abundant provisions were thrown into the fortress by sea, and the French effected a landing in a distant part of the island. All that mere courage could do was now done by Buckingham, who, however, lost nearly two-thirds of his army, and was obliged to make a hurried retreat with the remainder His friends, quite truly, claimed

for him the praise of personal courage, he having been the very last man to get on shipboard. But mere courage is but a small part of the quality of a great general; probably there was not a private sentry in his whole force who was not personally as brave as Buckingham himself; certainly there could have been but few private soldiers who would not have failed less disastrously and disgracefully in the main objects of the expedition.

The failure of this expedition could not but increase the mischievous jealousy between the king and parliament. The latter, without considering the dilemma in which their own illiberal conduct had placed the king, loudly exclaimed against those, certainly, very arbitrary measures to which they themselves had compelled him. Duties called tonnage and poundage had been levied, and for refusal to pay them, many merchants had had their property seized by the officers of the customs. The parliament now called those officers to account, alleging that tonnage and poundage had been illegally demanded, and the sheriff of London was actually sent to the Tower for having officially supported the king's officers. To these circumstances of ill-feeling the more zealous puritans added religious grievances; and every day produced some new proof that a very large proportion of the nation was infected with a feeling of intolerance and bigotry that could not but prove ruinous to both church and state.

A.D. 1629.—Alarmed at the zeal and obstinacy with which the popular members seemed determined to prosecute the tonnage and poundage question, the king determined at least to postpone the discussion; and when the question was brought forward, sir John Finch, the speaker, rose and informed the house that the king had given him a command to adjourn it. This intelligence, instead of alarming the popular members, infuriated them. Sir John Finch was forcibly held in the speaker's chair which he was in the act of vacating, by two members named Valentine and Hollis, and thus compelled to sanction by his presence a short resolution which condemned tonnage and poundage as being contrary to law, and all persons concerned in collecting those duties as guilty of high crimes, and denounced Arminians and papists as capital enemies to the state.

This scene of violence and passion on the part of the commons was followed by the king's committal to prison of sir Miles Hobart, sir Peter Hayman, the learned Selden, with Coriton, Strode, and Long, on charges of sedition. At this period Charles seems to have acted rather upon passionate and perplexed impulse than upon any settled and defined principle, even of a despotic character. He had scarcely sent these members to prison upon his own authority, when he set them free again without further punishment. To other members he was just as inconsistently severe. Hollis, Valentine, and sir John Elliot were summoned before the court of king's bench to answer for their violent conduct in the house of commons. They pleaded, and it should seem quite reasonably, too, that the house of commons being a superior court to the king's bench, the latter could not take cognizance of an alleged offence committed in the former. The judges, however, treated this plea with contempt; the three persons above named were found guilty in default of appearance and condemned to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure, to pay fines of from five hundred to a thousand pounds each, and to give security for their future conduct. The arbitrary severity of this sentence had a doubly ill effect; it exalted in the public mind men whose own rash anger would otherwise have been their most efficient opponent, and it added to the unpopularity of the king just at the precise moment when nothing but a cordial and friendly expression of public opinion was at all likely to have been effectually serviceable to him in his contest with the obstinate and envenomed party of men who denied him the means of performing those duties which the popular outcry had mainly contributed to impose upon him.

So entirely had Buckingham obtained the ascendancy over the mind of Charles, that the favourite's disgraceful failure in the Rochelle expedition, though it caused a loud and general indignation in the nation, did not seem to injure him with the king. Another expedition for the relief of Rochelle was determined upon, and the command was bestowed upon Buckingham. His brother-in-law, the earl of Denbigh, had failed in an attempt to raise the siege. Buckingham, naturally anxious to wipe off the disgrace of two failures, exerted himself to the utmost to make a new expedition under his own command a successful one. To this end, he went to Portsmouth and personally superintended the preparations. He was at this moment decidedly the most unpopular man in the kingdom; denounced on all hands as the betrayer and at the same time the tyrant of both king and country. The libels and declamations which were constantly circulated found a ready echo in the breast of one Felton, an Irish soldier of fortune. By nature gloomy, bigoted, and careless of his own life, this man had been rendered desperate by what appears to have been very unjust treatment. He had served bravely at St. Rhé, where his captain was killed, and Buckingham, whether in caprice or mere indolence, had refused to give lieutenant Felton the vacant step. This personal injury aggravated his hatred to the duke as a public enemy, and he determined to assassinate him. Having travelled to Portsmouth, this resolute and violent man contrived to approach the duke as he was giving some orders, and struck him with a knife over the shoulder of one of the surrounding officers. The duke had only strength enough to say, 'the villain has killed me,' when he fell dead upon the spot. In the confusion that ensued the assassin might easily have escaped, for the blow was so sudden that no one saw by whom it was struck. But the assassin's hat had fallen among the astounded spec-

tators and was found to contain some of the strongest lines of a very violent remonstrance which the house of commons had voted against the duke's conduct; and while some persons were remarking that no doubt the villain must be near at hand, and would be recognised by the loss of his hat, Felton deliberately stepped forward and avowed his crime. When questioned he positively denied that anyone had instigated him to the murder of the duke. His conscience, he said, was his only adviser, nor could any man's advice cause him to act against his conscience; he looked upon the duke as a public enemy, and therefore he had slain him. He maintained the same constancy and self-complacency to the last, protesting even upon the scaffold that his conscience acquitted him of all blame.

A.D. 1639.—Charles received the tidings of the assassination of his favourite and minister with a composure which led some persons to imagine that the duke's death was not wholly disagreeable to the too indulgent master over whom he had so long and so unreasonably exerted his influence. But this opinion greatly wronged Charles; he, as a man, wanted not sensibility, but he possessed to a remarkable extent the valuable power of controlling and concealing his feelings.

The first consequence of the cessation of the pernicious counsel and influence of Buckingham was the king's wise resolution to diminish his need of the aid of his unfriendly subjects, by concluding peace with the foreign foes against whom he had warred under so many disadvantages and with so little glory. Having thus freed himself from the heavy and constant drain of foreign warfare, the king selected sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards earl of Strafford, and Laud, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, to aid him in the task of regulating the internal affairs of his kingdom; a task which the king's own love of prerogative and the obstinate ill-humour and disaffection of the leading puritans rendered almost impracticable.

Unfortunately, Laud, who had great influence over the king, was by no means inclined to moderate the king's propension to arbitrary rule. Tonnage and poundage were still levied on the king's sole authority; papists were still compounded with, as a regular means of aiding the king's revenue; and the custom-house officers were still encouraged and protected in the most arbitrary measures for the discovery and seizure of goods alleged to be liable to charge with the obnoxious and illegal duties. These errors of the king's government were seized upon by popular declaimers, and the violence of libellers provoked the king and Laud to a most arbitrary extension of the always too extensive powers of the high commission court of star-chamber, the sentences of which upon all who were accused of opposing the government were truly iniquitous, and in precisely the same degree impolitic. This court, though really authorised by no law, inflicted both personal and pecuniary severities which to us who are accustomed to the regular and equitable administration of law cannot but be revolting. For instance, a barrister of Lincoln's inn, named Prynne, a man of considerable talent though of a factious and obstinate temper, was brought before this arbitrary court, charged with having attacked and abused the ceremonies of the church of England. Burton, a divine, and Bastwick, a physician, were at the same time charged with a similar offence; and these three gentlemen of liberal professions, for libels which now, if punished at all, would surely not cost their authors more than two months' imprisonment, were condemned to be placed in the pillory, to have their ears cut off, and to pay, each, a fine of five thousand pounds to the king.

The impolicy of this and similar severe sentences was the greater, because there were but too many indications already of extensive and determined disaffection to the crown. Refused the really requisite pecuniary assistance by his parliament, the king continued to levy *ship-money*, and against this tax an especial and determined opposition was raised; though it ought to be observed that it had often been levied in former reigns, not because of so reasonable a motive as the factious refusal of parliament to provide for the necessities of the state, but in sheer despotic preference on the part of sovereigns to act on their own will rather than on that of parliament. The puritans and the popular leaders in general, however, made no allowance for the king's really urgent and distressing situation.

Among the most determined opponents of the ship-money was Mr. John Hampden, a gentleman of some landed property in the county of Buckingham. The moral character of this gentleman was, even by those whom his political conduct the most offended or injured, admitted to be excellent; and his manner exercised over all who approached him a peculiar charm. His early life had been gay or careless. Clarendon speaks of a change from a life of great pleasure to one of 'extraordinary sobriety and strictness:' but this change brought with it none of the sour and melancholy austerity of the Puritan. He still retained 'his own natural cheerfulness and vivacity, and, above all, a flowing courtesy to all men.' It is not surprising that his friends should speak of him with enthusiasm. In the words of Baxter, he had 'the most universal praise of any gentleman of that age;' and the author of the 'Saint's Rest' goes on to speak of 'a moderate, prudent, aged gentleman, far from him, but acquainted with him, whom I have heard saying, that if he might choose what person he would be then in the world, he would be John Hampden.' He had entered the House of Commons at the same time with Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, and after the dissolution of the Parliament in 1628, he had retired to private life on his own property. There he lived high in the esteem of his neighbours, but with a name not prominent in the public history of the time, until the king's deter-

mination to levy an assessment from inland counties in place of ship-money, connected John Hampden immediately with the struggle which ended in the temporary overthrow of the regal power. Hampden's assessment was small, and the sheriff of the county was blamed for rating him at so low a sum. But, in the words of Lord Macaulay, 'though the sum demanded was a trifle, the principle involved was fearfully important. Hampden, after consulting the most eminent constitutional lawyers of the time, refused to pay the few shillings at which he was assessed, and determined to incur all the certain expense and the probable danger of bringing to a solemn hearing this great controversy between the people and the crown.'

Into the legal and constitutional aspects of the question Mr. Hallam* has entered with a full and minute accuracy, far more trustworthy than the highly wrought descriptions of rhetorical historians, whether on the one side or the other. According to Mr. Hallam, the precise question in this great cause, which, from its importance, was heard before all the judges in the exchequer chamber, was, so far as it related to Hampden, 'Whether the king had a right, on his own allegation of public danger, to require an inland county to furnish ships, or a prescribed sum of money by way of commutation, for the defence of the kingdom.' The arguments on both sides extended over six months: and the mere length of the trial 'was of infinite disservice to the crown.' At length seven of the twelve judges gave judgement for the king. Of the minority, 'Justices Croke and Hutton, men of considerable reputation and experience, displayed a most praiseworthy intrepidity in denying, without the smallest qualification, the alleged prerogative of the crown and the lawfulness of the writ for ship-money.' The issue of the trial left a fatal impression on the public mind. 'Ship-money was held lawful by Finch, and several other judges, not on the authority of precedents, which must in their nature have some bounds, but on principles subversive of any property or privilege in the subject. Those paramount rights of monarchy, to which they appealed to-day in justification of ship-money, might to-morrow serve to supersede other laws, and maintain new exertions of despotic power. It was manifest, by the whole strain of the court lawyers, that no limitations on the king's authority could exist but by the king's sufferance. This alarming tenet, long bruited among the churchmen and courtiers, now resounded in the halls of justice.'

For the king some excuse or palliation might be found in his necessities; a more systematic defence was based on the authority of precedents justifying the course which he had taken. On this point Mr. Hallam remarks that 'it would be doubtless unfair to pass a severe censure on the government of Charles I. for transgressions of law, which a long course of precedents might render dubious, or at least extenuate. But this common apology for his administration .... must be admitted cautiously, and not until we have well considered how far such precedents could be brought to support it. This is particularly applicable to his proclamations. . . . They had not been fully acquiesced in; the Commons had remonstrated against their abuse; and Coke, with other judges, had endeavoured to fix limits to their authority very far within that which they arrogated. . . . They serve at least to display the practical state of the constitution, and the necessity of an entire reform in its spirit.'

* Constitutional History of England, ch. viii.

CHAPTER LI.

The Reign of CHARLES I. *(continued).*

A.D. 1640.—THOUGH there was a most bitter spirit existing against the church of England, though the press teemed with puritan libels as vulgar and silly as they were malicious, Charles, most unhappily, saw not the storm-cloud that hovered over him. Instead of concentrating his energies, his friends, and his pecuniary resources, to elude or smite down the gloomy and bitter puritans of England, and to awaken again the cheerful and loyal spirit of his English yeomanry, he most unwisely determined to introduce episcopacy into Scotland. An order was given for reading the liturgy in the principal church of Edinburgh, which so provoked the congregation, that the very women joined in an attack on the officiating minister, and the place of public worship was profaned by furious and disgusting imprecations. Long inured to actual warfare with England, and always jealous of a nation so much wealthier and more powerful than themselves, the Scots gladly seized upon the attempt to introduce episcopacy among them as a pretext for having recourse to arms, and the whole of that disaffected and warlike population was instantly in a state of insurrection. Even now, could the king have been induced to perceive the real inveteracy and determination of the Scottish hatred of episcopacy, he might have escaped from this portion of his embarrassments with but little worse evil than some diminution of his cherished notion of the absolute supremacy of anointed sovereigns. A negotiation was resorted to, and a treaty of peace quickly succeeded a suspension of arms; each party agreeing to a disbandonment of their forces. Unhappily, neither party was quite earnest in desiring peace; the king could not give up his long-cherished ideas of absolute monarchy, and the rigid Scottish presbyterians were not a jot more inclined to yield up any portion of their entire freedom and self-government in matters of religion. The negotiations and treaties were in consequence marked by mutual insincerity; mutual charges of bad faith were made, and both Charles and his Scottish people speedily resumed their hostile attitude.

The dispute in which the king had thus needlessly and unwisely involved himself seriously increased his difficulties. Although he still continued to levy ship-money and other arbitrary taxes, he was

dreadfully distressed for money; and the disaffected of England saw, with scarcely dissembled pleasure, that their cause was virtually being secured by the disaffected of Scotland. It was while the people were in this ominous temper that Charles, having exhausted all other means, even to forced loans from his nobility, was obliged to call a parliament and make one more appeal for pecuniary aid. But this parliament was even less than the former one inclined to aid the king. He had been refused aid for the ordinary expenses of the kingdom: he was still less likely to be fairly treated when he, in terms, demanded aid that he might quell and chastise the Scottish rebels whose principles were so near akin to those of the English puritans, who now were numerically powerful enough to constitute themselves the national purse-holders. Instead of the aid he asked for, the king received nothing but remonstrance and rebuke, on the score of the means by which, when formally refused aid by parliament, he had supplied himself. Finding the parliament impracticable, the king now dissolved it. But the mere dissolution of this assembly could not diminish the king's necessities, and he soon called another parliament, which was destined to be his last. The puritan party was preponderant in this parliament, and so systematic were the exertions of those resolute and gloomy men, that they at once felt and indicated their confidence of success at the very commencement of the session. Instead of granting the supplies which the king demanded, they passed at once to the impeachment of the earl of Strafford, the faithful minister and the personal friend of the king. Strafford at a former period had to a certain moderate extent acted with the puritans; and they resented his opposition to their more insolent proceedings so deeply, that nothing but his blood could appease their malignity.

It was well known that Charles required no one to urge him to support the prerogative of the crown to its fullest legal extent, *at least*; and it was equally well known that Laud was of a scarcely less arbitrary turn than Strafford, and had fully as much influence with the king. But Strafford, as we have said, had given deep offence to the puritans, and deep and deadly was their revenge. He was solemnly impeached of high treason before the peers. His defence was a model of touching and yet manly eloquence. With a presence of mind not to be surpassed, he took up and refuted each accusation in the exact order in which it had been made; and he concluded by assuring the peers that he would not have troubled them so long, had he not felt the defence of his life to be a sacred duty towards his children, 'pledges of a dear saint now in heaven.' But the cogent logic of his defence availed nothing against the political fury of the time. He was pronounced guilty by both houses of parliament, and his death was clamoured for with an eagerness which shows how completely the success of the royal cause was thought to depend on the genius of Strafford. There was but one thing that could have saved him; and it is with pain that we record that that one thing was sadly absent—a just firmness of character on the part of the king. However great may have been the guilt of Strafford, he had committed no fault against the king. Contrariwise, he had given the utmost possible proof of personal and loyal feelings; and Charles, in abandoning a minister whose chief fault was that of being too faithful to his sovereign, acted a part so unchivalric, so totally unworthy of his general character, that we scarcely know how to speak of it in terms sufficiently severe. A truly futile apology has been attempted to be made for Charles's abandonment of his too devoted minister. That ill-fated nobleman, while confined in the Tower, heard of the clamour that was artfully and perseveringly kept up by his enemies, and in a moment of unwise exaltation he wrote to the king and advised him to comply with the sanguinary demand that was made. The advice was unwise, but such as it was, it ought to have had the effect of only increasing the king's resolution to save such a man and such a minister from destruction. But Charles took the advice literally *au pied de la lettre*, and signed the warrant for the execution of one who probably, after his queen, was the most sincerely devoted friend that he possessed. 'Put not your trust in princes' was the agonised commentary of Strafford upon this most shameful compliance of the king; and he submitted to his undeserved execution with the grave and equable dignity which had marked his whole course. From this condemnation of the king's friend and minister, the parliament passed to a very righteous and wise attack upon two of the most iniquitous of the king's courts. The high commission court and the court of star-chamber were unanimously abolished by act of parliament.

While the protestants of England were divided into churchmen and puritans, and while the latter were busily engaged in endeavouring to throw discredit upon the church, the church of Rome saw in these disputes a new temptation for an attack upon protestantism as a whole. The king's finances were well known to be in such a state as must necessarily prevent him from anything like vigour in military operations; and the papists of Ireland, aided and instigated by foreign emissaries, resolved upon a general massacre of their protestant fellow-subjects. A simultaneous attack was made upon the latter; neighbour rose upon neighbour, all old obligations of kindness were forgotten, all old animosities, how trifling soever their origin, were terribly remembered, and upwards of forty thousand persons were inhumanly slaughtered. The king made every exertion to suppress and punish this infamous massacre, and, feeling that the chief obstacle to his success lay in his crippled finances, he once more appealed to his English parliament for a supply. But not even the massacre of their protestant fellow-subjects could alter the factious temper of the puritans; they not only refused the aid he asked, upon the

absurd plea that England was itself in too much danger to spare any aid to Ireland, but even added insult to injustice by insinuating that the king had himself fomented the disturbances in Ireland.

A.D. 1641.—The attachment of the king to the church was well known, and both he and his opponents well knew that on the support and affection of the church rested the chief hope of preserving the monarchy. The puritan party, therefore, determined to attack the monarchy through the church, and thirteen bishops were accused of high treason, in having enacted canons for church government without the authority or consent of the parliament. The opposition, or, as they are commonly called, 'the popular members,' at the same time applied to the peers to exclude the prelates from speaking and voting in that house; and the bishops, with more discretion than dignity, deprecated the puritan animosity by ceasing to attend their duty in the house of lords. The king was thus, at the very moment when he most required aid in parliament, deprived of the talents and the votes of precisely those peers of parliament upon whose assiduity and devotion he had the most dependence.

Posthumous blame is both cheap and easy. The writer, sitting calmly in his closet, can easily and safely point out the errors of the great men of a bygone age; it is a nobler and more necessary task to ascertain and hold up to view the circumstances that rendered those errors excusable, at least, if not actually inevitable. Goaded and straitened as Charles was, he would have possessed something more than human firmness if he had not at length deviated into rashness. His most devoted friend slain, the prelates of his church silenced, and himself made a mere cipher, except as to the continuance of a vast and fearful responsibility, he resolved to try the effect of severity; and he gave orders to the attorney-general, Herbert, to accuse before the house of peers, lord Kimbolton, together with the prominent commoners Hollis, Hampden, Pym, Strode, and sir Arthur Haslerigg, of high treason in having endeavoured to subvert the laws and government of the kingdom, to deprive the king of his regal power, and to substitute for it an arbitrary and tyrannical authority, injurious to the king and oppressive to his liege subjects. Thus far we are by no means unprepared to approve of the king's proceedings; for surely the conduct of the accused persons had been marked by all the tendency attributed to it in the terms of the accusation. But, unfortunately, Charles, instead of allowing the proceedings to go forward with the grave and deliberate earnestness of a great judicial matter, was so wilful or so ill-advised as to take a personal step which, had it been successful, would have exposed him to the imputation of a most unconstitutional tyranny, and which, in being unsuccessful, exposed him to that ridicule and contempt which, injurious to any man, under any circumstances, could be nothing less than fatal to a king who was in dispute with a majority of his people, and who had already seen no small portion of them in actual battle-array against his authority.

On the very day after the attorney-general had commenced justifiable proceedings against the leaders whose names are given above, the king entered the house of commons without previous notice and without attendance. On his majesty's first appearance the members to a man respectfully stood up to receive him, and Lenthal the speaker vacated his chair. His majesty seated himself, and, after looking sternly round for some moments, said, that understanding that the house had refused or neglected to give up five of its members whom he had ordered to be accused of high treason, he had personally come there to seize them, a proceeding to which he was sorry to be compelled. Perceiving that the accused were not present, he called upon the speaker to deliver them up; when that officer, with great presence of mind and justice, replied that he was the mere organ and servant of that house, and that he had neither eyes to see, nor ears to hear, nor lips to utter, save what that house commanded. Finding that he could in no other respect gain by a procedure in which he was so great a loser in dignity, Charles, after sitting silent some moments longer, departed from the house. He now proceeded to the common council of the city, and made his complaint of the conduct of the house of commons. On his road he was saluted by cries of 'privilege,' not unmixed with still more insulting cries from many of the lower sort, and his complaint to the common council was listened to in a contemptuous and ominous silence. Irritated and alarmed at this new proof of the unpopularity of his proceedings, he departed from the court, and as he did so was saluted with the seditious watchword of the Jews of old—'To your tents, O Israel!'

It is utterly inconceivable how a sovereign possessed of Charles's good sense, and aware, as from many recent occurrences he needs must have been, of the resolved and factious nature of the men to whom he was opposed, could have compromised himself by so rash and in every way unadvisable a proceeding as that which we have described. In truth, he had scarcely returned to the comparative solitude of Windsor before he himself saw how prejudicial this affair was likely to be to his interests, and he hastened to address a letter to parliament, in which he said that his own life and crown were not more precious to him than the privileges of parliament. This virtual apology for his direct and personal interference with those privileges was rendered necessary by his previous precipitancy, but this ill-fated monarch now ran into another extreme. Having offended parliament, his apology to parliament was necessary, nay, in the truest sense of the word, it was dignified; for a persistence in error is but a false dignity, whether in monarch or in private man. But his offence was one against good manners, while that with which Pym and the members were charged was one of substance, not of form

Their offence was not in the slightest degree diminished or atoned for by the king's folly; yet, as though there had been some close logical connection between them, he now informed the house that he should not farther prosecute his proceedings against its accused members! Could inconsequence or want of dignity go farther, or be more fatally shown? The people had now been taught that their king knew how to yield, and that if unwisely rash in a moment of irritation, he could be no less unwisely abject in a moment of calculation or timidity. It was a fatal lesson; and from this moment, in spite of any seeming and temporary advantages, Charles of England was virtually a dethroned monarch and a doomed man.

There was a deep art, beyond what was at first apparent, in the insolent insinuation of the popular declaimers that the king had himself fomented the recent horrors in Ireland. The awful massacre among the protestants of that country had naturally raised a new horror and dread of papacy in the minds of the protestants in England. The popular leaders took advantage of this very natural feeling, and worked upon it as might promise best to aid their own views. The ignorant and the timid were taught to believe that the massacre of protestants, though the deed of bigoted papists, was far enough from being disagreeable to the king and his friends, who would not improbably cause similar proceedings in England unless due power and means of prevention were seasonably placed in the hands of parliament. Treated as Charles had been almost from the first day of his reign, it must be clear to the most superficial observer, that nothing but his fortresses and his troops remained to him of the substance of monarchy. The parliament now determined to deprive him of these. They had seen that he could yield, they calculated upon a passionate resistance to their first demand; but they doubted not that the vacillation of the king's mind would begin long before the resolute obstinacy of their own would terminate. The result but too well proved the accuracy of their reasoning. The people were skilfully worked up into an ecstasy of horror of the designs and power of the papists, and thus urged to petition that the Tower, the fortresses of Hull and Portsmouth, and the fleet, should be committed to the hands of officers in the confidence of parliament. Demands so indicative of a suspicion that the king would place such important trusts in hands unfit to use them, were, as the opposition had anticipated, warmly resented at first, and then, unwisely complied with.

Emboldened by this new concession, the popular party affected new and increased fears of the designs of the Irish papists, and demanded that a new militia should be raised and trained, the commanders as well as the merely subaltern officers of which should be nominated by parliament. Charles now, when too late, perceived that even to concede safely requires judgement; and being urged to give up the command of the army for a limited space of time, he promptly replied, 'No! not even for a single hour!' Happy for himself and his kingdom had it been if he had earlier known how to say 'No,' and to abide by it not only with firmness but also with temper.

A.D. 1642.—In making this demand parliament had completely thrown off the mask; and as the very extremity to which the king was driven supplied him in this one case with the firmness which in general and by his natural temper he so sadly wanted, it at once became evident that the disputes between the king and his loyal subjects on the one side, and the puritans on the other, could only be decided by that saddest of all means, a civil war. On either side appeals to the people were printed and circulated in vast numbers, and, as usual in such cases, each side exaggerated the faults of the other, and was profoundly silent as to its own faults, whether as to past conduct or present views. The king's friends, being for the most part of the more opulent ranks, assumed the title of the cavaliers, while the puritan, or rebel party, from their affected habit of wearing their hair closely cut, were called roundheads, and in a short time the majority of the nation ranked under the one or the other appellation, and every thing portended that the civil strife would be long, fierce, and sanguinary.

In addition to the train-bands assembled under the command of sir John Digby, the king had barely three hundred infantry and eight hundred cavalry, and he was by no means well provided with arms. But, in spite of all the exertions of the puritans, there was still an extensive feeling of loyalty among the higher and middle orders; and as the king with his little army marched slowly to Derby, and thence to Shrewsbury, large additions were made to his force, and some of the more opulent loyalists afforded him liberal and most welcome aid in money, arms, and ammunition.

On the side of the parliament similar preparations were made for the impending struggle. When the important fortress of Hull was surrendered into their hands, they made it their depôt for arms and ammunition, and it was held for them by a governor of their own appointment, sir John Hotham. On the plea of defending England from the alleged designs of the Irish papists, great numbers of troops had been raised; and these were now openly enlisted and officered for the parliament, and placed under the command of the earl of Essex, who, however, was supposed to be anxious rather to abridge the power of the existing monarch than actually to annihilate the monarchy. So great was the enthusiasm of the roundheads, that they in one day enlisted above four thousand men in London alone.

Tired of the occupation of watching each others' manœuvres, the hostile troops at length met at Edge-hill, on the borders of the counties of Warwick and Stafford. A furious engagement took place, which lasted several hours; upwards of five thousand men fell upon the field, and the contending armies separated, wearied with slaying yet

not satiated with slaughter, and each claiming the victory.

The whole kingdom was now disturbed by the incessant marching and countermarching of the two armies. Neither of them was disciplined, and the disorders caused by their march were consequently great and destructive. The queen, whose spirit was as high as her affection for her husband was great, landed from Holland with a large quantity of ammunition and a considerable reinforcement of men, and she immediately left England again to raise farther supplies. In the manœuvring and skirmishes which were constantly going on, the king, from the superior rank and spirit of his followers, had for some time a very marked advantage; but the parliamentarians, so far from being discouraged, actually seemed to increase in their pretensions in proportion to the loss and disgrace they experienced in the field. That the king was at this time sincere in his expressed desire to put a stop to the outpouring of his subjects' blood appears clear from the fact, that on obtaining any advantage he invariably sent pacific proposals to the parliament. This was especially the case when he lay in all security in the loyal city of Oxford, whence he conducted a long negotiation, in which the insolence of the leaders of the other party was so great and conspicuous, that even the most moderate writers have blamed the king, as having carried his desire for pacific measures to an extreme, injurious alike to his dignity and to the very cause he was anxious to serve.

But if he bore somewhat too meekly with the insolence of his opponents in the cabinet, the king in his first campaign of the disastrous civil war was abundantly successful in the field, in spite of the severity of his opponents, who treated as traitors the governors of those strong places which from time to time were opened to their sovereign.

Cornwall was thoroughly subjected to the king; at Stratton-hill, in Devonshire, a fine army of the parliamentarians was routed; and at Roundway-down, near Devizes, in Wiltshire, another great victory was gained over them by the royal troops, who were again successful in the still more important battle of Chalgrave-field, in Buckinghamshire. The important city of Bristol was taken by the royalists, and Gloucester was closely invested. Thus far all looked in favour of the royal cause during the first campaign, and at its close great hopes of still farther success were founded upon the army that was raised for the king in the north of England by the loyal and high-hearted marquis of Newcastle. Nor was it the loss only of battles and strongholds that the parliamentarians had now to deplore.

John Hampden, who had made so sturdy an opposition to the ship-money, took the field with the parliamentarians at the head of a well-appointed troop which chiefly consisted of his own tenants and neighbours. On several occasions he displayed great courage, and when it was proposed to beat up the quarters of the king's gallant relative, prince Rupert, Hampden was foremost in the attack. When the parliamentary troops were subsequently mustered, Mr. Hampden was missed, and it was then remarked that he had been seen, contrary to his usual custom, to leave the field before the fight was ended, and it was noticed, too, that he was leaning forward on his saddle-bow as if exhausted and in pain. The fears thus excited were soon realised; he had been severely wounded The king would have sent his own surgeon to endeavour to save this inflexibly honest enemy; but he was hurt beyond human remedy, and died soon after the action.

This loss on the parliamentary side was even more than balanced by the death of Lucius Cary, lord Falkland, one of the finest and purest characters that grace our national history. As a statesman he had opposed the errors of the king with all the boldness and inflexibility of Hampden, but with a grace and moderation of which Hampden's stern and severe nature was incapable.* But though lord Falkland ardently desired liberty for the subject, he was not prepared to oppress the sovereign; and the moment that the evil designs of the popular leaders were fully developed, the gallant and accomplished nobleman took his stand beside his royal master. Learned, witty, elegant, and accomplished, he was indignant and disgusted at the evident desire of the popular leaders to deluge their country in blood, rather than stop short of the full accomplishment of their ambitious and evil designs. From the commencement of the civil war he became possessed by a deep and settled melancholy, the more remarkable from contrast with his native vivacity. He neglected his person, his countenance became anxious and haggard, and he would remain in silent thought for hours, and then cry, as if unconsciously, 'Peace peace! let our unhappy country have peace!' On the morning of the battle of Newbury he told his friends that his soul was weary of the world, and that he felt confident that ere nightfall he should leave them. His sad prediction was accomplished; he was mortally wounded by a musket-ball in the belly, and it was not until the following morning that his friends rescued his body from amidst a heap of the meaner slain.

This first campaign being ended, the king made vigorous preparations for a second As it was evident that the very name of a parliament had a great influence upon the minds of the many, and as all negotiations with the old parliament sitting at Westminster led only to new insult, the king wisely determined to call another parliament at Oxford, where he had his quarters. The peers being for the most part firmly loyal, the king's upper house was well filled, but his lower house had not more than a hundred and forty members, being scarcely half the number that was mustered

* See the keen, yet somewhat sarcastic and exaggerated, criticism of Falkland's public life, by Macaulay, Essays, *Hallam's Constitutional History*.

by the rebellious house of commons. But the king's members were mostly men of wealth and influence, and thus they had it in their power to do the king the chief service that he really required, that of voting him supplies. Having done this they were dismissed with thanks, and never again called together.

But any supplies which the king could procure from what may almost be called individual loyalty were but small in comparison to those which the factious parliamentarians could command by the terror which they could strike into nearly every district of the country. As if to show at once their power in this way, and the extent to which they were prepared to abuse it, they issued an arbitrary command that all the inhabitants of London and the surrounding neighbourhood should abstract one meal in every week from their accustomed diet, and pay the full price of the provision thus saved as a contribution to the support of what they affected to call the public cause. The seditious Scots at the same time sent a large supply of men to the parliamentarians, who also had fourteen thousand men under the earl of Manchester, ten thousand under the earl of Essex, and eight thousand and upwards under sir William Waller. And though this force was numerically so much superior to the king's, and, by consequence, so much more onerous, the parliamentary troops were, in fact, far better supplied with both provision and ammunition than the royalists; the majority of men being so deluded or so terrified by the parliamentarians that an *ordinance* of parliament was at all times sufficient to procure provisions for the rebel force, when the king could scarcely get provisions for money.

A.D. 1644.—Though, in the ordinary style used in speaking of military affairs we have been obliged to speak of the termination of the first campaign, at the period when the contending parties went into winter quarters, hostilities, in fact, never wholly ceased from the moment when they first commenced. Even when the great armies were formally lying idle, a constant partisan warfare was carried on. The village green became a battle-field, the village church a fort; now this, now that party plundered the peasantry, who in their hearts learned to curse the fierceness of both, and to pray that one or other might be so effectually beaten as to put a stop at once and for ever to the scenes which had all the ghastly horrors of war without any of its glory, and all its present riot and spoliation without even the chance of its subsequent gain.

That the system of terrorism which the parliamentarians acted upon had very much to do with prolonging this unnatural contest seems indisputable. Counties, and lesser districts, even, as soon as they were for a brief time freed from the presence of the parliamentary forces, almost invariably and unanimously declared for the king. Nay, in the very towns that were garrisoned by the parliamentarians, including even their stronghold and chief reliance, London, there was at length a loud and general echo of the earnest cry of the good lord Falkland, 'Peace, peace! let our country have peace!' From many places the parliament received formal petitions to this effect; and in London which at the outset had been so furiously seditious, the very women assembled to the number of upwards of four thousand, and surrounded the house of commons, exclaiming, 'Peace! give us peace; or those traitors who deny us peace, that we may tear them to pieces.' So furious were the women on this occasion, that, in the violence used by the guards, some of these wives and mothers, who wished their husbands and sons no longer to be the prey of a handful of ambitious men, were actually killed upon the spot!

Before we proceed to speak of the second campaign of this sad war, we must introduce to the attention of the reader a man who henceforth fixed the chief attention of both parties, and whose character, even in the present day, is nearly as much disputed as his singular energy and still more singular and rapid success were marvelled at in his own time.

Oliver Cromwell was the son of a Huntingdonshire gentleman who, as a second son of a respectable but not wealthy family, was himself possessed of but a small fortune, which he is said to have improved by engaging in the trade of a brewer. At college, and even later in life, Oliver Cromwell was remarkable rather for dissipation than for ability, and the very small resources that he inherited were pretty nearly exhausted by his excesses, long before he had any inclination or opportunity to take part in public affairs. On reaching mature manhood, however, he suddenly changed his course of life, and affected the enthusiastic speech and rigid conduct of the puritans, whose daily increasing power and consequence his shrewd glance was not slow to discover.

Just as the disputes between the king and the popular party grew warm, Oliver Cromwell represented in parliament his native town of Huntingdon, and a sketch left of him by a keen observer who saw his earliest exertions in that capacity, represents a man from whom we should but little expect the energy, talent, and success of the future 'PROTECTOR' Cromwell. Homely in countenance, almost to actual ugliness, hesitating in speech, ungainly in gesture, and ill clad in a sad-coloured suit 'which looked as if it had been made by some ill country tailor,' the future statesman and warrior addressed the house amidst the scarcely suppressed whispers of both friends and foes, who little dreamed that in that uncouth, ill-nurtured, and slovenly-looking person they saw the genius who, while wielding a usurped and lawless authority over the English nation at home, was so to direct her energies abroad as to make her name stand fully as high among the astounded nations as ever it had been carried or maintained by the most fortunate and valiant of the lawful sovereigns of England.

As a mere senator Cromwell would pro

bably never have succeeded in making himself a great name; he required to command rather than to advise, to act rather than to argue. Gifted with an iron frame, the body and the mind, with him, aided each other, and he that stammered out confused no-meanings to the half-wearied and half-wondering senate, thought clearly and brightly amid the fury and the clang of battle.

It is to this day a moot point whether Cromwell was wholly deluded or wholly a deluder; or whether he was partly the one and partly the other. To us it seems that there was nothing natural in his character, as developed by history, save his mental and bodily energy, his profound sagacity, his decision and his master-passion—ambition. He saw, no doubt, poor men become rich, and mean men powerful, as riches and power are esteemed in the petty affairs of obscure country towns, and he saw that they achieved their personal aggrandisement by a supple compliance with the cant and grimace of the day. He had suffered both in reputation and fortune by his free life, and it is possible that at the outset he adopted the outward appearance of another way of thinking with no deeper or more extensive design than that of saving himself from the inevitable ill consequences of poverty. Once arrived in parliament, whether conducted thither by mere accident or by skilful intriguing, a single glance must have shown even a far less sagacious person than he was, that the puritans would, sooner or later, be incomparably the most powerful party in the state. Joining with them from interest, aping their manners from necessity, he would from mere habit continue to ape them long after he could afford to be more open in his conduct. But the frequent profanity of his remarks, and the occasional coarseness and jollity of his 'horse-play' among his soldier-saints, appear to smack very much of unconscious and uncontrollable breakings forth of the old Adam of the natural man; fever fits of the natural heart and temper that were too strong for the artificial training of resolved hypocrisy.

Though forty-four years old before he drew a sword, Cromwell at the very outset of the rebellion showed himself what has been emphatically called born a soldier. Stalwart though clumsy in frame, a bold and a good rider, and a perfect master of the ponderous sword then in use, he was the very man for a partisan captain of heavy cavalry. His troop was almost entirely composed of the sons of respectable farmers and yeomen, and as they were deeply tinctured with the religious feeling of puritanism, and filled to overflowing with the physical daring of well-born and well-nurtured Englishmen, his assumed sympathy with them in the former respect, and his genuine equality or superiority in the latter, shortly gave him the most unbounded power of leading them into any danger that human beings could create, and through or over any obstacles that human prowess and daring could surmount.

Indefatigable, active, patient of fatigue, Cromwell speedily attracted the notice of the parliamentary leaders, who bestowed praise and distinction upon him none the less cheerfully because as yet he did not affect to aim at anything higher than the character of a bold, stern, and active partisan captain, who was ever ready with sword in hand and foot in stirrup when the enemy's night quarters were to be beaten up, a convoy seized, or any other real though comparatively obscure service was to be rendered to the *good cause*. Such was the estimate Cromwell's commanders formed of him; such the estimate he wished them to form, of the man who was one day to dictate to the proudest and to laugh to scorn the wiliest among them!

The too famous and disastrous battle of Long Marston Moor, as it was the first great military calamity of the king, so it was the first great occasion upon which Cromwell had the opportunity (which he so well knew how to seize) of openly and signally displaying himself. A junction had been formed between the Scotch army and the English parliamentary forces, and this combined host invested York. This city, both from its own wealth and from its situation as the capital of the northern counties, was too important to the royal cause to be lost without a struggle; and prince Rupert and the marquis of Newcastle joined their forces in order to raise the siege of the ancient city. The opposing forces, in number about fifty thousand, met on Long Marston Moor, and a long and obstinate contest ensued. The right wing of the royalist troops, commanded by prince Rupert, was broken and driven off the field by the highly trained cavalry under the command of Cromwell, who, after having dispersed the royalists' right wing, promptly galloped back to the field, and very materially aided in putting to fight the main body of the royalists under the marquis. The result of this hard day's fighting was the capture by the parliamentarians of the whole of Rupert's admirable train of artillery, and a loss of men, reputation, and self-confidence, from which it may safely be averred that the royalists never recovered.

The successes of the parliamentarians made them all the haughtier in their pretensions and all the more unsparing in their resolves. Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, had for a long time been confined in the Tower; his devotion to his master being the only crime with which he could be justly charged, except the kindred crime of still warmer devotion, if possible, to the rights and the supremacy of the church of England. This eminent man was therefore brought to trial by his bitter enemies the puritans, condemned, and executed. As if to set a peculiar and characteristically puritanical mark upon this act of vengeance, the now dominant power ordered the abolition—by what they called law—of the church of England liturgy on the very day of Laud's execution. By this act of abolition the English church was reduced, as regarded power in the state, to the same level as the newest and meanest sect; and the Scotch rebel army appropriately enough

joined the London rebel citizens in giving public thanks for an alteration of which not one of them could have pointed out a substantial advantage, while its instant and perspective disadvantage might have been perceived by a tolerably educated child. But faction loves a change—even though it certainly be not for the better, and probably may prove to be for the worse.

A.D. 1645.—Though the royalists were seriously injured and depressed by the result of the battle of Long Marston Moor, neither the king nor his friends despaired of ultimate success. While the parliamentarians exerted themselves to crush the royalists whenever the next general action should ensue, the king and his friends made equally strenuous efforts to redeem their fortune and character on the like contingency. A variety of counter-marching and mere partisan skirmishing took place during the earlier months of the year 1645, and at length, on June the 14th of that year, the main strength of the two parties met near Naseby, a village in Northamptonshire. The right wing of the royal army was commanded by the gallant and impetuous Rupert, the left wing by sir Marmaduke Langdale, and the main body by the lord Astley, while a choice force was commanded, as a reserve, by the king in person. The left wing of the parliamentarians was commanded by Ireton, who had married Cromwell's daughter, the right wing by Cromwell himself, whose gallant and skilful charges at Long Marston Moor were not forgotten, and the main body by generals Fairfax and Skippon. The parliamentary left wing was so hotly charged by the impetuous and dashing Rupert, that it was fairly broken and driven through the street of Naseby. But this success was rendered of comparatively little advantage, for Rupert lost so much time in attempting to seize Ireton's artillery, that Cromwell, meanwhile, broke the royal horse under sir Marmaduke Langdale, beyond all the efforts of that officer for its re-formation. While the cavalry on either side was thus occupied, the infantry was hotly engaged, and so much to the advantage of the royal side that the battalions of the parliament were actually falling back in disorder. The whole fate of the day now mainly depended upon which side should first see its cavalry return. If Rupert, instead of employing himself in seizing or spiking artillery, had at this time returned and made one of his fearfully impetuous charges upon the flank of the faltering roundheads, whom the best efforts of Fairfax and Skippon could scarcely keep from falling into utter rout, the fortune of that day, and most probably the issue of the whole struggle, would have been in the favour of the king. But the marvellous good fortune of Cromwell attended him; he returned to the field with his iron troopers elated with their success over sir Marmaduke Langdale's division, and charged the flank of the main body of the royalists so fiercely as to throw them into hopeless and irremediable confusion. Rupert now returned with his cavalry and joined the king's reserve; but the fate of the day was sealed; not even the gallantry of that able commander could lend the reserve to the support of the beaten and fugitive host of the royalists; and the king was obliged to fly from the field, leaving his artillery and valuable baggage, as well as five thousand prisoners, in the hands of the victorious parliamentarians.

Nor did the advantages to the victor end even there. The defeat of the king and the magnitude of the losses he had sustained greatly aided the parliamentarians in reducing the chief of the fortified places in the kingdom. Bristol, Bridgewater, Chester, Sherborne, and Bath fell into their hands; Exeter was closely invested by Fairfax, and held out gallantly, but at length was obliged to surrender at discretion, all the western counties being so completely cleared of the king's troops that there was not the slightest chance of its being relieved.

In all the aspects of his fortune Charles had found the city of Oxford loyal and devoted. As well became that city of science and learning, it had constantly showed itself 'glad in his prosperity and sad in his sorrow,' and thither he retreated in his present misfortune, well knowing that there he would be loyally received, and hoping that even yet he might by negotiation retrieve some of the sad loss he had experienced in the field. But the unfortunate king was closely pursued by Fairfax, at the head of a victorious army eager for yet farther triumph over the defeated sovereign; and as the parliamentarians loudly expressed their intention of laying siege to Oxford, and were abundantly supplied with every thing requisite for that purpose, Charles had several, and very cogent, reasons for not abiding there. That the loyal inhabitants of Oxford would defend him to the utmost, Charles had no room to doubt; but neither could there be any doubt that the well-known loyalty of the city would, on that very score, be most signally punished by the parliamentarians. Moreover, Charles had a well-grounded horror of falling into the hands of the English puritans, from whom, especially now that they were flushed with victory, he might fear every insult, even to the extent of personal violence. Reasoning thus, and believing that the Scotch army was less personally and inveterately hostile to him, Charles took what proved to be the fatal resolution of delivering himself into the hands of the Scots. To their eternal disgrace, they received him as a distressed king only to treat him as a malefactor and a prisoner. They worried and insulted him, with sanctimonious remonstrances and reflections, by every possible neglect of the respectful ceremonials due to a sovereign; they reminded him of and embittered his misfortunes; and, to complete the infamy of their conduct, they added gross venality to faithlessness and disloyalty, and literally sold him to the rebellious English parliament for the sum of two hundred thousand pounds!

With this atrocious act of the Scots, who returned to their country laden with ill

earned wealth, but laden also with the execration of all good men and with the contempt even of those bold bad men to whom they had basely sold the unfortunate prince, the civil war may be said to have ended. Wholly and helplessly in the power of his foes, Charles had no course left but to absolve his still faithful followers and subjects from the duty of farther striving in his behalf.

But if the rebellious parliamentarians were triumphant over their king, they had yet to deal with a more formidable enemy. The parliament had been made unanimous in itself and with the army by the obvious and pressing necessity for mutual defence, as long as the king was in the field and at the head of an imposing force. But now that the fortune of war and the venality of the Scotch had made Charles a powerless and almost hopeless captive, the spoilers began to quarrel about the disposition of the spoil; and they who had united to revolt from their lawful monarch were ready with equal eagerness and animosity to cabal against each other. The civilians of the parliamentary party were, for the most part, presbyterians, who were eager enough to throw off all allegiance to the king and all submission and respect to the church of England, but who were not the less inclined to set up and exact respect both from lay and clerical authorities of their own liking. The fanaticism of the army took quite another turn; they were mostly independents, who thought, with Dogberry, that 'reading and writing come by nature,' and were ready to die upon the truth of the most ignorant trooper among them being qualified to preach with soul-saving effect to his equally ignorant fellow. The independents, armed and well skilled in arms, would, under any conceivable circumstance, have been something more than a match for the mere dreamers and declaimers of parliament; but they had a still further and decisive advantage in the active and energetic, though wily and secret, prompting and direction of Cromwell, who artfully professed himself the most staunch independent of them all, and showed himself as willing to lead them at their devotions in their quarters, as he had shown himself willing and able, too, to lead them to the charge upon the battle-field. He was, in appearance, indeed, only second in command under Fairfax, but, in reality, he was supreme over his nominal commander, and had the fate of both king and kingdom completely in his own hands. He artfully and carefully fomented the jealousy with which the military looked upon the parliament, and the discontent with which they looked upon their own comparative powerlessness and obscurity after all the dangers and toils by which they had, as they affected to believe, permanently secured the peace and comfort of the country.

Without appearing to make any exertion or to use any influence, the artful intriguer urged the soldiery so far, that they openly lost all confidence in the parliament for which they had but too well fought, and set about the consideration and redress of their own grievances as a separate and ill-used body of the community. Still, at the instigation of Cromwell, a rude but efficient military parliament was formed, the principal officers acting as a house of peers, and two men or officers from each regiment acting as a house of commons, under the title of the 'agitators of the army.' Of these Cromwell took care to be one, and thus, while to all appearance he was only acting as he was authorised and commanded by his duty to the whole army, he in fact enjoyed all the opportunity that he required to suggest and forward measures indispensable to the gratification of his own ambition.

While Cromwell was thus scheming, the king, forlorn and seemingly forgotten, lay in Holmby castle; strictly watched, though as yet, owing to the dissensions that existed between the army and the parliament, not subjected to any farther indignities. From this state of comparative tranquillity the unhappy Charles was aroused by a *coup de main* highly characteristic alike of the boldness and the shrewdness of Cromwell. He demonstrated to his confidants of the army that the possession of the king's person must needs give a vast preponderance to any of the existing parties. The royalists, it was obvious, would at the order of the king rally round him, even in conjunction with the parliament, which by forming such a junction could at any moment command the pardon of the king; when the army, besides other difficulties, would be placed in the disadvantageous position of fighting against all branches of the government, including even that one to whose will and authority it owed its own existence. As usual, his arguments were successful; and cornet Joyce, who at the breaking out of the rebellion had been only a tailor, was dispatched with five hundred cavalry to seize the king's person at Holmby castle. Though strictly watched, the king was but slenderly guarded, for the parliament had no suspicion of the probability of any such attempt on the part of the army. Cornet Joyce, therefore, found no difficulty in obtaining access to the king, to whom he made known the purport of his mission. Surprised at this sudden determination to remove him to the head-quarters of the army, the king, with some anxiety, asked Joyce to produce his commission for so extraordinary a proceeding; and Joyce, with the petulance of a man suddenly and unexpectedly elevated, pointed to his troops, drawn up before the window. 'A goodly commission,' replied Charles, 'and written in fair characters;' and he accompanied Joyce to the head-quarters of the army near Cambridge. Fairfax and other discerning and moderate men had by this time begun to see the danger the country was in from the utter abasement of the kingly power, and to wish for such an accommodation as might secure the people without destroying the king. But Cromwell's bold seizure of his majesty had enabled him to throw off the mask; the violent and fanatical spirit of the soldiery was wholly subjected to his use, and on his arrival at

Triplo-heath, on the day after the king was taken thither by Joyce, Cromwell was by acclamation elected to the supreme command of the army.

Though, at the outset, the parliament was wholly opposed to the exorbitant pretensions of the army, the success of Cromwell's machinations rendered that opposition less unanimous and compact every day, and at length there was a considerable majority of parliament, including the two speakers, in favour of the army. To encourage this portion of the parliament the head-quarters of the army were fixed at Hounslow-heath; and as the debates in the house daily grew more violent and threatening, sixty-two members, with the two speakers, fled to the camp at Hounslow, and formally threw themselves, officially and personally, upon the protection of the army. This accession to his moral force was so welcome to Cromwell, that he caused the members to be received with a perfect tumult of applause; and he ordered that the troops, twenty thousand in number, should move upon London to restore these fugitives to the place which they had voluntarily ceded and the duties they had timorously fled from.

While the one portion of the house had fled to the protection of the soldiers, the other portion had made some demonstrations of bringing the struggle against the pretensions of the army to an issue in the field. New speakers were chosen in the place of the fugitives, orders were given to enlist new troops, and the train-bands were ordered to the defence of the lines that enclosed the city. But when Cromwell arrived with twenty thousand troops, the impossibility of any hastily organised defence being available against him became painfully evident. The gates were thrown open, Cromwell restored the speakers and the members of parliament, several of the opposite members were arbitrarily expelled the house; the mayor of London, with three aldermen and the sheriffs, was committed to the Tower; other prisons were crowded with citizens and militia officers, and the city lines were levelled, the more effectually to prevent any future resistance to the sovereign will and pleasure of the army, or, rather, of its master-spirit, Cromwell.

CHAPTER LII.

The Reign of CHARLES I. (*concluded*).

THE king on being seized by the army was sent as a prisoner to his palace at Hampton-court. Here, though closely watched, he was allowed the access of his friends and all facilities for negotiating with parliament. But, in truth, the negotiating parties had stood upon terms which almost necessarily caused distrust on the one hand and insincerity on the other. Completely divested of power as Charles now was, it seems probable enough that he would promise more than he had any intention of performing, while the leading men on the other side could not but feel that their very lives would depend upon his sincerity from the instant that he should be restored to liberty and the exercise of his authority Here would have been quite sufficient difficulty in the way of successful negotiation; but, beside that, Cromwell's plans were perpetually traversing the efforts of the king when the latter was sincere, while his active espionage never allowed any flagrant insincerity to escape detection. The king at length perceived the futility of negotiation, and made his escape to the Isle of Wight. Here he hoped to remain undisturbed until he could either escape to the continent or receive such succours thence as might enable him, at the least, to negotiate with the parliament upon more equal terms, if not actually to try his fortune anew in the field. But colonel Hammond, the governor of the Isle of Wight, though he in some respects treated the unfortunate king with humanity, made him prisoner, and after being for some time confined in Carisbrook castle, the king was sent in custody to his royal castle of Windsor, where he was wholly in the power of the army.

Cromwell and those who acted with him saw very plainly that the mere anxiety of the parliament to depress the prætorian bands which they had themselves called into evil and gigantic power, was very likely to lead to an accommodation with the king, whose own sense of his imminent danger could not fail to render him, also, anxious for an early settlement of all disputes. The artful leaders of the army faction, therefore, now encouraged their dupes and tools of the lower sort to throw off the mask; and rabid yells for the *punishment* of the king arose on all sides. Peace and security had hitherto been the cry; it was now changed to a cry for vengeance. From Windsor the unhappy king was conveyed to Hurst-castle, on the coast of Hampshire, and opposite to the Isle of Wight, chiefly, it should seem, to render communication between him and the parliament leaders more dilatory and difficult. But the parliament, growing more and more anxious for an accommodation in precise proportion as it was rendered more and more impracticable, again opened a negotiation with the ill-treated monarch, and, despite the clamours and threats of the fanatical soldiery, seemed upon the very point of bringing it to a conclusion, when a new *coup de main* on the part of Cromwell extinguished all hope in the bosoms of the loyal and the just. Perceiving that the obstinacy of the parliament and the unhappy vacillation of the king could no longer be relied upon, Cromwell sent two regiments of his soldiery, under the command of colonel Pride, to blockade the house of commons. Forty-one members who were favourable to accommodation were actually imprisoned in a lower room of the house, a hundred and sixty were insolently ordered to go to their homes and attend to their private affairs, and only about sixty members were allowed to enter the house, the whole of those being furious and bigoted independents, the pledged and deadly enemies of the king, and mere tools of Cromwell and the army. This parliamentary clearance was

facetiously called 'Pride's purge,' and the members who had the disgraceful distinction of being deemed fit for Cromwell's dirty work ever after passed under the title of 'the rump.'

With a really ludicrous impudence this contemptible assembly assumed to itself the whole power and character of the parliament, voted that all that had been done towards an accommodation with the king was illegal, and that his seizure and imprisonment by 'the general'—so Cromwell was now termed, *par excellence*—were just and praiseworthy. All moderation was thrown to the winds, and as the actual private murder of the king was thought likely to disgust the better men even among the fanatical soldiery, a committee of 'the rump' parliament was formed to digest a charge of high treason.

As there was now no longer, thanks to 'Pride's purge,' a chance of farther negotiation, it was determined that the king should be brought from Hurst-castle to Windsor. Colonel Harrison, a half insane and wholly brutal fanatic, the son of a butcher, was intrusted with this commission; chiefly, perhaps, because it was well understood that he would rather slay the royal captive with his own hand than allow him to be rescued. After a brief stay at Windsor, the king was once again removed to London, and his altered appearance was such as would have excited commiseration in the breasts of any but the callous and inexorable creatures in whose hands he was. His features were haggard, his beard long and neglected, his hair blanched to a ghastly whiteness by sufferings that seemed to have fully doubled his age; and the boding melancholy that had characterised his features, even in his happier days, was now deepened down to an utter yet resigned sadness that was painful to all humane beholders.

Sir Philip Warwick, an old and broken man, but faithful and loyal to the last, was the king's chief attendant; and he and the few subordinates who were allowed to approach the royal person were now brutally ordered to serve the king without any of the accustomed forms; and all external symbols of state and majesty were, at the same time, withdrawn with a petty yet malignant carefulness.

Even these cruelties and insults could not convince the king that his enemies would be guilty of the enormous absurdity of bringing their sovereign to a formal trial. Calm, just, and clear-sighted himself, he could not comprehend how even his fanatical and boorish enemies could, in the face of day, so manifestly bid defiance not only to all law and all precedent, but also to the plainest maxims of common sense. But though almost to the very day of his trial the king refused to believe that his enemies would dare to try him, he did believe that they intended to assassinate him, and in every meal of which he partook he imagined that he saw the instrument of his death.

A.D. 1648.—In the meantime the king's enemies were actively making preparations for the most extraordinary trial ever witnessed in this land. These preparations were so extensive that they occupied a vast number of persons from the sixth to the twentieth of January. As if the more fully to convince the king of their earnestness in the matter, Cromwell and the rump, when they had named a high court of justice, consisting of a hundred and thirty-three persons, ordered the duke of Hamilton, whom they had doomed to death for his unshaken loyalty to his sovereign, to be admitted to take leave of the king at Windsor. The interview was a harrowing one. The duke had ever been ready to pour out his blood like water for his sovereign; even now he felt not for himself, but, moved to tears by the sad alteration in the person of Charles, threw himself at the royal victim's feet, exclaiming. 'My dear master!' 'Alas!' said the weeping king, as he raised up his faithful and devoted servant, 'Alas! I have, indeed, been a dear master to you!' Terrible, at that moment, must have been the king's self-reproaches for the opportunities he had neglected of putting down the wretches who now had his faithful servant and himself in their power!

Of the persons named to sit in the high court of justice, as this iniquitous coterie was impudently termed, only about seventy, or scarcely more than one half, could be got together at any one time during the trial. Law citizens, fanatical members of the rump, and servile officers of the army, composed the majority of those who did attend, and it was before this wretched assembly that the legitimate sovereign of the land, now removed from Windsor to St. James's, was placed to undergo the insulting mockery of a trial.

The court, 'the high court of justice, thus oddly constituted, met in Westminster-hall. The talents and firmness of Charles were even now too much respected by Cromwell and the shrewder members of the rump to allow of their opposing this miserable court to him without the ablest procurable aid; Bradshaw, a lawyer of considerable ability, was therefore appointed president, and Coke, solicitor for the people of England, with Steel, Aske, and Dorislaus for his assistants.

When led by a mace-bearer to a seat within the bar, the king seated himself with his hat on, and looked sternly around him at the traitors who affected to be his competent judges. Coke then read the charge against him, and the king's melancholy countenance was momentarily lighted up with a manly and just scorn as he heard himself gravely accused of having been 'the cause of all the bloodshed which had followed since the commencement of the war!'

When Coke had finished making his formal charge, the president Bradshaw addressed the king, and called upon him to answer to the accusation which he had heard made against him.

Though the countenance of Charles fully expressed the natural and lofty indignation that he felt at being called upon to plead as a felon before a court composed not merely of simple commoners, but, to a very

great extent, of the most ignorant and least honourable men in their ranks of life, he admirably preserved his temper, and addressed himself to his task with earnest and grave argument. He said that, conscious as he was of innocence, he should rejoice at an opportunity of justifying his conduct in every particular before a competent tribunal, but as he was not inclined to become the betrayer instead of the defender of the constitution, he must at this, the very first stage of the proceedings, wholly and positively repudiate the authority of the court before which he had been as illegally brought, as the court itself was illegally constituted. Where was there even the shadow of the upper house? Without it there could be no just tribunal, parliamentary or appointed by parliament. He was interrupted, too, for the purposes of this illegal trial just as he was on the point of concluding a treaty with both houses of parliament, a moment at which he surely had a right to expect anything rather than the violent and unjust treatment that he had experienced. He, it could not be denied, was the king and fountain of law, and could not be tried by laws to which he had not given his authority; and it would ill become him, who was intrusted with the liberties of the people, to betray them by even a formal and tacit recognition of a tribunal which could not possibly possess any other than a merely usurped power.

Bradshaw, the president, affected much surprise and indignation at the king's repudiation of the mock court of justice which, he said, received its power and authority from the source of all right, the people. When the king attempted to repeat his clear and cogent objection, Bradshaw rudely interrupted and despotically overruled him. But, if silenced by clamour, the king was not to be turned aside from his course by the mere repetition of a bold fallacy. Again and again he was brought before this mock tribunal, and again and again he baffled all attempts at making him, by pleading to it, give it some shadow of lawful authority. The conduct of the rabble without was fully worthy of the conduct of their self-constituted governors within the court. As the king proceeded to the court, he was assailed with brutal yells for what the wicked or deluded men called 'justice.' But neither the mob nor their instigators could induce him to plead, and the iniquitous court at length called some complaisant witnesses to swear that the king had appeared in arms against forces commissioned by parliament; and upon this evidence, sentence of death was pronounced against him.

After receiving his sentence Charles was more violently abused by the rabble outside than he had even formerly been. 'Execution' was loudly demanded, and one filthy and unmanly ruffian actually spat in his face; a beastly indignity which the king bore with a sedate and august pity, merely ejaculating, 'Poor creatures, they would serve their generals in the same manner for a sixpence!'

To the honour of the nation, be it said, these vile insults of the baser rabble were strongly contrasted by the respectful compassion of the better informed. Many of them, including some of the military, openly expressed their regret for the sufferings of the king and their disgust at the conduct of his persecutors. One soldier loudly prayed a blessing on the royal head. The prayer was overheard by a fanatical officer, who struck the soldier to the ground. The king, more indignant at this outrage on the loyal soldier than he had been at all the unmanly insults that had been heaped upon himself, turned to the officer and sharply told him that the punishment very much exceeded the offence.

On returning to Whitehall, where he had been lodged during the mock trial, Charles wrote to the so-called house of commons and requested that he might be allowed to see those of his children who were in England, and to have the assistance of Dr. Juxon, the deprived bishop of London, in preparing for the fate which he now clearly saw awaited him. Even his fanatical enemies dared not to refuse these requests, but at the same time that they were granted he was informed that his execution would take place in three days.

The queen, the prince of Wales, and the duke of York were happily abroad; but the princess Elizabeth and the duke of Gloucester, a child not much more than three years old, were brought into the presence of their unhappy parent. The interview was most affecting, for, young as the children were, they but too well comprehended the sad calamity that was about to befall them. The king, amongst the many exhortations which he endeavoured to adapt to the understanding of his infant son, said, 'My child, they will cut off my head, and when they have done that they will want to make you king. But now mark well what I say, you must never consent to be king while your brothers Charles and James are alive. They will cut off their heads if they can take them, and they will afterwards cut off your head, and therefore I charge you do not be made a king by them.' The noble little fellow, having listened attentively to all that his father said to him, burst into a passion of tears and exclaimed, 'I won't be a king; I will be torn in pieces first.'

Short as the interval was between the conclusion of the mock trial of the king and his murder, great efforts were made to save him, and among other efforts was that of the prince of Wales, who sent a blank paper, signed and sealed by himself, accompanied by a letter, in which he offered permission to the parliament to insert whatever terms it pleased for the redemption of his father's life. But all intercessions were alike disregarded.

Whatever want of resolution Charles may have shown in other passages of his life, the time he was allowed to live between sentence and execution exhibited him in the not unfrequently combined characters of the christian and the hero. No invectives against the iniquity of which he was the victim escaped his lips, and he slept the deep calm sleep of innocence,

though on each night his enemies assailed his ears with the noise of the men erecting the scaffold for his execution.

When the fatal morning at length dawned, the king at an early hour called one of his attendants, whom he desired to attire him with more than usual care, as he remarked that he would fain appear with all proper preparation for so great and so joyful a solemnity. The scaffold was erected in front of Whitehall, and it was from the central windows of his own banqueting room that the king stepped on to the scaffold.

When his majesty appeared he was attended by the faithful and attached Dr. Juxon; and was received by two masked executioners standing beside the block and the axe. The scaffold, entirely covered with fine black cloth, was densely surrounded by soldiers under the command of colonel Tomlinson, while in the distance was a vast multitude of people. The near and violent death that awaited him seemed to produce no effect on the king's nerves. He gazed gravely but calmly around him, and said, to all whom the concourse of military would admit of his speaking, that the late war was ever deplored by him, and was commenced by the parliament. He had not taken up arms until compelled by the warlike and illegal conduct of the parliament, and had done so only to defend his people from oppression, and to preserve intact the authority which had been transmitted to him by his ancestors. But though he positively denied that there was any legal authority in the court by which he had been tried, or any truth in the charge upon which he had been condemned and sentenced, he added that he felt that his fate was a just punishment for his weakly and criminally consenting to the equally unjust execution of the earl of Strafford. He emphatically pronounced his forgiveness of all his enemies, named his son as his successor, and expressed his hope that the people would now return to their duty under that prince; and he concluded his brief and manly address by calling upon all present to bear witness that he died a sincere member of the church of England.

The royal martyr now began to disrobe, and, as he did so, Dr. Juxon said to him, 'Sire! there is but one stage more which, though a turbulent and troublesome one, is still but a short one; it will soon carry you a great way; it will carry you from earth to heaven, and there you shall find, to your great joy, the prize to which you are hastening, a crown of glory.'

'I go,' replied the king, 'where no disturbance can take place, from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown.'

'You exchange,' rejoined the bishop, 'a temporal for an eternal crown,—a good exchange.'

Charles, having now completed his preparations, delivered his decorations of St. George to Dr. Juxon, and emphatically pronounced the single word 'Remember!' He then calmly laid his head upon the block, and it was severed from his body at one blow; the second executioner immediately held it up by the hair, and said, 'Behold the head of a traitor!'

Thus on the 30th of January, 1649, perished Charles I. in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his reign. Whatever may have been his faults, there can be little doubt that his execution was unjustifiable, and that it cannot be attributed to the vengeance of the people. 'The men who hurried him to the scaffold,' says Lingard, 'were a small faction of bold ambitious spirits, who had the address to guide the passions and fanaticism of their followers, and were enabled through them to control the real sentiments of the nation.' But the judgement of Hallam, the most severe and impartial of constitutional historians, is more valuable than the most vehement denunciation of the conduct of the king's enemies, or the most eloquent panegyric on his virtues. Without dwelling on the general question of the responsibility of kings for misgovernment, he denies that Charles I. deserved to be singled out as a warning to tyrants. 'His government had been very arbitrary, but it may well be doubted whether any, even of his ministers, would have suffered death for their share in it, without introducing a principle of barbarous vindictiveness. . . . As for the charge of having caused the bloodshed of the war, upon which, and not on any former misgovernment, his condemnation was grounded, it was as ill-established as it would have been insufficient. . . . We may contend that when Hotham shut the gates of Hull against his sovereign, when the militia was called out in different counties by an ordinance of the two houses, both of which preceded by several weeks any levying of forces for the king, the bonds of our constitutional law were by them and their servants snapped asunder; and it would be the mere pedantry and chicane of political casuistry to enquire, even if the fact could be better ascertained, whether at Edgehill or in the minor skirmishes that preceded, the first carbine was discharged by a cavalier or a roundhead. The aggressor in a war is not the first who uses force, but the first who renders force necessary.' *

With that suspicion which 'ever haunts the guilty mind,' Cromwell and his friends attached much mysterious importance to the 'REMEMBER' so emphatically pronounced by Charles on delivering his George to Dr. Juxon, and that learned and excellent man was authoritatively commanded to give an account of the king's meaning, or his own understanding of the word. To the inexpressible mortification of those mean minds, the doctor informed them that the king only impressed upon him a former and particular request to deliver the George to the prince of Wales, and at the same time to urge the command of his father to forgive his murderers!

* Constitutional History of England, ch. x.

CHAPTER LIII.

The Commonwealth.

Whatever might have been Cromwell's original views, his military successes, the vast influence he had obtained over the army, and perhaps, still more than either of these, the base and evident readiness of the parliament to truckle to his military power and meet him even more than half way in his most unjust and exorbitant wishes, opened up a prospect too unbounded and too tempting for his ambition to resist. But policy, as well as the circumstances of the time, made it incumbent upon Cromwell, in the first instance, to exalt still higher his character for military skill and daring. Ireland had a disciplined host in arms for the royal cause under the duke of Ormond, and large multitudes of the native Irish were at the same time in open revolt under the restless and daring O'Neal. Cromwell procured the command of the army appointed to put down both these parties, and fully succeeded. How mercilessly he used his victory the reader may learn by referring to the history of Ireland.

A.D. 1650.—On the return of Cromwell to England, his pocket parliament formally returned him the thanks which, except for his needless and odious cruelty, he had well merited. A new opportunity at the same moment presented itself for the aggrandisement of this bold and fortunate adventurer. The Scots, who had basely sold Charles I. into the hands of his enemies, were now endeavouring to make money by venal loyalty, as they had formerly made it by venal treason. They had invited Charles II. into Scotland, where that gay young prince speedily found that they looked upon him rather as a prisoner than as their king.

The grossness of their manners, and the rude accommodations with which they furnished him, he could probably have passed over without much difficulty, for young as Charles II. was, he had already seen more of grossness and poverty than commonly comes within the knowledge of the great. But Charles was frank as he was gay; and the austere manners and long and unseasonable discourses which they inflicted upon him did not annoy him more than their evident determination to make him at the least affect to agree with them. As, however, the Scots were his only present hope, Charles did his utmost to avoid quarrelling with them; and however they might annoy him while among them, whatever might be their ultimate views respecting him, certain it is that they raised a very considerable army, and showed every determination to reinstate him in his kingdom.

As being presbyterians the Scots were detested by Cromwell and his independents; but now that they had also embraced the cause of 'the man Charles Stuart,' as these English independents affected to call their lawful sovereign, it was determined that a signal chastisement should be inflicted upon them. The command of an army for that purpose was offered to Fairfax, but he declined it on the honourable ground that he was unwilling to act against presbyterians. Cromwell had no such scruple, and he immediately set out for Scotland with an army of 16,000 men, which received accessions to its numbers in every great town through which it marched. But not even the military fame of Cromwell, nor his but too well-known cruelty to all who dared to resist him and were unfortunate enough to be vanquished, deterred the Scots from boldly meeting his invasion. But boldness alone was of small avail against such a leader as Cromwell, backed by his tried and enthusiastic soldiers. The two armies had scarcely joined battle when the Scots were put to flight, their loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners being very great, while the total loss of Cromwell did not exceed forty men.

As Cromwell after this battle pursued his course northward, with the determination not only to chastise, but completely and permanently to subdue the Scots, the young king, as soon as he could rally the Scottish army, took a resolution which showed him to have an intuitive knowledge of military tactics. Making a detour to get completely clear of any outlying parties of Cromwell's troops, he commenced a forced march into England, the northern counties of which lay completely open and defenceless. The boldness of this course alarmed a portion of the Scottish army, and numerous desertions took place from the very commencement of the march southward; but as Charles still had a numerous and imposing force, there was every reason to believe that long before he should reach London, the great object of his expedition, the gentry and middle orders would flock to him in such numbers as would render altogether out of the question any resistance on the part of the parliament, especially in the absence of Cromwell and the flower of the English troops. But the bold manœuvre of the young prince was doomed to have none of the success which it so eminently deserved. Before his progress was sufficient to counterbalance in the minds of his subjects the terror in which they held Cromwell, that active commander had received news of the young king's manœuvre, and had instantly retrograded in pursuit of him, leaving Monk, his second in command, to complete and maintain the subjection of the Scotch.

With an army increased by the terror of his name to nearly 40,000 men, Cromwell marched southward so rapidly, that he absolutely shut up the forces of Charles in the city of Worcester before they had time to break from their quarters and form in order of battle in some more favourable situation. The irresistible cavalry of Cromwell burst suddenly and simultaneously in at every gate in the town; every street, almost every house, became the instant scene of carnage; the Pitchcroft was literally strewed with the dead, while the Severn was tinged with the blood of the wounded; and Charles, after having bravely fought as a common soldier, and skilfully,

though unsuccessfully, exerted himself as a commander, seemed to have no wish but to throw himself upon the swords of his enemies. It was with difficulty that his friends turned him from his desperate purpose, and even when they had done so it appeared to be at least problematical whether he would be able to escape. Accident, or the devotion of a peasant, caused a wain of hay to be overturned opposite to one of the gates of the city in such wise that Cromwell's mounted troops could not pass, and, favoured by this circumstance, Charles mounted a horse that was held for him by a devoted friend, and sought safety in flight.

The triumph of Cromwell was completed with this battle of Worcester, but his vengeful desire was not yet laid to rest; and under his active and untiring superintendence prodigious exertions were made to capture the young king, whose difficulties, in fact, only commenced as he escaped from the confusion and the carnage of Worcester. Almost destitute of money and resources of every kind, and having reason to fear an enemy, either on principle or from lucre, in every man whom he met, Charles was obliged to trust for safety to disguise, which was the more difficult on account of his remarkable and striking features. Three poor men, named Penderell, disguised him as a woodcutter, fed him, concealed him by night, and subsequently aided him to reach wealthier though not more faithfully devoted friends. While with these poor men, Charles in the daytime accompanied them to their place of labour in Boscobel wood. On one occasion on hearing a party of soldiers approach, the royal fugitive climbed into a large and spreading oak, where, sheltered by its friendly foliage, he saw the soldiers pass and repass, and quite distinctly heard them expressing their wishes to obtain the reward that was offered for his capture. Thanks to the incorruptible fidelity of the Penderells and numerous other persons who were necessarily made acquainted with the truth, Charles, though he endured great occasional hardship and privation, and was necessarily exposed to great constant anxiety, eluded every effort of his almost innumerable pursuers, urged on though they were to the utmost activity by the malignant liberality with which Cromwell promised to reward the traitor who should arrest his fugitive king. Under a variety of disguises, and protected by a variety of persons, the young king went from place to place for six weeks wanting only one day, and his adventures and hair-breadth escapes during that time read far more like romance than the history of what actually was endured and survived by a human being persecuted by evil or misguided men. At the end of this time he was fortunate enough to get on board a vessel which landed him safely on the coast of Normandy; an issue to so long and varied a series of adventures which is more remarkable when it is considered that forty men and women, of various stations, circumstances, and dispositions, were, during that terrible season of his flight, necessarily made acquainted with the secret, the betrayal of which would have made any one of them opulent for life, and infamous for ever.

Cromwell, in the meantime, after having achieved what he called the 'crowning mercy' of the victory of Worcester, made a sort of triumphal return to London, where he was met, with the pomp due only to a sovereign, by the speaker and principal members of the house of commons, and the mayor and other magistrates of London in their state habits and paraphernalia.

General Monk had been left in Scotland with a sufficient force to keep that turbulent people in awe; and both their presbyterianism and the imminent peril in which Charles's bold march of the Scottish army had placed Cromwell himself and that 'commonwealth' of which he was now fully determined to be the despot, had so enraged Cromwell against that country, that he seized upon his first hour of leisure to complete its degradation, as well as submission. His complaisant parliament only required a hint from him to pass an act by which royalty was declared to be abolished in Scotland, as it had previously been in England, and Scotland itself was declared to be then annexed to England as a conquest and a province of 'the commonwealth.' Cromwell's hatred of the Scots, however, proceeded no farther than insult; fortunately for the latter, Monk, who was left as their resident general or military governor, was a prudent and impartial man; and his rigid impartiality at once disposed the people to peace, and prevented the English judges who were intrusted with the distribution of justice in that country from being guilty of any injustice or tyranny to which they might otherwise have been inclined. England, Scotland, and Ireland—where Ireton and Ludlow had completed the very little that Cromwell had left undone—were thus effectually subjected to a parliament of sixty men, many of whom were the weakest, as many more of them were the most ignorant, and the most fanatical men that could have been found in England even in that age. Unseen, save by the few, but felt throughout the whole English dominion, Cromwell dictated every measure and inspired every speech of that parliament which to the eyes of the vulgar seemed so omnipotent. His sagacity and his energy did much, and his known vindictiveness and indomitable firmness did the rest; those who opposed failed before his powers, and their failure intimidated others into submission. The channel islands and the Scottish isles were easily subdued on account of their proximity; the American colonies, though some of them at the outset declared for the royal cause, numbered so many religious dissenters among their populations, that they, too, speedily submitted to and followed the example and orders of the newly founded 'Commonwealth' of England.

While all this was being achieved, the real government of England was in the

bands of Cromwell, though, in form, there was a council of thirty-eight, to whom all addresses and petitions were presented, and who had, nominally, the managing of the army and navy, and the right and responsibility of making war and peace. The real moving principle of this potent council was the mind of Cromwell. And, while we denounce the flagrant hypocrisy of his pretensions to a superior sanctity, and his traitorous contempt of all his duties as a subject, impartial truth demands that we admit that never was ill-obtained power better wielded. Next after the petty and cruel persecution of individuals, nominally on public grounds, but really in revenge of private injuries, a political speculator would naturally predict that a poor and, comparatively speaking, meanly born private man, like Cromwell, being suddenly invested with so vast a power over a great and wealthy nation, would make his ill-acquired authority a special scourge in the financial department. But, to the honour of Cromwell be it said, there is no single period in our history during which the public finances have been so well managed, and administered with so entire a freedom from greed, dishonesty, and waste, as during this strange man's strange administration. It is quite true that the crown revenues and the lands of the bishops were most violently and shamefully seized upon by this government, but they were not, as might have been anticipated, squandered upon the gratification of private individuals. These, with a farther levy upon the national resources that amounted to only a hundred and twenty thousand pounds per month, supplied the whole demands of a government which not only maintained peace in its own commonwealth and dependencies, but also taught foreigners that, under whatever form of government, England still knew how to make herself feared, if not respected.

Holland, by its protection of the royal party of England, had given deep offence to Cromwell, who, literally 'as the hart panteth for cool waters,' panted for the blood of Charles II. 'Whom we have injured we never forgive,' says a philosophic satirist; and Cromwell's hatred of Charles II. was a good exemplification of this truth. Hating Holland for her generous shelter of the royalists, Cromwell eagerly seized upon two events, which might just as well have happened in any other country under heaven, as a pretext for making war upon that country.

The circumstances were these. At the time of the mock trial that preceded the shameful murder of the late king, doctor Dorislaus was one of the 'assistants' of Coke, the 'solicitor for the people of England.' Under the government of the 'commonwealth' this mere hireling was sent as its envoy to Holland. A royalist, who would see no difference between the ruffian who actually wields the instrument and the more artful but no less abominable ruffian who instigates or hires the actual assassin, put Dorislaus to death. No sane man of sound Christian principles can justify this act; but how was Holland concerned in it? The same man with the same opportunity would doubtless have committed the same act in the puritan state of New England; and to make a whole nation answerable in their blood and their treasure for the act of an individual who had taken shelter among them was an absurdity as well as an atrocity. The other case which served Cromwell as a pretext for declaring war against Holland was, that Mr. St. John, who was subsequently sent on an embassy to Holland, received some petty insult from the friends of the prince of Orange!

The great naval commander of this time was admiral Blake. Though he did not enter the sea service until very late in life, he was a perfect master of naval tactics, and his daring and firmness of character could not be surpassed. When the war was declared against Holland, he proceeded to sea to oppose the power of the Dutch admiral, Van Tromp. The actions between them were numerous and in many cases tolerably equal, but the general result of the war was so ruinous to the trading interests of the Dutch, that they anxiously desired the return of peace. But though it was chiefly the personal feeling and energy of Cromwell that had commenced this war, his hitherto patient and obsequious tools, the parliament, now exerted themselves to prolong the war at sea, hoping thus to weaken that power of the army, wielded by Cromwell, which of late they had felt to a scarcely tolerable degree.

But effectual resistance on the part of the parliament was now wholly out of the question; they had too well done the work of the usurper, who was, probably, not ill pleased that their present petty and futile attempt at opposing him gave him a pretext for crushing even the last semblance of their free will out of existence. But though he had fully determined upon a new and decisive mode of overruling them, Cromwell initiated it with his usual art and tortuous procedure. He well knew that the commons hated the army, would fain have disbanded it, if possible, and would on no account do aught that could increase either its power or its well-being; on the other hand, he was equally aware that the soldiers had many real grievances to complain of, and also entertained not a few prejudices against the commons. To embroil them in an open quarrel, and then, seemingly as the mere and sympathizing redresser of the wronged soldiery, to use them to crush the parliament, was the course he determined upon.

A.D. 1653.—Cromwell, with that rugged but efficient eloquence which he so well knew how to use, urged the officers of the army no longer to suffer themselves and their men to labour under grievances unredressed and arrears unpaid, at the mere will and pleasure of the selfish civilians for whom they had fought and conquered, but remonstrate in terms which those selfish persons could not misunderstand, and which would wring justice from their fears. Few things could have been suggested which would

have been more entirely agreeable to the wishes of the officers. They drew up a petition—if we ought not rather to call it a remonstrance—in which, after demanding redress of grievances and payment of arrears, they taunted the parliament with having formerly made fine professions of their determination so to remodel that assembly as to extend and insure liberty to all ranks of men, and with having for years continued to sit without making a single advance towards the performance of these voluntary pledges. The house acted on this occasion with a spirit which would have been admirable and honourable in a genuine house of commons, but which savoured somewhat of the ludicrous when shown by men who, consciously and deliberately, had year after year been the mere and servile tools of Cromwell and his soldiers. It was voted not only that this petition should not be complied with, but also that any person who should in future present any such petition should be deemed guilty of high treason, and a committee was appointed immediately to prepare an act in conformity to this resolution. The officers presented a warm remonstrance upon this treatment of their petition; the house still more warmly replied; and it was soon very evident that both parties were animated by the utmost animosity to each other. Cromwell now saw that his hour for action had arrived. He was sitting in council with some of his officers when, doubtless in obedience to his own secret orders, intelligence was brought to him of the violent temper and designs of the house. With well-acted astonishment and incontrollable rage, he started from his seat, and exclaimed that the misconduct of these men at length compelled him to do a thing which made the hair to stand on end upon his head. Hastily assembling three hundred soldiers, he immediately proceeded to the house of commons, which he entered covered, and followed by as many of the troops as could enter. Before any remonstrance could be offered, Cromwell, stamping upon the ground as in an ecstasy of sudden passion, exclaimed, 'For shame! Get ye gone and give place to honester men! you are no longer—a parliament, I tell ye you are no longer a parliament.' Sir Harry Vane, a bold and honest man, though a half-insane enthusiast, now rose and denounced Cromwell's conduct as indecent and tyrannical.

'Ha!' exclaimed Cromwell, 'sir Harry! Oh! sir Harry Vane! the Lord deliver me from sir Harry Vane!' Then, turning first to one prominent member of this lately servile parliament and then to another, he dealt out in succession the titles of glutton, drunkard, adulterer, and whoremonger. Having given this, probably, very just description of the men by whose means he had so long and so completely misgoverned the suffering nation, he literally turned 'the rump' out of the house, locked the doors, and carried away the key in his pocket.

A servile parliament being the most convenient of tools for the purposes of despotism, Cromwell, when he had thus summarily got rid of 'the rump,' very soon proceeded to call a new parliament, which, if possible, surpassed even that in the qualities of brutal ignorance and ferocious fanaticism. A practice had now become general of taking scriptural words, and in many cases, whole scriptural sentences or canting imitations of them, for Christian names; and a fanatical leather-seller, who was the leading man in this fanatical parliament, named Praise-God Barebone, gave his name to it. The utter ignorance displayed by the whole of the members of Barebone's parliament even of the forms of their own house, the wretched drivelling of their speeches, and their obvious incapacity to understand the meaning of what they were secretly and imperiously instructed to do, excited so much ridicule even from the very multitude, that the less insane among the members themselves became ashamed of their pitiable appearance. A small number of these, with the concurrence of Rouse, their speaker, waited upon Cromwell at Whitehall, and wisely tendered their resignation which he willingly received. But many of this precious parliament were far from being convinced of their incapacity or willing to resign their authority. They determined not to be bound by the decision of the seceders, and proceeded to elect one of their number, named Moyer, as their speaker. Cromwell had but one way of dealing with this sort of contumacy, and he sent a party of guards, under the command of colonel White, who cleared the parliament house.

Having now sufficiently ascertained the complete devotion of the military to his person, and sufficiently accustomed the people at large to his arbitrary and sudden caprices, Cromwell, whose clear and masculine sense must have loathed the imbecility and fanaticism of the late parliament, boldly proceeded to dispense with parliaments altogether, and to establish a pure and open military government, of which he was himself at once the head, heart, and hand. The formation of the new government was highly characteristic of Cromwell's peculiar policy. Through his usual agents he induced the officers of the army to declare him protector of the commonwealth of England; and that there might be no misunderstanding as to the substantial royalty of the office thus conferred on him, the appointment was proclaimed in London and other chief towns with the formality and publicity usual on proclaiming the accession of a king.

The military officers having thus made Cromwell king in all but the mere name, he gratefully proceeded to make them his ministers, choosing his council from among the general officers, and allowing each councillor the then very liberal salary of one thousand pounds per annum.

Now that he was ostensibly, as for a long time before he had been virtually, at the head of affairs, the policy of Cromwell required that the army should be well taken care of. While there was yet any possibility of the people clamouring for a parliament and of a parliament making any

show of resistance to his inordinate pretensions, the discontent of the army was a weapon of price to him. Now, the case was completely altered, and instead of allowing the pay of the army to fall into arrear, he had every officer and man constantly paid one month in advance. Liberal in all that related to real public service, as the providing of arms, furnishing the magazines, and keeping the fleet in serviceable repair, he yet was the determined foe of all useless expense.

But though the iron hand of Cromwell kept the people tranquil at home and maintained the high character of the nation abroad, he had not long obtained the protectorate when he began to suffer the penalty of his criminal ambition. To the royalists as the murderer of their former king and as the chief obstacle to the restoration of their present one, he was of course hateful; and the sincere republicans, including not only Fairfax and many other men of public importance and character, but also a multitude of persons in all ranks of private life, and some of his own nearest and dearest connections, saw in him only a worse than legitimate king. The consequence was, that numerous plots, of more or less importance and extent, were formed against him. But he was himself active, vigilant, and penetrating; and as he was profuse in his rewards to those who afforded him valuable information, no one was ever more exactly served by spies. He seemed to know men's very thoughts, so rapid and minute was the information which he in fact owed to this, in his circumstances, wise liberality. No sooner was a plot formed than he knew who were concerned in it; no sooner had the conspirators determined to proceed to action than they learned, to their cost, that their own lives were at the disposal of him whose life they had aimed at.

With regard to the war in which the nation was engaged, it may be remarked, that all the efforts of the Dutch failed to save them from suffering severely under the vigorous and determined attacks of Blake. Defeated again and again, and finding their trade paralysed in every direction, they at length became so dispirited that they sued for peace, and treated as a sovereign the man whom, hitherto, they had very justly treated as a usurper. In order to obtain peace, they agreed to restore considerable territory which, during the reign of Charles I., they had torn from the East India Company; to cease to advocate or advance the cause of the unfortunate Charles II.; and to pay homage on every sea to the flag of the commonwealth.

While we give all due credit to Cromwell as the ruler under whom the Dutch were thus humbled, and make due allowance for the value of his prompt and liberal supplies to the admiral and fleet, we must not, either, omit to remember that the real humbler of the Dutch was the gallant admiral Blake. This fine English seaman was avowedly and notoriously a republican in principle, and, being so, he could not but be opposed to the usurpation by Cromwell of a more than kingly power. But at sea and with an enemy's fleet in sight the gallant Blake remembered only his country, and cared nothing about who ruled it. On such occasions he would say to his seamen, 'No matter into whose hands the government may fall; our duty is still to fight for our country.'

With France in negotiation, as with Holland in open war, England under Cromwell was successful. The sagacious cardinal Mazarin, who was then in power in France, clearly saw that the protector was more easily to be managed by flattery and deference than by any attempts at violence, and there were few crowned heads that were treated by France under Mazarin with half the respect which it lavished upon 'protector' Cromwell of England. This prudent conduct of the French minister probably saved much blood and treasure to both nations, for although Cromwell's discerning mind and steadfast temper would not allow of his sacrificing any of the substantial advantages of England to the soothings and flatteries of the French minister, they, unquestionably, disposed him to docility and complaisance upon many not vitally important points, upon which, had they been at all haughtily pressed, he would have resisted even to the extremity of going to war.

Spain, which in the reign of Elizabeth and even later had been so powerful as to threaten to unite all Europe in submission, had now become considerably reduced. But Cromwell, wisely, as we think, still considered it too powerful, and as far more likely than France to espouse the cause of Charles II., and thus be injurious to the commonwealth—and the protector. Accordingly, being solicited by Mazarin to join in depressing Spain, he readily furnished six thousand men for the invasion of the Netherlands, and a signal victory was with this aid obtained over the Spaniards at Dunes. In return for this important service the French put Dunkirk, lately taken from the Spaniards, into his hands.

But the victory of Dunes was the least of the evils that the Spaniards experienced from the enmity of Cromwell. Blake, whose conduct in the Dutch war had not only endeared him to England, but had also spread his personal renown throughout the world, was most liberally and ably supported by the protector. Having sailed up the Mediterranean, where the English flag had never floated above a fleet since the time of the crusaders, he completely swept that sea of all that dared to dispute it with him, and then proceeded to Leghorn, where his mere appearance and reputation caused the duke of Tuscany to make reparations for divers injuries which had been inflicted upon the English traders there.

A.D. 1655.—The trading vessels of England, as indeed of all European countries, had long suffered from the Tunisians and Algerines, and Blake now proceeded to call those barbarians to account. The dey of Algiers was soon brought to reason; but the dey of Tunis, directing the attention of Blake to the strong castles of Goletta and Porto Farino, bade him look at them

and then do his worst. The English admiral instantly took him at his word, sailed into the harbour, burned the whole of the shipping that lay in it, and sailed triumphantly away in quest of the Spaniards. Arrived at Cadiz, he took two galleons, or treasure ships, of the enormous value of two millions of pieces of eight; and then sailed for the Canaries, where he burned and sunk an entire Spanish fleet of sixteen sail. After this latter action he sailed for England to refit, and sank so rapidly beneath an illness which had long afflicted him, that he died just as he reached home.

While Blake had been thus gallantly and successfully exerting himself in one quarter, another fleet under admirals Venables and Penn, carrying about four thousand land forces, left the British shores. The object of this expedition was to capture the island of Hispaniola; but the Spaniards were so well prepared and superior, that this object utterly failed. Resolved not to return home without having achieved something, the admirals now directed their course to Jamaica, where they so completely surprised the Spaniards, that that rich island was taken possession of by our troops without the necessity of striking a blow. So little was the value of the island from which so much wealth has since been drawn, at that time understood, that its capture was not deemed a compensation for the failure before Hispaniola, and both the admirals were sent to the Tower for that failure.

A.D. 1658.—But the splendid successes of Cromwell were now drawing to a close. His life, glorious as to the unthinking and uninformed it must have appeared, had from the moment of his accepting the protectorate been one long series of secret and most harassing vexations. As we have already pointed out, both extremes, the republicans and the royalists, detested him, and were perpetually plotting against his authority and life. His own wife was thought to detest the state in which they lived; and it is certain that both his eldest daughter, Mrs. Fleetwood, and his favourite child, Mrs. Claypole, took every opportunity of maintaining the respective principles of their husbands, even in the presence of their father. Mrs. Fleetwood, indeed, went beyond her husband in zeal for republicanism; while Mrs. Claypole, whom the protector loved with a tenderness little to have been expected from so stern a man, was so ardent in the cause of monarchy, that even on her death-bed she upbraided her sorrowing father with the death of one sovereign and the usurpation which kept the living sovereign in exile and in misery. The soldiery too, with whom he had so often fought, were for the most part sincere, however erring, in their religious professions, and could not but be deeply disgusted when they at length perceived that his religious as well as his republican professions had been mere baits to catch men's opinions and support withal. Frequent conspiracies, and his knowledge of the general detestation in which his conduct was held, at length shook even his resolute mind and iron frame. He became nervous and melancholy; in whichever direction he turned his eyes he imagined that he saw an enemy. Fairfax, whose wife openly condemned the proceedings against the king in Westminster-hall at the time of the mock trial, had so wrought upon her husband, that he allowed himself to league with sir William Waller and other eminent men at the head of the presbyterian party to destroy the protector. With all parties in the state thus furious against him, Cromwell now, too, for the first time found himself straitened for money. His successes against the Spaniards had been splendid indeed, but such splendours were usually expensive in the end. With an exhausted treasury and debts of no inconsiderable amount, he began to fear the consequence of what appeared inevitable—his falling in arrears with the soldiery, to whom he owed all his past success and upon whose good will alone rested his slender hope of future security. Just as he was tortured by these threatening circumstances of his situation, colonel Titus, a zealous republican who had bravely, however erroneously, fought against the late king, and who was now thoroughly disgusted and indignant to see the Protector practising more tyranny than the murdered monarch had ever been guilty of, sent forth his opinions in a most bitterly eloquent pamphlet, bearing the ominous title of 'KILLING, NO MURDER.' Setting out with a brief reference to what had been done in the case of (what he, as a republican, called) *kingly* tyranny, the colonel vehemently insisted that it was not merely a right but a positive duty to slay the plebeian usurper. 'Shall we,' said the eloquent declaimer, 'shall *we*, who struck down the lion, cower before the wolf?'

Cromwell doubted not that this fearless and plausible pamphlet would fall into the hands of some enthusiast who would be nerved to frenzy by it. He wore armour beneath his clothes, and constantly carried pistols with him, never travelled twice by the same road, and rarely slept more than a second night in the same chamber. Though he was always strongly guarded, such was the wretchedness of his situation that even this did not insure his safety; for where more probably than among the fanatical soldiery could an assassin be found? Alone, he fell into melancholy; in company, he was uncheered; and if strangers, of however high character, approached somewhat close to his person, it was in a tone less indicative of anger than of actual terror that he bade them stand off.

The strong constitution of Cromwell at length gave way beneath this accumulation of horrors. He daily became thinner and more feeble, and ere long was seized with tertian ague, which carried him off in a week, in the ninth year of his usurpation, and in the fifty-ninth of his age, on the third of September, 1659.

A.D. 1659.—Though Cromwell was delirious from the effects of his mortal illness, he had a sufficient lucid interval to allow of his putting the crowning stroke to his

treason. This slayer of his lawful sovereign, who had only made his first step from obscurity under pretence of a burning hatred of monarchy, now had the boldness to name his son Richard as his successor—as though his usurped power were held by hereditary right.

But though named by his father to the protectorate, Richard Cromwell had none of his father's energy and but little of his ambition. Accustomed to the stern rule and sagacious activity of the deceased usurper, the army very speedily showed its unwillingness to transfer its allegiance to Richard, and a committee of the leading officers was assembled at Fleetwood's residence, and called the cabal of Wallingford. The first step of this association was to present to the young protector a remonstrance requiring that the command of the army should be intrusted to some person who possessed the confidence of the officers. As Richard was thus plainly informed that he had not that confidence, he had no choice but to defend his title by force, or make a virtue of necessity and give in his resignation of an authority to the exercise of which he was signally unequal. He chose the latter course; and having signed a formal abdication of an office which he ought never to have filled, he lived for some years in France and subsequently settled at Cheshunt, in Hertfordshire, where as a private gentleman he lived to a very advanced age. The cabal of Wallingford, having thus readily and quietly disposed of protector Richard, now saw the necessity of establishing something like a formal government; and the rump parliament, which Oliver Cromwell had so unceremoniously turned out of doors, was invited to reinstate itself in authority. But upon these thoroughly incapable men the experience of past days was wholly thrown away. Forgetting that the source of their power was the force of the army, their very first measures were aimed at lessening the power of the cabal. The latter body, perceiving that the parliament proceeded from less to greater proofs of extreme hostility, determined to send it back to the fitting obscurity of private life. Lambert, with a large body of troops, accordingly went to Westminister. Having completely surrounded the parliament house with his men, the general patiently awaited the arrival of the speaker, Lenthal, and when that personage made his appearance the general ordered the horses of the state carriage to be turned round, and Lenthal was conducted home. The like civility was extended to the various members as they successively made their appearance, and the army proceeded to keep a solemn fast by way of celebrating the annihilation of this disgraceful parliament.

But the triumph of the army was short. If Fleetwood, Lambert, and the other leading officers anticipated the possibility of placing one of themselves in the position occupied by the late protector, they had egregiously erred in overlooking the power and possible inclination of general Monk. This able and politic officer, it will be recollected, had been intrusted by Cromwell with the task of keeping Scotland in subservience to the commonwealth of England. He had an army of upwards of eight thousand veteran troops, and the wisdom and moderation with which he had governed Scotland gave him great moral influence and a proportionate command of pecuniary resources; and when the dismissal of the rump parliament by the army threw the inhabitants of London into alarm lest an absolute military tyranny should succeed, the eyes of all were turned upon Monk, and every one was anxious to know whether he would throw his vast power into this or into that scale.

But 'honest George Monk,' as his soldiers with affectionate familiarity were wont to term him, was as cool and silent as he was dexterous and resolute. As soon as he was made aware of the proceedings that had taken place in London he put his veteran army in motion. As he marched southward upon London he was met by messenger after messenger, each party being anxious to ascertain for which he intended to declare; but he strictly, and with an admirable firmness, replied to all, that he was on his way to enquire into the state of affairs, and to aid in remedying whatever might be wrong. Still maintaining this politic reserve, he reached St. Albans, and there fixed his head-quarters.

The rump parliament in the meantime had reassembled without opposition from the Wallingford cabal, the members of which probably feared to act while in ignorance of the intentions of Monk, who now sent a formal request to the parliament for the instant removal to country quarters of all troops stationed in London. This done, the parliament dissolved, after taking measures for the immediate election of new members.

Sagacious public men now began to judge that Monk, weary of the existing state of things, had resolved to restore the exiled king, but Monk still preserved the most profound silence until the assembling of a new parliament should enable him rapidly and effectually to accomplish his designs.

The only person who seems to have been in the confidence of this able man was a Devonshire gentleman named Morrice, who was of as taciturn and prudent a disposition as the general himself. All persons who sought the general's confidence were referred to Morrice, and among the number was Sir John Granville, who was the servant and personal friend of the exiled king, who now sent him over to England to endeavour to influence Monk. Sir John, when referred to Morrice, more than once replied that he held a commission from the king, and that he could open his business to no one but general Monk in person. This pertinacity and caution were precisely what Monk required; and though even now he would not commit himself by any written document, he personally gave Granville such information as induced the king to hasten from Breda, the governor of which would fain have made him a prisoner under

the pretence of paying him honour, and settled himself in Holland, where he anxiously awaited farther tidings from Monk.

The parliament at length assembled, and it became very generally understood, that the restoration of the monarchy was the real intention of Monk; but so great and obvious were the perils of the time, that for a few days the parliament occupied itself in merely routine business, no one daring to utter a word upon that very subject which every man had the most deeply at heart. Monk during all this time had lost no opportunity of observing the sentiments of the new parliament, and he at last broke through his politic and well-sustained reserve, and directed Annesley, the president of the council, to inform the house that sir John Granville was at its door with a letter from his Majesty. The effect of these few words was electrical: the whole of the members rose from their seats and hailed the news with a burst of enthusiastic cheering. Sir John Granville was now called in, the king's letter was read, and the proposals it made for the restoration of Charles were agreed to with a new burst of cheering. The gracious letter, offering an indemnity far more extensive than could have been hoped for after all the evil that had been done, was at once entered on the journals, and ordered to be published, that the people at large might participate in the joy of the house. Nothing now remained to obstruct the return of Charles, who, after a short and prosperous passage, arrived in London on the twenty-ninth of May, being the day on which he completed his thirtieth year. Everywhere he was received with the acclamations of assembled multitudes; and so numerous were the congratulatory addresses that were presented to him, that he pleasantly remarked that it must surely have been his own fault that he had not returned sooner, as it was plain there was not one of his subjects who had not been long wishing for him.

CHAPTER LIV.

The Reign of CHARLES II.

A.D. 1660. — YOUNG, accomplished, and of a singularly cheerful and affable temper, Charles II. ascended his throne with all the apparent elements of a just and universal popularity, especially as the ignorance of some and the tyranny of others had by this time taught the people of England to understand the full value of a wise and regular government. But Charles had some faults which were none the less mischievous because they were the mere excesses of amiable qualities. His good-nature was attended by a levity and carelessness which caused him to leave the most faithful services and the most serious sacrifices unrewarded, and his gaiety degenerated into an indolence and self-indulgence more fitted to the effeminate self-worship of a Sybarite than to the responsible situation of the king of a free and active people.

One of the first cares of the parliament was to pass an act of indemnity for all that had passed, but a special exception was made of those who had directly and personally taken part in the murder of the late king. Three of the most prominent of these, Cromwell, Bradshaw, and Ireton, were dead. But as it was thought that some signal obloquy ought to be thrown upon crime so enormous as their's, their bodies were disinterred, suspended from the gallows, and subsequently buried at its foot. Others of the regicides were proceeded against, and more or less severely punished; but Charles showed no more earnestness in vengeance than in gratitude, and there never, probably, has been so little of punishment inflicted for crime so extensive and so frightful.

Charles, in fact, had but one passion—the love of pleasure; and so long as he could command the means of gratifying that, he, at the commencement of his reign especially, seemed to care but little how his ministers arranged the public affairs. It was, in some degree, happy for the nation that Charles was thus careless; for so excessive was the gladness of the nation's loyalty just at this period, that had Charles been of a sterner and more ambitious character he would have had little or no difficulty in rendering himself an absolute monarch. So evident was the inclination of the commons to go to extremes in order to gratify the king, that one of the ministers, Southampton, seriously contemplated requiring the enormous amount of two millions as the king's annual revenue, a revenue which would have made him wholly independent alike of his people and the law. Fortunately, the wise and virtuous lord Clarendon, attached as he was to the royal master whose exile and privations he had faithfully shared, opposed this outrageous wish of Southampton, and the revenue of the king was fixed more moderately, but with a liberality which rendered it impossible for him to feel necessity except as the consequence of the extremest profusion.

But Charles was one of those persons whom it is almost impossible to preserve free from pecuniary necessity; and he soon became so deeply involved in difficulties, while his love of expensive pleasures remained unabated, that he at once turned his thoughts to marriage as a means of procuring money. Catherine, the infanta of Portugal, was at that time, probably, the homeliest princess in Europe. But she was wealthy, her portion amounting to three hundred thousand pounds in money, together with Bombay in the East Indies, and the fortress of Tangier in Africa; and such a portion had too many attractions for the needy and pleasure-loving Charles to allow him to lay much stress upon the infanta's want of personal attractions. The dukes of Ormond, Southampton, and the able and clear-headed chancellor Clarendon endeavoured to dissuade the king from this match, chiefly on the ground of the infanta being but little likely to have children; but Charles was

resolute, and the infanta became queen of England, an honour which it is to be feared that she dearly purchased, for the numerous mistresses of the king were permitted, if not actually encouraged, to insult her by their familiar presence, and vie with her in luxury obtained at her cost.

As a means of procuring large sums from his parliament, Charles declared war against the Dutch. The hostilities were very fiercely carried on by both parties, but after the sacrifice of blood and treasure to an immense amount, the Dutch, by a treaty signed at Breda, procured peace by ceding to England the American colony of New York. Though this colony was justly considered as an important acquisition, the whole terms of the peace were not considered sufficiently honourable to England, and the public mind became much exasperated against Clarendon, who was said to have commenced war unnecessarily, and to have concluded peace disgracefully. Whatever might be the private opinion of Charles, who, probably, had far more than Clarendon to do with the commencement of the war, he showed no desire to shield his minister, whose steadfast and high-principled character had long been so distasteful at court that he had been subjected to the insults of the courtiers and the slights of the king. Under such circumstances the fate of Strafford seemed by no means unlikely to become that of Clarendon, Mr. Seymour bringing seventeen articles of impeachment against him. But Clarendon, perceiving the peril in which he was placed, and rightly judging that it was in vain to oppose the popular clamour when that was aided by the ungrateful coldness of the court, went into voluntary exile in France, where he devoted himself to literature.

Freed from the presence of Clarendon, whose rebuke he feared, and whose virtue he admired but could not imitate, Charles now gave the chief direction of public affairs into the hands of certain partakers of his pleasures. Sir Thomas Clifford, lord Ashley, afterwards earl of Shaftesbury, the duke of Buckingham, lord Arlington, and the duke of Lauderdale, were the persons to whom Charles now intrusted his affairs, and from their initials this ministry was known by the title of the CABAL.

A.D. 1670.—The members of the cabal were undoubtedly men of ability; learning, wit, and accomplishment being absolute requisites to the obtaining of Charles's favour. But their's was the ability of courtiers rather than of ministers; they were better fitted to season the pleasures of the prince, than to provide for the security of the throne or the welfare of the people. The public discontent was, consequently, very great; it was but too deeply and widely felt that such a ministry was little likely to put any effectual check upon the profligate pleasures which made the English court at once the gayest and the most vicious court in all Europe.

Nor was it merely from the character of the ministry and the dissipated course of the king that the people felt discontented. The duke of York, the presumptive heir to the throne, though a brave and a high-minded man, was universally believed to be a very bigoted papist; and enough of the puritan spirit still remained to make men dread the possible accession of a papist king.

The alarm and uneasiness that were felt on this point at length reached to such a height that, in August of this year, as the king was walking in St. James's park, disporting himself with some of the beautiful little dogs of which he was fond, a chemist, named Kirby, approached his majesty, and warned him that a plot was on foot against him. 'Keep, sire,' said this person, 'within your company; your enemies design to take your life, and you may be shot even in this very walk.'

News so startling, and at the same time so consonant with the vague fears and vulgar rumours of the day, naturally led to farther enquiries; and Kirby stated that he had his information from a doctor Tonge, a clergyman, who had assured him that two men, named Grove and Pickering, were engaged to shoot the king, and that the queen's physician, sir George Wakeling, had agreed, if they failed, to put an end to his majesty by poison. The matter was now referred to Danby, the lord treasurer, who sent for doctor Tonge. That person not only showed all readiness to attend, but also produced a bundle of papers relative to the supposed plot. Questioned as to the manner in which he became possessed of these papers, he at first stated that they were thrust under his door, and subsequently that he knew the writer of them, who required his name to be concealed lest he should incur the deadly anger of the jesuits. The reader will do well to remark the gross inconsistency of these two accounts; it is chiefly by the careful noting of such inconsistencies that the wise see through the carefully-woven falsehoods which are so commonly believed by the credulous or the careless. If the papers had really been thrust beneath this man's door, as he at first pretended, how should he know the author? If the author was known to him, to what purpose the stealthy way of forwarding the papers? Charles himself was far too acute a reasoner to overlook this gross inconsistency, and he flatly gave it as his opinion that the whole affair was a clumsy fiction. But Tonge was a tool in the hands of miscreants who would not so readily be disconcerted, and he was now sent again to the lord treasurer Danby, to inform him that a packet of treasonable letters was on its way to the jesuit Bedingfield, the duke of York's confessor. By some chance Tonge gave this information some hours after the duke of York had himself been put in possession of these letters, which he had shown to the king as a vulgar and ridiculous forgery of which he could not discover the drift.

Hitherto all attempts at producing any effect by means of these alleged treasonable designs had failed, and the chief manufacturer of them, Titus Oates, now came forward with a well-feigned unwillingness This man had from his youth upward been

an abandoned character. He had been indicted for gross perjury, and had subsequently been dismissed from the chaplaincy of a man-of-war for a yet more disgraceful crime, and he then professed to be a convert to papacy, and actually was for some time maintained in the English seminary at St. Omer's. Reduced to actual destitution, he seems to have fastened upon Kirby and Tonge, as weak and credulous men, whose very weakness and credulity would make them intrepid in the assertion of such falsehoods as he might choose to instil into their minds. Of his own motives we may form a shrewd guess from the fact that he was supported by the actual charity of Kirby, at a moment when he affected to have the clue to mysteries closely touching the king's life and involving the lives of numerous persons of consequence.

Though vulgar, illiterate, and ruffianly, this man Oates was cunning and daring. Finding that his pretended information was of no avail in procuring himself court favour, he now resolved to see what effect it would have upon the already alarmed and anxious minds of the people. He accordingly went before Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, a gentleman in great celebrity for his activity as a magistrate, and desired to make a deposition to the effect that the pope, judging the heresy of the king and people a sufficient ground, had assumed the sovereignty of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and had condemned the king to death as a heretic; the death to be inflicted by Grove and Pickering, who were to shoot him with silver bullets. The jesuits and the pope having thus disposed of the king, whom, according to this deposition, they styled the black bastard, the crown was to be offered to the duke of York on the condition that he should wholly extirpate the protestant religion; but if the duke refused to comply with that condition, then James, too, was *to go to pot*.

The mere vulgarity of this deposition might have led the people to infer its falsehood; for whatever might be the other faults of the jesuits, they were not, as educated men, at all likely to use the style of speech which so coarse and illiterate a wretch as Oates attributed to them. But popular terror not uncommonly produces, temporarily at least, a popular madness; and the at once atrocious and clumsy falsehoods of this man, whose very destitution was the consequence of revolting crimes, were accepted by the people as irrefragable evidence, and he was himself hailed and caressed as the friend and protector of protestantism and protestants! Before the council he repeatedly and most grossly contradicted himself, but the effect his statements had upon the public mind was such, that it was deemed necessary to order the apprehension of the principal persons named as being cognizant of this plot, among whom were several jesuits, and Coleman, secretary to the duke of York.

A singular circumstance now occurred which gives but too much reason to fear that perjury was by no means the worst of the crimes to which Oates resorted to procure the success of his vile scheme. Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, the magistrate who first gave Oates importance by allowing him to reduce his lying statements into a formal and regular deposition, was suddenly missed from his house, and after a lapse of several days, found barbarously murdered in a ditch at Primrose-hill, near London. No sooner was this known than the people rushed to the conclusion that sir Edmondbury had been murdered by the jesuits, in revenge for the willingness he had shown to receive the information of Oates. But looking at the desperate character of the latter, does it not seem far more probable that he caused the murder of the credulous magistrate, trusting that it would have the very effect which it did produce upon the credulous people? Be that as it may, the discovery of the deceased gentleman's body frightfully increased the public agitation; the corpse was carried in procession by seventy clergymen, and no one who valued his personal safety ventured to hint that the murder might probably not have been the work of the detested jesuits.

From the mere vulgar, the alarm and agitation soon spread to the better-informed classes, and at length it was moved in parliament that a solemn fast should be appointed, that the house should have all papers that were calculated to throw a light upon the horrid plot, that all known papists should be ordered to quit London, and all unknown or suspicious persons forbidden to present themselves at court, and that the train bands of London and Westminster should be kept in instant readiness for action! The miscreant whose falsehoods had raised all this alarm and anxiety was thanked by parliament and recommended to the favour of the king, who conferred upon him a pension of twelve hundred pounds per annum, and a residence in Whitehall. Such reward bestowed upon such a character and for such 'public services' naturally produced a rival for public favour, and a fellow named William Bedloe now made his appearance in the character of informer. He was of even lower origin and more infamous note than Oates, having been repeatedly convicted of theft. Being at Bristol and in a state of destitution, he at his own request was arrested and sent to London. When examined before the council he stated that he had seen the body of the murdered sir Edmondbury Godfrey at the then residence of the queen, Somerset-house, and that a servant of the lord Bellasis had offered him four thousand pounds to carry it off and conceal it! Improbable as the tale was it was greedily received, and the ruffians, Oates and Bedloe, finding that credit was given to whatever they chose to assert, now ventured a step farther, and accused the queen of being an accomplice in all the evil doings and designs of the jesuits. The house of commons, to its great disgrace, addressed the king in support of this scandalous attack upon his already but too unhappy queen; but the lords, with better judgement and more manly feeling, reject

ed the accusation with the utter contempt which it merited.

The conjunction of two such intrepid perjurers as Oates and Bedloe was ominous indeed to the unfortunate persons whom they accused; and it is but little to the credit of the public men of that day that they did not interfere to prevent any prisoner being tried upon their evidence as to the fabled plot, until the public mind should have been allowed a reasonable time in which to recover from its heat and exacerbation. No such delay was even proposed, and while cunning was still triumphant and credulity still agape, Edward Coleman, the duke of York's secretary, was put upon his trial. Here, as before the council, Oates and Bedloe, though inconsistent with each other, and each with himself, yet agreed in their main statements, that Coleman had not only agreed to the assassination of the king but had even, as his reward for so doing, received a commission, signed by the superior of the jesuits, appointing him papal secretary of state of these kingdoms. Coleman, who behaved with equal modesty and firmness, utterly denied all the guilt that was laid to his charge. But he could not prove a negative, and his mere denial availed nothing against the positive swearing of the informers. He was condemned to death; and then several members of both houses of parliament offered to interpose to procure him the king's pardon on condition that he would make a full confession. But the unfortunate gentleman was innocent, and was far too high-minded to save his life by falsely accusing himself and others. He still firmly denied his guilt, and, to the eternal disgrace of Charles, was executed.

The blood of Coleman satiated neither the informers nor the public. Pickering, Grove, and Ireland were next put upon their trial, condemned and executed. That they were innocent we have no doubt; but they were jesuits, and that was sufficient to blunt all sympathy with their fate.

Hill, Green, and Berry were now charged with being the actual murderers of sir Edmondbury Godfrey. In this case the information, which was laid by Bedloe, was wholly irreconcileable with the evidence which was given by a fellow named Prance, and there was good evidence that was at variance with them both. But the prisoners were found guilty and executed, all three in their dying moments professing their innocence. As Berry was a protestant this made some impression upon the minds of the more reasonable, but the public mind was not even prepared to be disabused.

Whitbread, provincial of the jesuits, and Gavan, Fenwick, Turner, and Harcourt, brethren of the same order, were next tried. In addition to Oates and Bedloe, a wretch named Dugdale appeared against these prisoners, and, in addition to and in support of the incredible and monstrous lies of Oates and Bedloe, he deliberately swore that there were two hundred thousand papists at that very moment ready to take arms. And yet the alleged leaders and instigators of this huge army of armed and malignant papists were daily being brought to trial, condemned, and butchered, under the guard of a score or two constables! But reasoning could not possibly be of any avail in that veritable reign of terror, for even direct and sworn evidence in favour of accused persons was treated with contempt. For instance, on this very trial sixteen witnesses proved that they and Oates were together in the seminary of St. Omer's on the very day in which that ruffian's testimony had stated him to have been in London. But these witnesses were papists, their evidence received not the slightest attention, and the unfortunate prisoners were condemned and executed, protesting in their last moments their entire innocence of the crimes laid to their charge.

Sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, was now brought to trial, but was more fortunate than the persons previously accused. The vile informers, it is true, swore with their accustomed and dauntless fluency; but to have convicted sir George would, under all the circumstances of the case, have inferred the guilt of the queen. The judge and jury were probably apprehensive that even the culpable and cruel indolence of Charles would not allow the prevalent villany to proceed to that extent, and sir George was honourably acquitted.

A. D. 1672.—For upwards of two years the horrible falsehoods of Oates had deluded the mind of the public, and shed the blood of the innocent. But he and his abominable associate were not yet weary of evil doing. Hitherto the victims had been chiefly priests and scholars, to whose title of jesuits the vulgar attributed every thing that was most dangerous and terrible. But as if to show that rank the most eminent and age the most reverend were as worthless in their eyes as the piety and learning of sincere, however erroneous, religionists, the informing miscreants now brought forward a last victim in the person of the earl of Stafford. The fiercest wild beast is not fiercer or more utterly unreasoning than a deluded and enraged multitude. The cry against the venerable earl of Stafford was even louder than it had been against the former prisoners. Oates positively swore that he saw one of the jesuits who had lately been condemned, Fenwick, deliver to the earl of Stafford a commission signed by the general of the jesuits, constituting the earl paymaster-general of the jesuit or papal army. It was in vain that the venerable nobleman protested his innocence, and pointed out the improbability of his feeble age being concerned in plots; he was condemned to be hanged and quartered. Charles changed the sentence to beheading, and the earl suffered accordingly upon Tower-hill.

The parliament, which had now sat seventeen years, was dissolved, but a new one was called, which will ever be memorable on account of one law which it passed; we mean the invaluable *habeas corpus* act. By this act the gaoler who is summoned must have or produce the body of a prisoner in court and certify the cause of his detention, within three days if within

twenty miles of the judge, and so on for greater distances; no prisoner to be sent to prison beyond sea; every prisoner to be indicted the first term after commitment and tried in the next term, and no man to be recommitted for the same offence after being enlarged by court; heavy penalties upon any judge refusing any prisoner his writ of *habeas corpus*. Human wisdom could scarcely devise a more effectual safeguard to the subject than this act. On the other hand, it can never be perilous to the throne, because in times of sedition or violence parliament can suspend the execution of this act for a short and definite time, at the end of which time this great safeguard of our liberties returns to its full force.

The criminal and disgraceful complaisance with which the government had allowed the perjured informers to flourish unchecked, caused a new plot-discoverer to present himself in the person of a worthy, named Dangerfield, whose previous life had been diversified by experience of the pillory, the scourge, the branding iron, and a residence, as a convict, in the plantations. This fellow, in conjunction with a midwife of bad character, named Collier, came forward to denounce a plot, of which he alleged the existence, for removing the king and the royal family and setting up a new form of government. This fellow took his information direct to the king and the duke of York, who weakly, if we must not rather say wickedly, supplied him with money, and thus patronised and encouraged him in his evil course. Determined to make the most of his fortune, Dangerfield deposited some writings of a most seditious character in the house of a military officer named Mansel. Having so placed the papers that they were certain to be discovered by any one searching the apartments, Dangerfield, without saying a word about the papers, went to the custom-house and sent officers to Mansel's to search for smuggled goods. There were no such goods there, as Dangerfield well knew, but, exactly as he had anticipated, the officers found the concealed papers, examined them, and felt it to be their duty to lay them before the council. Either Dangerfield was already suspected, or something in the papers themselves indicated forgery; for the council were so convinced that the documents were Dangerfield's own production, that they issued an order that a strict search should immediately be made in all places which he had been known to frequent. In the course of the search the house of the midwife Collier was visited, and there, concealed in a meal-tub, the officers found a paper which contained the whole scheme of the conspiracy to the most minute particulars. Upon this discovery the wretch Dangerfield was sent to Newgate, where he made a 'confession,' which probably was as false as the former statement that he had made, for he now represented that to the lying tale he had formerly told he had been instigated by the countess of Powis, the earl of Castlemain, and others. And though it was so much more probable that the miscreant had all along lied from his own invention and in his own greediness of gain, the earl and countess were actually sent to the Tower.

What has always made us attach deep blame and disgrace to Charles's conduct in allowing so many innocent lives to be sacrificed to the venal cruelty of informers, is the fact, that while the informers attributed plots to the Jesuits, and stated the object of those plots to be the setting up of the papist duke of York in the place of the king, Charles knew, must necessarily have known, that the Jesuits were a mere handful as compared to the protestants, and that the very last man whom either protestant or papist throughout England would have substituted for the easy, though profligate Charles, was James, duke of York. In Scotland James had made himself perfectly hated, and both the English parliament and the English people every year gave new and stronger proof of the dread with which they contemplated even the possibility of the accession of James. In the war with the Dutch he had shown himself a brave and skilful officer, but his gloomy temper, his stern unsparing disposition, and the bigotry which he was universally known to possess, made courage and military conduct, however admirable in other men, in him only two terrors the more. Charles well knew this; so well, that when James one day warned him against exposing himself too much while so many plots and rumours of plots disturbed the general mind, Charles, as gaily as truly replied 'Tilly vally, James! There be none so silly as to shoot me in order to make you king!' This unpopularity of James led to more than one attempt on the part of the house of commons to procure the exclusion of him from the throne on the ground of his being a papist. The new parliament had scarcely sat a week before it renewed a bill, termed the exclusion bill, which the former house had voted, but which had not passed the upper house at the time of the dissolution of parliament. The party of the duke, though influential, was numerically weak out of doors; for besides those who hated him as a papist, and dreaded him as a stern disciplinarian, there were great numbers who hoped that the exclusion of the duke would procure the throne for the duke of Monmouth, the handsome and highly popular son of the king by one of his numerous mistresses named Lucy Waters. But the influence of the king was powerful in the house, and after a long debate, not too temperately conducted upon either side, the exclusion bill was thrown out by rather a considerable majority.

With the informers and 'plots,' libellous pamphlets had increased in number to an extent that could scarcely be credited. Each party seemed to think that the hardest words and the most severe imputations were only too mild for its opponents, and the hired libeller now vied in industry and importance with the venal and perjured informer.

An idle and profligate fellow, a sort of led captain in the pay of the king's profli-

gate mistress, the duchess of Portsmouth, was employed to procure her the piquant libels which were occasionally published upon the king and the duke of York. This man, not finding the existent libels sufficiently abusive, determined to surpass them, and he called to his aid a Scotchman named Everard. Between them they composed a most rancorous and scurrilous libel, which Fitzharris hastened to get printed. But the Scotchman, Everard, imagined that his Irish fellow-libeller, as a hanger-on of the king's mistress, could have had no possible motive for employing him but the wish to betray him. Indignant at the supposed design, Everard went and laid information before sir William Waller, a justice of the peace, and Fitzharris was apprehended with a copy of the libel actually in his possession. Finding himself placed in considerable peril of the pillory, Fitzharris, who, be it observed, *was an Irish papist*, turned round upon the court, and stated, not without some appearance of truth, that he had been employed by the court to write a libel so foul and violent, that the exclusion party, to whom it would be attributed, would be injured in the estimation of all people of sober judgement. In order to render this tale still more palatable to the exclusionists, Fitzharris added to it that a new popish plot, more terrible than any former one, was in agitation under the auspices of the duke of York, whom he also accused of being one of the contrivers of the murder of sir Edmondbury Godfrey. The king sent Fitzharris to prison; the commons, instead of looking with contempt upon the whole affair, voted that this hired libeller and led captain to a court harlot should be *impeached!* It was so obvious that the real intention of the commons was to screen Fitzharris from punishment altogether, that the lords very properly rejected the impeachment. An angry feeling sprang up between the two houses; and the king, to prevent the dispute from proceeding to any dangerous length, went down and dissolved parliament, with the fixed determination of never calling another.

Charles now, in fact, ruled with all the power and with not a little of the tyranny of an absolute monarch. He encouraged spies and informers, and imprisoned those who ventured to complain of his measures in a manner not only contrary to his former temper but almost designed, as was well remarked at the time, to reconcile the people to the prospect of his brother's accession by making his own rule too grievous to be endured. To those who held high church principles, and professed his doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, all the royal favour was shown; while the presbyterians and other sturdy opposers of his arbitrary measures were in numerous cases deprived of their places and employments, and in some cases imprisoned into the bargain. The city of London, so powerful and so factious during the reign of Charles I., was now made to feel the king's resentment, being, for its leadership of the popular party, deprived of its charter, which was not restored until an abject submission had been made, and a most vexatious right conceded to the crown of interfering in the election of the city magistrates. Fitzharris, who had been so warmly sided with by the exclusionists, and who had been the chief cause of Charles's angry and final dissolution of parliament, was now by the king's order brought to trial before a jury, and, being pronounced guilty, executed! An abominable stretch of power; for however worthless and debauched a fellow he might be, his crime, venal as it was, amounted only to libellous writing, for even the *publication* was scarcely so much his own act as it was the act of the officers who arrested him.

The popular party now found the poisoned chalice commended to their own lips. Hitherto, while it seemed not improbable that the parliament and the 'patriots' would obtain power over the king, the great and degraded host of spies and informers had aimed at the ruin of 'papists' and 'jesuits.' But now that the king had as boldly as arbitrarily dispensed with even the shadow of parliamentary aid, and ruled as independently and almost as arbitrarily as an eastern prince, the spies and informers turned upon those who had formerly encouraged if not actually employed them, and 'presbyterian' was now pretty nearly as dangerous a title as 'papist' had been; 'protestant preacher' scarcely more safe than 'jesuit' had been heretofore. Charles and his ministry encouraged the informers, and the system of perjury lost none of its infamy and vileness; it merely aimed at a different class of victims.

A joiner of London, by name Stephen College, had made himself especially conspicuous during the heats and alarms of the anti-popery crisis. Loud of tongue, and somewhat weak of brain, this man, with more zeal than knowledge, had taken upon himself to advocate protestantism, which needed none of his aid, and to oppose popery, which such opposition as his could not possibly affect. He had attended the city members to Oxford armed with pistols and sword, had been in the habit of railing against the king, the duke of York and papacy, and, rather, in derision than in distinction, had acquired the title of the protestant joiner. This weak man, whose flights were fitting matter for the ministering of the physician rather than for the interference of the law, was selected by the ministry as a fit subject of whom to make an example. He was indicted and found guilty of sedition, and, to the disgrace of both king and ministers, executed.

A. D. 1683.—The increasing power and severity of Charles and his ministry struck a panic throughout the nation. The manner in which the city of London had been deprived of its charter, and the humiliating terms upon which that once powerful corporation had got its charter restored, soon caused the other corporations to surrender their charters voluntarily; and

not only were considerable sums extorted for their restoration, but the king took care to reserve in his own hands the power of appointing to all offices of trust and profit. That patronage which was thus discreditably obtained was so enormous, that the power of the crown became overwhelmingly vast, and, with but a few exceptions, men agreed that resistance, even if justifiable, would now be useless and hopeless.

But there was a party of malcontents, weak as to number, but vigorous, influential, and bold; and absolute as Charles was, and unassailable as to most people his power must have seemed, his life, even, was, at this time, in a most imminent peril.

The soul of the malcontents was the earl of Shaftesbury. That highly-gifted but turbulent and plot-loving person had engaged with the duke of Monmouth, the earl of Macclesfield, lord William Russell, and several other noblemen, to rise nominally in favour of freedom, but really to dethrone Charles: exclude, if not slay, James; and place the crown upon the head of the duke of Monmouth, the king's natural son. The earl of Macclesfield, lord Brandon and others, were to effect a rising in Cheshire and Lancashire; sir Francis Drake, sir Francis Rowles, and sir William Courtney were induced by lord William Russell to head the insurrection in Devon, and generally in the west; and Shaftesbury aided by Ferguson, a preacher of the independents, undertook to effect a general rising in the city of London, where the discontent and disloyalty, owing to the affair of the charter, were at the greatest height. Shaftesbury urged on the plot with all his energy, and it is most probable that the kingdom would have been plunged into all the confusion and horror of a civil war if the extreme eagerness of Shaftesbury had not been counteracted by the extreme caution of lord William Russell, who, when everything was nearly ready for an outbreak, urged the duke of Monmouth to postpone the enterprise until a more favourable opportunity. The usually enterprising and turbulent Shaftesbury now became so prostrated by a sense of the danger in which he was placed by this postponement, that he abandoned his house and endeavoured to induce the Londoners to rise without waiting for the tardy cooperation of the provinces; but all his endeavours were unavailing, and in his despair he fled to Holland, where he soon afterwards died broken-hearted and in poverty.

The conspirators being thus freed from the turbulent Shaftesbury, formed a committee of six; Hampden, grandson to the Hampden who made so much opposition to the ship-money, Algernon Sidney, Howard, Essex, and lord William Russell: Monmouth being their grand leader and centre of correspondence, his chief adviser, however, being the duke of Argyle. There were numerous subordinates in this conspiracy; and it is affirmed, by the friends of the memory of lord William Russell, that he and the leaders did not encourage, and were not even perfectly cognizant of, the more atrocious part of the plan of those conspirators who had agreed to assassinate the king on his way to Newmarket. We confess that it appears to us to be making a large demand indeed upon our credulity to suppose anything of the kind, but we have not space to go into the arguments which might be adduced in favour of the supposition that, however willing the chief conspirators might be to leave the horrible crime of assassination to subordinates, they were at least quite willing that such crime should be perpetrated to the profit of their main design.

The plan of the conspirators against the life of the king was to secrete themselves on a farm belonging to one of them, the Rye-house, situated on the road to Newmarket, overturn a cart there to obstruct the royal carriage, and then deliberately fire upon the king. After much consultation it was determined to carry this dastardly plot into execution on the king's return from Newmarket. About a week before the time at which his majesty was to do so, the house in which he resided at Newmarket took fire, and he was obliged to remove to London. This circumstance would merely have postponed the 'fate' of his majesty, but in the course of the time that was thus lost to the conspirators, one of their number, named Keiling, found himself in danger of prosecution for having arrested the lord mayor of London, and to save himself from the consequences he waited upon the king's ministers and revealed all that he knew of the plot against the king, and colonel Rumsey and a lawyer named West joined him in becoming king's evidence. Monmouth and Grey escaped, lord William Russell was apprehended and sent to the Tower, as, shortly afterwards, were Essex, Sidney, and Hampden, together with lord Howard, who was found in a chimney. That ignoble nobleman, though fully as guilty as the rest, immediately agreed to save his own recreant life by becoming evidence against his former associates, who seemed more indignant and disgusted at that treachery than affected by the peril in which it placed them.

Colonel Walcot, an old republican officer, together with Stone and Rouse, were first put upon trial, and condemned upon the evidence of their former associates, colonel Rumsey and the lawyer West.

Lord William Russell and Algernon Sidney were condemned chiefly on the evidence of lord Howard. In the case of Sidney, however, the evidence of Howard was most unconstitutionally eked out by construing as treasonable certain writings, merely speculative, though of republican tendency, which were seized at his house. Both Russell and Sidney were condemned and executed. Hampden was more fortunate, and escaped with a fine of forty thousand pounds. Holloway, a merchant of Bristol, who had been engaged in this dastardly conspiracy, escaped to the West Indies; and sir Thomas Armstrong, who was similarly situated, escaped to Holland. But

so eagerly vindictive had Charles and his ministry by this time been rendered by the numerous plots, real and pretended, that both of those persons were brought over to England and executed. Lord Essex would also probably have been executed, but being imprisoned in the Tower he there committed suicide by cutting his throat.

Judging from the severity with which Charles proceeded on this occasion, it is but reasonable to presume he would either have carried his despotism to a frightful pitch, or have fallen a victim to the equally unjustifiable violence of some malcontent. But his naturally fine constitution was now completely broken up by his long and furious course of dissipation, and a fit of apoplexy seized him, from which he was but partially recovered by bleeding: he expired in the fifty-fifth year of his age and the twenty-fifth of his reign.

Much might be said in dispraise of Charles, both as man and monarch; but impartial justice demands that we should make a great allowance for the unfavourable circumstances under which the best years of his youth and manhood were spent. Poverty for months, poverty so extreme that he and his followers were at times without a single coin and owed their very food to the kindness of their hosts, was occasionally followed by a temporary plenty; and his companions were, for the most part, precisely the persons to encourage him in every extravagance to which so wretchedly precarious a life was calculated to induce him. Even the cruelty and despotism of his latter years visibly had their chief cause in the political villany and violence of considerable bodies of his people. No such excuse can be made for his extravagant liberality to his numerous mistresses; and for the wholly cruel and mean treatment he bestowed upon his wife we know of no decorous epithet that is sufficiently severe.

That Charles was not *naturally* of a cruel, or even of a sufficiently severe turn, a remarkable proof is afforded by the story of a ruffian named Blood; a story so singular, that we think it necessary to give it by way of appendix to this reign. Blood, who had served in Ireland, had, or fancied that he had, considerable claims upon the government, and being refused satisfaction by the duke of Ormond, he actually waylaid and seized that nobleman on his return from an evening party in London, and would have hanged him but for the occurrence of a mere accident which enabled the duke to escape. A desperado of this sort could not fail to be in frequent trouble and distress; and he at length was reduced to such extreme straits, that with some of his associates he formed a plan for purloining the regalia from the jewel-house in the Tower. He contrived to ingratiate himself with the old couple who had charge of the valuable jewels, and took an opportunity to bind both the man and woman and make off with all the most valuable articles. Though fired at by the sentry, he got clear as far as Tower-hill, where he was apprehended after a desperate struggle. So enormous an outrage, it might have been anticipated, would be expiated only by the severest punishment; but the king not only forgave Blood, but even gave him a considerable annual pension to enable him to live without farther criminality. A rare proof of the native easiness of the king's temper! Though it must be added that the duke of Buckingham, who detested Ormond, was on that account supposed to have used his vast influence in favour of Blood.

CHAPTER LV.

The Reign of JAMES II.

A.D. 1685.—THE somewhat ostentatious manner in which the duke of York had been accustomed to go to mass, during the life of his brother, had been one great cause of the general dislike in which he was held. Even Charles, giddy and careless as he in general was, saw the imprudence of James's conduct, and significantly told him on one occasion that *he* had no desire to go upon his travels again, whatever James might wish. On ascending the throne, the first, very first, act of James was one of an honest but most imprudent bigotry. Incapable of reading the signs of the times, or fully prepared to dare the worst that those signs could portend, James immediately sent his agent, Caryl, to Rome, to apologise to the pope for the long and flagrant heresy of England, and to endeavour to procure the re-admission of the English people into the communion of the catholic church. The pope was either less blind or more politic than James, and returned him a very cool answer, implying that before he ventured upon so arduous an enterprise as that of changing the professed faith of nearly his entire people, he would do well to sit down and calculate the cost. Even this grave and sensible rebuke did not deter James from exerting himself, both by fear and favour, to make proselytes of his subjects. Hated as he already was, such conduct could not fail to encourage conspiracies against him, and, accordingly, he had not been long seated upon the throne, when he found a dangerous rival in the duke of Monmouth. This illegitimate son of Charles II. had obtained, from the easy nature of his father, a pardon for his share in the Rye-house plot, which was fatal to so many better men; but had received his pardon only on condition of perpetual residence abroad. He remained in Holland during the rest of his father's reign, but on the accession of James was dismissed by the prince of Orange. This dismissal was said to be at the direct solicitation of James, who bore a great hatred to Monmouth; if so, the act was as impolitic as it was mean. The duke now found refuge for a short time at Brussels, but here again the influence of James was brought to bear upon him; and Monmouth, now thoroughly exasperated, and relying upon the detestation in which James was held, resolved to make an attempt to oust him from the English throne. At this distance of time such a project on the part of

Monmouth seems perfectly insane; but it will seem far less so if we make due allowance for the widely-spread and intense hatred which the people bore to James, and for the great popularity of Monmouth, whom many people believed to be the legitimate son of Charles, it being commonly affirmed that Charles had privately married Lucy Waters, the duke's mother.

The duke of Argyle, who, as well as Monmouth, had escaped the consequences of the Rye-house plot, now agreed to aid him; it was intended that Argyle should raise Scotland, while Monmouth was to take the lead in the west of England.

Argyle promptly commenced his part of the affair by landing in Scotland, where he soon found himself at the head of an army of two thousand five hundred men. He issued manifestoes containing the usual mixture of truth and falsehood, but before his eloquence could procure him any considerable accession of force he was attacked by a powerful body of the king's troops. Argyle himself fought gallantly, and was severely wounded; but his troops soon gave way in every direction, and the duke was shortly afterwards seized, while standing up to his neck in a pool of water, and carried to Edinburgh. Here the authorities and populace, with the small spite of mean spirits, avenged themselves, by the infliction of every description of indignity, for the fright their brave though turbulent and imprudent prisoner had caused them. On his way to the place of execution he was jeered and insulted by the rabble; and the magistrates suspended to his neck a book containing an account of his former exploits. These insults, however, nothing affected the high spirit of Argyle, who contented himself with sarcastically telling his persecutors that he deemed it well that they had nothing worse to allege against his character. He suffered with the same composure.

Monmouth, in the meantime, with scarcely more than a hundred followers, landed on the coast of Dorsetshire; and we may judge of the greatness of his popularity from the fact, that though he landed with so slender a retinue, he assembled upwards of two thousand men in four days. As he proceeded to Taunton he increased his force to six thousand, and could have had double that number, only that he was obliged after the first few days to refuse all but such as could bring their own arms with them.

At Bridgewater, Wells, and Frome he was joined by great numbers of young men, the sons, chiefly, of the better sort of farmers; and such was the enthusiasm that was now excited on his behalf, that James began, and with good reason, to tremble for his throne. But Monmouth was essentially unequal to the vast enterprise that he had undertaken. Though he had much of his father's personal courage, he had still more of his father's levity and love of show and gaiety. At every town in which he arrived he spent precious time in the idle ceremony of being proclaimed king, and thus frittered away the enthusiasm and hopes of his own followers, while giving time to James to concentrate force enough to crush him at a blow. Nor did the error of Monmouth end here. Lord Gray was the especial favourite of the duke, and was *therefore* deemed the fittest man to be intrusted with the command of the insurgent cavalry; though it was well known that he was deficient in judgement, and strongly suspected that he was not overburdened with either courage or zeal. Fletcher of Saltoun, a brave and direct, though passionate and free-spoken man, strongly remonstrated with the duke upon this glaringly impolitic appointment, and finding his remonstrances productive of no effect, retired from the expedition in disgust. Even the loss of this zealous though stern friend did not move the duke, who continued his confidence to Gray,—to repent when repentance could be of no avail.

While Monmouth had been wasting very precious time in these idle mockeries of royal pomp, James and his friends had been far otherwise and more usefully employed. Six British regiments were recalled from Holland, and 3,000 regulars, with a vast number of militia, were sent, under Feversham and Churchill, to attack the rebels. The royal force took up its position at Sedgemoor near Bridgewater. They were, or seemed to be, so carelessly posted, that Monmouth determined to give them the attack. The first onset of the rebels was so enthusiastic that the royal infantry gave way. Monmouth was rather strong in cavalry, and a single good charge of that force would now have decided the day in his favour. But Gray fully confirmed all the suspicions of his cowardice, and, while all were loudly calling upon him to charge, he actually turned his horse's head and fled from the field, followed by the greater number of his men. Whatever were the previous errors of the royal commanders, they now amply atoned for them by the prompt and able manner in which they availed themselves of Monmouth's want of generalship and Gray's want of manhood. The rebels were charged in flank again and again, and being utterly unaided by their cavalry, were thrown into complete and irretrievable disorder, after a desperate fight of above three hours. It is due to the rebel troops to add, that the courage which they displayed was worthy of a better cause and better leaders. Rank after rank fell and died on the very spot on which they had fought; but commanded as they were, valour was thrown away and devotion merely another term for destruction.

But the real horrors of this insurrection only began when the battle was ended. Hundreds were slain in the pursuit; quarter, by the stern order of James, being invariably refused. A special commission was also issued for the trial of all who were taken prisoners, and judge Jeffreys and colonel Kirk, the latter a soldier of fortune who had served much among the Moors and become thoroughly brutalised, carried that commission into effect in a

manner which has rendered their names eternally detestable.

The terror which these brutally severe men inspired so quickened the zeal of the authorities, and afforded so much encouragement to informers, whether actuated by hate or hire, that the prisons all over England, but especially in the western counties, were speedily filled with unfortunate people of both sexes and of all ages. In some towns the prisoners were so numerous, that even the brutal ferocity of Jeffreys was wearied of trying in detail. Intimation was therefore given to great numbers of prisoners, that their only chance of mercy rested upon their pleading guilty; but all the unfortunate wretches who were thus beguiled into that plea were instantly and *en masse* sentenced to death by Jeffreys, who took care, too, that the sentence should speedily be executed.

The fate of one venerable lady excited great remark and commiseration even in that terrible time of general dismay and widely-spread suffering. The lady in question, Mrs. Gaunt, a person of some fortune, known loyalty, and excellent character, was induced by sheer humanity to give shelter to one of the fugitives from Sedgemoor. It being understood that the sheltered would be pardoned on condition of giving evidence against those who had dared to shelter them, this base and ungrateful man informed against his benefactress, who was inhumanly sentenced to death by Jeffreys, and actually executed.

Monmouth, whose rash enterprise and unjustifiable ambition had caused so much confusion and bloodshed, rode from the fatal field of Sedgemoor at so rapid a pace, that at about twenty miles' distance his horse fell dead beneath him. The duke had now of all his numerous followers but one left with him, a German nobleman. Monmouth being in a desolate part of the country, and at so considerable a distance from the scene of battle and bloodshed, entertained some hope that he might escape by means of disguise, and meeting with a poor shepherd, he gave the man some gold to exchange clothes with him. He and his German friend now filled their pockets with field peas, and, provided only with this wretched food, proceeded, towards nightfall, to conceal themselves among the tall fern which grew rankly and abundantly on the surrounding moors. But the pursuers and avengers of blood were not so far distant as the misguided duke supposed. A party of horse, having followed closely in his track, came up with the peasant with whom he had exchanged clothes, and from this man's information the duke was speedily discovered and dragged from his hiding-place. His miserable plight and the horrors of the fate that he but too correctly anticipated, had now so completely unmanned him, that he burst into an agony of tears, and in the most humble manner implored his captors to allow him to escape. But the reward offered for his apprehension was too tempting, and the dread of the king's anger too great, to be overcome by the unhappy captive's solicitations, and he was hurried to prison. Even now his clinging to life prevailed over the manifest dictates of common sense, and from his prison he sent letter after letter to the king, filled with the most abject entreaties to be allowed to live. The natural character of James and the stern severity with which he had punished the rebellion of the meaner offenders, might have warned Monmouth that these degrading submissions would avail him nothing. But, in fact, his own absurdly offensive manner during his brief period of apparent prosperity would have steeled the heart of a far more placable sovereign than James. Monmouth's proclamations had not stopped at calling upon the people of England to rebel against their undoubtedly rightful sovereign; they had in a manner, which would have been revolting if the very excess of its virulence had not rendered it absurd, vilified the personal character of James; and while thus offending him as a man, had at the same time offered him the still more unpardonable offence of attacking his religion. James had none of the magnanimity which in these circumstances of personal affront would have found an argument for pardoning the treason, in order to avoid even the appearance of punishing the personality; and from the moment that Monmouth was captured, his fate was irrevocably sealed.

Bad as Monmouth's conduct had been, it is not without contempt that we read that James, though determined not to spare him, allowed him to hope for mercy, and even granted him an interview. Admitted to the presence of the king, Monmouth was weak enough to renew in person the abject submissions and solicitations by which he had already degraded himself in writing. As he knelt and implored his life, James sternly handed him a paper. It contained an admission of his illegitimacy, and of the utter falsehood of the report that Lucy Waters had ever been married to Charles II. Monmouth signed the paper, and James then coldly told him that his repeated treasons rendered pardon altogether out of the question. The duke now at length perceived that hope was at an end, rose from his supplicant posture, and left the apartment with an assumed firmness in his step and an assumed scorn in his countenance.

When led to the scaffold Monmouth behaved with a degree of fortitude that could scarcely have been anticipated from his previous abjectness. Having learned that the executioner was the same who had beheaded lord William Russell, and who had put that nobleman to much agony, the duke gave the man some money, and good-humouredly warned him to be more expert in his business on the present occasion. The warning had an effect exactly opposite to what Monmouth intended. The man was so confused, that at the first blow he only wounded that sufferer's neck; and Monmouth, bleeding and ghastly with pain and terror, raised his head from the block. His look of agony still farther unnerved

the man, who made two more ineffectual strokes, then threw down the axe in despair and disgust. The reproaches and threats of the sheriff, however, caused him to resume his revolting task, which at two strokes more he completed, and James, duke of Monmouth, was a corpse. Monmouth was popular, and therefore his fate was deemed hard. But his treason was wholly unjustifiable, his pretended claim to the crown absurdly groundless; and pity is far less due to his memory than to that of the unfortunate people whom he deluded into treason by his rashness, and delivered to the gallows by his incapacity and obstinacy. Saying nothing of the vast numbers who fell in actual fight or in the subsequent pursuit, for their fate was at the least, comparatively, enviable, upwards of twenty were hanged by the military; and Jeffreys hanged eighty at Dorchester, and two hundred and fifty at Taunton, Wells, and Exeter. At other places still farther victims were made; and whipping, imprisonment, or ruinous fines were inflicted upon hundreds in every part of the kingdom. And all this misery, let us not forget, arose out of the rebellion and the fraudulent as well as absurd pretensions of the duke of Monmouth.

As though the civil dissensions of the kingdom had not been sufficiently injurious, the most furious animosities existed on the score of religion. The more James displayed his bigotry and his zeal for the re-establishment, or, at the least, the great encouragement and preference of popery, the more zealously was he opposed by the popular preachers, who lost no opportunity of impressing upon the people a deep sense of the evils which they might anticipate from a return to the papal system. The terrors and the blandishments which the king by turns employed caused many persons of lax conscience to affect to be converted to papacy. Dr. Sharpe, a protestant clergyman of London, distinguished himself by the just severity with which he denounced these time-servers. His majesty was so much annoyed and enraged at the doctor's sermons, that he issued an order to the bishop of London to suspend Sharpe from his clerical functions until farther notice. The bishop very properly refused to comply with this arbitrary and unconstitutional order. The king then determined to include the bishop in his punishment, and issued an ecclesiastical commission, giving to the seven persons to whom it was directed an unlimited power in matters clerical. Before the commissioners thus authorised both the bishop and Dr. Sharpe were summoned, and sentenced to be suspended during the king's pleasure.

Though a bigot, James was undoubtedly a sincere one. He readily believed that all argument would end in favour of popery, and that all sincere and teachable spirits would become papists if full latitude were given to teaching.

In this belief he now determined on a universal indulgence of conscience, and a formal declaration informed the people that all sectaries should have full indulgence, and that nonconformity was no longer a crime. He again, too, sent a message to Rome offering to reconcile his people to the papal power. But the earl of Castlemain, who was now employed, met with no more success than Caryl had met with at an earlier period of the king's reign. The pope understood governing better than James, and better understood the actual temper of the English people. He knew that much might, with the aid of time, be done in the way of undermining the supports of the protestant church; while the rash and arbitrary measures of James were calculated only to awaken the people to watchfulness and inspire them with a spirit of resistance.

Not even Rome could discourage James from prosecuting his rash measures. He encouraged the jesuits to erect colleges in various parts of the country; the catholic worship was celebrated not only openly but ostentatiously; and four catholic bishops, after having been publicly consecrated in the king's chapel, were sent to exercise their functions of vicars apostolical throughout the kingdom.

But the king was not unopposed. He recommended father Francis, a benedictine monk, to the university of Cambridge, for the degree of master of arts. The university replied by a petition, in which they prayed the king to excuse them upon the ground of the father's religion. An endeavour was then made to terrify the university by summoning the vice-chancellor before the high commission court; but both that functionary and his university were firm, and father Francis was refused his degrees.

The sister university of Oxford displayed the like conscientious and determined spirit. The presidency of Magdalen college becoming vacant, the king recommended for that lucrative and honourable situation a Dr. Farmer, who was a new and merely time-serving convert to papacy, and who, in other respects, was by no means the sort of character who would do honour to so high a preferment. The fellows respectfully but firmly refused to obey the king's mandate for the election of this man, and James showed his sense of the refusal by ejecting all but two of them from their fellowships.

A.D. 1688.—An increasing disaffection to the king was the inevitable consequence of his perseverance in this arbitrary course. But heedless alike of the murmurs of his own subjects and of the probable effect of those murmurs upon the minds of foreign princes, James issued a second declaration of liberty of conscience. As if to add insult to this evident blow at the established church, James ordered that this second declaration should be read by all clergymen at the conclusion of divine service. The dignitaries of the church of England now considered that farther endurance would argue rather lukewarmness for the church or gross personal timidity, than due respect to the sovereign, and they determined firmly, though temperately, to resist at this point.

Accordingly Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph, Kenn, bishop of Bath and Wells, Turner, bishop of Ely, Lake, bishop of Chichester, White, bishop of Peterborough, and Trelawney, bishop of Bristol, drew up a respectful memorial to the king, in which they stated that their conscientious respect to the protestant religion as by law established would not allow them and their clergy to yield obedience to his mandate. The king treated this petition as something approaching to a treasonable denial of his rights. The archbishops and bishops were summoned before him at the council, and he sternly asked them if they ventured to avow their petition. The question remained for some time unanswered; but at length the prelates replied in the affirmative, and were immediately, on their declining to give bail, committed to the Tower on the charge of having uttered a seditious libel.

On the twenty-ninth of June in this year the trial of the bishops took place; and as it was evident that in defending the church the prelates were also, and at a most important crisis, boldly standing forward as the champions of the whole nation, the proceedings were watched with a most intense interest by men of every rank, and, save a few bigoted or interested papists, by men of every shade of religious opinion. The lawyers on either side exerted themselves greatly and ably; and two of the judges, Powel and Holloway, plainly declared their opinion to be in favour of the bishops. The jury, however, even now had grave doubts, and remained in deliberation during the entire night. On the following morning Westminster-hall was literally crowded with spectators anxious to know the result, and when the jury appeared and returned a verdict of 'Not guilty,' a mighty cheer arose within the hall, was taken up by the crowds outside, and passed from street to street, from town to country, and from village to village. James was at the time dining with lord Faversham in the camp at Hounslow, ten miles from London. The cheers of the people reached even to this distance, and were re-echoed by the soldiers with a heartiness and loudness that actually alarmed James, who eagerly enquired what that noise could mean.

'It is nothing, sire,' replied one of the attendants, 'but the soldiers shouting at the acquittal of the bishops.'

'And do you call *that* nothing!' replied James: 'but it shall be all the worse for them all.'

The shouts of the soldiers at the failure of James's arbitrary attempt against the bishops was, indeed, an ominous sign of the times. His efforts for Rome had been repudiated and discouraged by Rome; and now even his very soldiery, upon whom alone he could rely for strength, testified their sympathy with the popular cause. But the infatuated monarch did not even yet know the full extent of his peril. Many of the leading men of the kingdom were in close though cautious correspondence with a foreign potentate, and the most extensive and formidable preparations were being made to hurl James from a throne which he had so signally proved himself unworthy to fill.

Mary, eldest daughter of James, was married to William, prince of Orange, who was at once the subtle and profound politician and the accomplished and tried soldier. To this able and protestant prince the malcontents of England, who now, through James's incurable infatuation, included all that was best and most honourable as well as most influential of the nation, turned their eyes for deliverance. He had long been aware of the discontents that existed in England, but kept up an appearance of perfect amity with the king, and even in his correspondence with the leading men of the opposition warily avoided committing himself too far, and affected to dissuade them from proceeding to extremities against their sovereign. But the ferment occasioned by the affair of the bishops encouraged him to throw off the mask; he had long been making preparations for such a crisis, and he now resolved to act. He had his preparations so complete, indeed, that in a short time after the acquittal of the bishops, he dropped down the canals and rivers from Nimeguen with a well-stored fleet of five hundred vessels and an army of upwards of fourteen thousand men. As all William's preparations had been made on pretext of an intended invasion of France, he actually landed in England, at Torbay, without having excited the slightest alarm in the mind of James.

William now marched his army to Exeter and issued proclamations, in which he invited the people to aid him in delivering them from the tyranny under which they groaned; but such a deep and general terror had been struck into that neighbourhood by the awful scenes that had followed the affair of Monmouth, that even the numerous and well-appointed force of William encouraged but few volunteers to join him. Ten days elapsed, and William, contrasting the apathy of the people with the enthusiastic invitations he had received from many of the leading men of the country, began to despair, and even to consult with his officers on the propriety of reimbarking, and leaving so faithless a gentry and so apathetic a populace to endure the miseries which they dared not rise against. But at this critical moment he was joined by some men of great influence and note; his arrival and his force became generally known, and multitudes of all ranks now declared in his favour.

The movement once commenced, the revolution was virtually accomplished. Even the most favoured and confidential servants of James now abandoned him; and whatever might have been the faults of the unfortunate king, it is impossible not to feel deep disgust at the unnatural and ungrateful conduct of some of those who now coldly abandoned him in the moment of his deepest perplexity and need. Lord Churchill, for instance, afterwards duke of Marlborough, and undoubtedly one of the greatest generals England has ever possessed, acted upon this occasion with a most

scandalous ingratitude. Originally only a page in the royal household, he had by the king's favour been raised to high command and lucrative honours. But now when his talents and his sword were most needed by the king, he not only deserted him, but also influenced several other leading characters to desert with him, including the duke of Grafton, an illegitimate son of Charles II.

But the most shameful desertion, and that which the most deeply pained and disgusted the unfortunate king, was that of the princess Anne, who had ever been his most favoured and, seemingly, his most attached daughter. But this illustrious lady, and her husband the prince of Denmark, now joined the rest in deserting the king, who in his too tardy sense of his helpless situation passionately exclaimed, 'God help me! Even my own children desert me now.'

Unable to rely upon his troops, seeing only enraged enemies among all ranks of his subjects, and so deserted by his court that he had scarcely the necessary personal attendance, he sent the queen, who had recently been confined of a son, over to Calais; and then, with only one attendant, sir Edward Hales, a new convert to popery, whose fidelity to his unhappy master cannot be too highly applauded, he secretly left London, intending to follow the queen to France. He was recognised and stopped by the mob, but being confined at Rochester he was so carelessly guarded that he was able—probably from secret orders given by William, whom his detention would have embarrassed—to escape with his natural son the duke of Berwick, and they arrived safely in France. He was well received by the French court, and encouraged to persevere in the intention he possessed of at least making an endeavour to reconquer his kingdom.

But that kingdom had finally rejected him, and was even at that moment engaged in discussing the means of erecting a secure and free government upon the ruins of his most unwise, gratuitous, and absurd despotism.

CHAPTER LVI.

The Reign of WILLIAM III.

A. D. 1689.—THE most influential members of both houses of parliament, the privy council, with the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord mayor, and other leading men, now debated upon the course that ought to be taken. King James was alive; he had not formally resigned his throne; no actual hostilities had taken place between him and his people, nor had he by arms or by law been formally deposed. But he had fled from his kingdom at the mere appearance of an invader, and on the mere, however well-founded, assumption of the hostility of his people and their concert with the invading power. A clearer case of constructive abdication it would not be easy to conceive, and both houses of parliament at once proceeded to vote that the king had abdicated.

But another and more difficult point now remained for consideration. Taking the king's abdication to be undisputed—who was to succeed him? Could he, because weary of the throne or unable to maintain himself upon it, *cut off the entail of the throne?* His queen was recently delivered of a son; that son, by the well-known English law of succession, had right of inheritance prior to the princesses; ought he not, then, to be made king, and a regency appointed? But, if so, would not the paternity of James enable him to continue his despotism through his son when the latter should attain his majority? The point was a most important one, and as difficult of solution as it was important; but we have ever been of opinion that the leading statesmen of that day decided upon it very much in the spirit of the son of Philip, who cut the Gordian knot which he found himself unable to untie. The revolution was undoubtedly a necessary one, for James's tyranny was great and insensate; and it was a glorious one, inasmuch as it was accomplished without bloodshed. But these considerations, important as they are, must not prevent us from denouncing the injustice with which the leading men of England, finding themselves in great and grievous difficulty how to reconcile their own liberties and the rights of the infant son of the abdicated king, pronounced that son *supposititious!* The most ridiculous tales were told and credited; it was even averred that the queen had never been pregnant at all, but that the child who was now pronounced supposititious had been conveyed to the apartments of the queen from those of its real mother in a warming pan! But when men have determined upon injustice any pretext will serve their turn. The young prince, then, was pronounced illegitimate, and the throne being vacant, it was then proposed to raise the princess of Orange, James's eldest daughter, to the throne as her hereditary right. But to this course there was an insuperable and unexpected obstacle. The high and stern ambition of the prince of Orange forbade him, in his own coarse but expressive phrase, 'to accept of a kingdom which he was to hold only by his wife's apron strings.' He would either have the crown conferred upon himself, or he would return to his own country and leave the English to settle their own difficulties as they best might; and accordingly the crown was settled upon William and Mary and their heirs, the administration of affairs being vested in William alone.

Though the declaration of toleration issued by James had given such deep and general offence, it had done so only as it indicated the desire of James to deprive both the church of England and the dissenter of security from the inroads of papacy. Presuming from this fact that toleration would not in itself be disagreeable to the nation, William commenced his reign by an attempt to repeal the laws that commanded uniformity of worship. But the English, as has well been remarked, were 'more ready to examine the commands of their superiors than to obey them;' and

William, although looked upon as the deliverer of the nation, could only so far succeed in this design, as to procure toleration for such dissenters as should hold no private conventicles and should take the oaths of allegiance.

The attention of William, however, was very speedily called from the regulation of his new kingdom to the measures necessary for its preservation. James, as we have said, was received in France with great friendship; and Ireland, mainly catholic, still remained true to him. Having assembled all the force he could, therefore, James determined to make Ireland his *point d'appui*, and, embarking at Brest, he landed at the port of Kinsale on May 22, 1689. Here everything tended to flatter his hopes. His progress to Dublin was a sort of triumph. Tyrconnel, the lord-lieutenant, received him with loyal warmth and respect; the old army was not merely faithful but zealous, and was very easily increased by new levies to the imposing force of forty thousand men.

Some few towns in Ireland, being chiefly inhabited by protestants, had declared for king William, and among these was Derry, or Londonderry, and to this town James at once proceeded to lay siege. The military authorities would probably have been glad to have delivered the place up to their lawful sovereign; but a clergyman, Mr. George Walker, placed himself at the head of the protestant inhabitants of the town, and worked up their minds to such a pitch of enthusiasm, that they resolved to hold out the place, until it should be relieved by William, or perish in the attempt. The enthusiasm spread to the very lowest and weakest of the population; and though famine and fever made fearful ravages, and such loathsome objects as cats and rats became coveted for food, the besieged still held out. This devotion was at length rewarded. A store-ship, heavily laden with provision, broke the boom which had been laid across the river, and the famished inhabitants of Derry received at once an abundant supply of provisions and a most welcome addition to their garrison of bale and fresh men. James during this obstinate siege had lost nine thousand of his troops, and as the aid now thrown into the town rendered his success more unlikely than ever, he withdrew his army in the night, and prepared to meet William, who in person was about to attack him.

A.D. 1690.—The hostile armies came in sight of each other upon the opposite sides of the river Boyne, which might easily have been forded but for ditches and old houses which rendered the banks defensible. To this facility of ambush, in fact, the life of William very nearly became a sacrifice. As he rode out along his lines to reconnoitre his opponents and determine upon his plan of battle, a cannon was secretly pointed at him, and fired with such good aim that he was wounded in the shoulder, several of his staff being killed by his side.

On the following morning William commenced operations by cannonading the masking houses from which he had suffered so much annoyance, and then he led over his army in three divisions. They crossed the river without any considerable loss, formed in good order on the opposite side and an obstinate battle ensued. The Irish, as well as their French and Swiss allies, fought well and zealously, but they were inferior in cavalry; and the furious charges of William's cavalry, led on by himself, at length caused the Irish to retreat, and the merely mercenary Swiss and French very speedily followed. Perhaps the victory thus gained by William was in no slight degree owing to the fact of his having personally led on his troops, who thus were inspired with a zeal and courage which James should have lent to his troops by a similar personal devotion and daring. But though James's personal courage was beyond all question, and had been signally shown during the Dutch war in the reign of his brother, he on this occasion allowed the prudence of the sovereign to outweigh the impulses of the soldier. Posted on the hill of Dunmore, which commanded the scene of action, he gazed upon the eventful battle without even detaching a squadron of the horse which surrounded him to aid in repulsing the terrible cavalry charges of William. The defeat of the Irish army was as complete as might have been anticipated from this very opposite conduct of the opposing leaders. Of James's troops nearly fifteen hundred were killed and wounded, while William lost barely a third of that number. But he sustained a heavy loss indeed in the death of the brave and able duke of Schomberg, who was shot as he crossed the river, cheering on his men.

A.D. 1691.—Disastrous as the battle of the Boyne had proved to James, it did not altogether destroy his hopes. By great exertions, he got an army again into condition for service, and it was now committed to the leadership of General St. Ruth, a man of known gallantry and conduct. This army was met by that of the English at Aughrim; and the boggy nature of the ground in which St. Ruth had taken up an admirable position enabled him to repulse the English with great loss in several charges. But the English, though galled and weakened, returned to the charge with inflexible resolution, and St. Ruth being killed by a cannon-ball, his men fell into disorder, and retreated to Limerick with the loss of upwards of five thousand of their number.

William now proceeded to besiege Limerick, the garrison of which city, aided by the troops who had escaped from Aughrim, made a gallant and obstinate defence; but the English gained ground so rapidly that, to avoid the horrors which must have resulted from the place being taken by assault, the Irish leaders demanded a parley. William was neither bigoted nor cruel, and he offered no objection to the terms on which the garrison proposed to surrender. These terms were, that the catholics of Ireland should have that freedom of religion

which they had enjoyed under Charles II., and that all Irish persons should be at liberty to remove with their families and property to any part of the world, excepting England and Scotland. Above fourteen thousand availed themselves of this latter stipulation, and were conveyed to France at the expense of the English government.

A.D. 1692.—William aspired to the distinction of being head of the protestant interest in Europe: hence the country was almost perpetually engaged in continental wars; and if it were not absolutely necessary to throw the energies of the English nation into the scale, it suited the king's warlike disposition; for though he was by no means uniformly successful at the head of his troops, he possessed the necessary courage and fortitude, and was beyond all doubt a superior military commander. We shall not, however, enter the arena of his warlike achievements, as general of the allied armies, in the long and arduous struggle against the power and restless ambition of Louis XIV., but keep our attention fixed on those matters which more exclusively refer to England. Among these was the celebrated victory off La Hogue gained by the English and Dutch fleets, over the French. The latter consisted of sixty-three ships, and the confederate fleet of ninety-nine; but scarce one half could come to an engagement. The French fleet was entirely defeated, and driven to their own coast; and at La Hogue and other places, no less than twenty-one of their largest men-of-war were destroyed, within two or three days after the battle. Among the rest, the French admiral's ship, the *Rising Sun*, was set on fire, within sight of the army that was to have made a descent upon England. Not a single ship was lost on the part of the English. At this time William was in Holland; but as soon as the fleet arrived at Spithead, the queen sent 30,000*l.* to be distributed among the sailors, and gold medals for the officers, in acknowledgment for this splendid and timely victory.

With the celebrated treaty of Limerick perished the last hope of James to regain his English dominion by the aid of Ireland. The king of France allowed him a considerable pension, and his daughter and English friends occasionally aided him to a considerable amount. He passed his time in study, in charity, and in religious duties; and even the poor monks of La Trappe, to whom he paid frequent visits, confessed themselves edified by the mildness of his manners and the humility of his sentiments. We especially dwell upon this behaviour of James, not only because it shows in a strong point of view how bad a king a good man may be; in other words, how much of a peculiar ability must be added to the greatest and best virtues of a private man to prevent a king from failing, to his own and his people's vast injury, in the fulfilment of the duties of the throne, but also because it goes to refute a cruel calumny which but too many historians have joined in perpetuating upon the memory of James.

Excited as men's minds were by the revolution, what could be more probable than that bigoted and ignorant admirers of the expelled James should resort to any means, however wicked, to assail William upon what they, as being still loyal to the absent king, must have viewed as a guiltily usurped throne? The dastardly crime of assassination was resorted to against William; and the attempt has, without adequate proof, been attributed to the suggestion of James. But, whether as man or monarch, the general character of his life is opposed to the probability of this vile imputation.* Even in his earlier days he would have resorted to open force, not to dastardly treachery. And after the treaty of Limerick had deprived him of all reasonable hope of recovering his kingdom, his mind evidently became impressed with a deep sense of the worthlessness of worldly prosperity and greatness. He became more a monk in spirit than many were who wore the monkish cowl; and so far, we think, was he from being willing to remove his successful rival by the hand of the assassin, that it may be doubtful whether he did not deem the greatness of that rival far more in the light of a curse than in that of a blessing.

James survived the extinction of his kingly hopes rather more than seven years. His ascetic way of life, acting upon a frame much enfeebled by previous struggles and chagrins, threw him into a painful and tedious disease, and he died on the 16th of September, 1700: his last moments being spent in enjoining his son to prefer religion to all worldly advantages, however alluring. At his own especial request, made just before his death, James was interred, without any attempt at funereal pomp, in the church of the English Benedictines at Paris.

A.D. 1697.—In our desire to trace the royal exile James to the very close of his eventful and unfortunate career, we have somewhat outstepped the chronological march of our history.

Though an able politician, and though, at the commencement of his reign, sufficiently well inclined to use and preserve so much prerogative as could belong to the elected monarch of a people who had recently beheaded one sovereign and driven another into exile, William very soon grew weary of disputing with his cabinet. In truth, merely domestic politics were not William's forte. He had the mind and the expansive gaze of an emperor rather than the minute views of a king, and was calculated rather to rule nations than to watch over the comparatively small affairs of a single state. He saw how much the vast power of France required, for the welfare of Europe, to be kept in check; and he gladly, therefore, allowed his ministers to infringe upon his prerogative as to Eng-

* The extent to which James was concerned in conspiracies against the life of William III. is fully discussed by Hallam, Constitutional History of England, ch. xv.

land, on condition of their affording him the means of regulating the disturbed balance of power in Europe. The history of his reign may be summed up in two words — war and funding. Aided by the real and original genius of Burnet, bishop of Sarum, William contrived that means of anticipating the taxes, of mortgaging the means of the nation, which in creating the national debt has doubtless led to much evil, but which has also been the means of carrying England triumphantly through struggles under which it otherwise must have sunk, and to a pitch of wealth and greatness to which otherwise it could never have aspired. The treaty of Ryswyck at length put an end to the sanguinary and expensive war with France. It has been observed that the only benefit secured to England by that treaty was the formal recognition of William's sovereignty by the French king. But it should not be forgotten that England, in common with all the rest of Europe, was served and saved by the check given to the power and the overweening ambition of France.

With war the king's life may almost be said to have terminated. From boyhood he had been of a feeble constitution, and long inquietude of mind and exposure of body had now completely exhausted him. Being thrown from his horse he fractured his collar-bone. It was set, but he insisted upon being carried to his favourite residence, Kensington palace. The motion of the carriage disunited the fractured bone, and the pain and irritation caused fever and diarrhœa, which, in spite of all that Bidloe and other skilful surgeons could devise, terminated the king's life, in the thirteenth year of his reign and the fifty-second of his age. Even in his last moments the 'ruling passion' was strong within him, and only two days before his death he held a long and anxious conference on the state of Europe with the earl of Albemarle, who had brought some important intelligence from Holland.

CHAPTER LVII.

The Reign of ANNE.

A.D. 1702.—WILLIAM III. having survived his wife, by whom he left no issue, Anne, second daughter of James II., married to prince George of Denmark, ascended the throne amidst a general satisfaction which one might reasonably have expected to be greatly checked by the remembrance of her extraordinary and unnatural treatment of her father in the darkest hour of his distress.

Anne at the time of her accession was in the thirty-eighth year of her age, pleasing in her person and manner, domestic in her habits, and, with the one exception of which we have spoken, of amiable and excellent character.

One of the first acts of the queen was to send a message to the house of commons announcing her intention of declaring war against France; and this intention was warmly applauded by the house! And yet the reign of this queen has been very truly called the Augustan period of literature; so true it is that the ferocious instincts of mankind resist even the softening influence of letters. For war at that period England had none of that real necessity, that impulse of self-preservation as to either the present or the future, without which war is little, if at all, better than wholesale and legitimatised murder; but hatred of the French nation continued in full force, although the power of the French to be mischievous was already very greatly curtailed; and the Dutch and Germans not only joined England, but actually declared war against France on the very same day. Though such a combination of powers was strong enough to portend danger even to the wealthy and warlike France, the French king received the news without any apparent feeling, except that of mortification that the Dutch should venture to be hostile to him; and this feeling he expressed by saying that 'as for those pedlars, the Dutch, they should be dearly taught to repent their impertinent presumption in declaring war against a king whose power they had formerly felt as well as dreaded.'

Of the campaigns that followed this declaration of war we shall not even attempt to give the details. Even where the historian's pages have no limit but his own will, there is, probably, no portion of his labour less useful to his readers than his minute account of battles, sieges, marches, and counter-marches, which must be unintelligible to all except military readers, without the aid of maps so expensive that few readers can command them. But in the present case such details, besides being beyond the limits of our pages, are really unnecessary. Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet, were victories as useless as they were costly and decisive; they gratified the splendid ambition and the sordid avarice of Marlborough, but to England they were utterly unproductive of solid benefit.

It is a singular fact, and one not very creditable to the nation, that while enormous treasure was wasted in sanguinary and useless victories, and the most unbounded applause was bestowed upon the victors, one of the most important and splendid conquests ever made for England was rewarded not merely by neglect, but by absolute and cruel insult. We mean the capture of Gibraltar by sir George Rooke. Sir Clondesley Shovel and sir George Rooke had been sent out to watch a fleet which the French were known to be equipping at Brest, and sir George was farther ordered to convoy some transport ships to Barcelona, where the prince of Hesse made an unsuccessful attack. The troops having failed on this point, were reimbarked, and the English commanders, anxious to turn the expedition to some advantage, determined upon attacking Gibraltar, then in the possession of the Spaniards, who, deeming it impregnable by its own strength, kept it but inconsiderably garrisoned.

In truth, the situation of Gibraltar is such that it might well lead the Spaniards into an overweening opinion of its strength;

the town standing upon a tongue of land which is defended on every side but that nearest to the Spanish territory by an inaccessible rock. Upon that side the prince of Hesse landed eighteen hundred men, and proceeded to summon the garrison. The governor paid no attention to this summons, and on the following day the fleet commenced a warm cannonading, by which the defenders of the south mole head were driven from their post. Captains Hicks and Jumper now led a numerous party, sword in hand, into the fortifications, but they had scarcely landed when the Spaniards sprung a mine, by which two lieutenants and a hundred men were killed and wounded. The remainder, gallantly headed by the captains named above, maintained their post in spite of the horrible explosion which had so fearfully thinned their numbers, and the rest of the seamen being now landed by captain Whitaker, the mole and the town were taken by storm. When it is considered that Gibraltar has been of immense importance to England ever since, both in protecting our Mediterranean trade and serving as an outfitting and sheltering port for our navies destined to annoy an enemy, it seems incredible, but is, unfortunately, only too true, that parliament and the ministry, so lavish of rewards and praise to the costly and useless services performed elsewhere, refused sir George Rooke even the formal honour of a vote of thanks, and he was shortly afterwards displaced from his command.

Philip IV., grandson of Louis XIV. of France, having been nominated king of Spain by the will of the late king, was placed upon the throne; and as he was apparently agreeable to the majority of his subjects, and, besides, was supported by the power of France, all opposition to him would to ordinary minds have appeared hopeless. But Charles, son of the emperor of Germany, had formerly been nominated to the Spanish succession, and France herself had been a party to that nomination. Charles, therefore, encouraged by the promised support of the warlike inhabitants of the province of Catalonia, determined to assert his right. In this determination he was strengthened by England and Portugal, who supplied him with two hundred transports, thirty ships of war, and a force of nearly ten thousand men. Considerable as this force was, it yet was small when compared to the mighty resources of the Spanish king *de facto*; but in the judgement of military men, as well as in the popular opinion, the comparative smallness of Charles's force was amply compensated by the genius and romantic bravery of the commander of it, the earl of Peterborough, who gave Charles the aid of his vast fortune as well as his personal exertions.

The earl of Peterborough was one of the most extraordinary men of that age. Though very much deformed in person, he excelled in all military exercises. At fifteen he fought as a volunteer against the Moors in Africa, and in every action he was distinguished for daring and conduct. The great experience he had acquired and the influence of his character upon the soldiery were much and justly relied on to forward the cause of Charles. His very first action justified that reliance, as he took the strong city of Barcelona with its well-provided garrison of five thousand men. Had the earl of Peterborough now been left to the promptings of his own high and chivalrous spirit, there is but little room to doubt that he would have achieved still more brilliant successes. But some petty intrigues, by which both Charles and the English government very weakly allowed themselves to be duped, led to the recall of the earl, whose command was transferred to lord Galway. That nobleman soon after came to a general action with the Spanish troops, commanded by the duke of Berwick, who had taken up a position on the plains near the town of Almanza. For a time Charles's troops, consisting chiefly of Dutch and English infantry, seemed greatly to have the advantage. But in the very heat and crisis of the action, the Portuguese horse who protected either flank of Charles's line were seized with a sudden and disgraceful panic, and fled in spite of all the efforts that were made to rally them. The duke of Berwick immediately closed in upon the exposed flanks, and Galway, loosing men at every step, had barely time to throw his army into a square and retire to a neighbouring eminence. Here they were comparatively free from the attacks of the enemy, but they were destitute of provisions and ignorant of the country; and as it was evidently the design as it was in the power of the enemy to starve them into submission, the officers reluctantly agreed to capitulate. A fine army of ten thousand men thus became prisoners of war; and Philip was more firmly than ever seated upon his throne, not a voice now being raised against him except in the still malcontent province of Catalonia.

Turn we now to the more important domestic events of this reign. Though the accession of James I. to the English throne had to a certain extent united England and Scotland, there was still an independent Scotch parliament. In practice this was often inconvenient and always dangerous; the votes of the Scotch parliament often ran counter to those of the English parliament, and it required no remarkable amount of political wisdom to foresee, that, under certain circumstances, such, for instance, as actually occurred in the reigns of George I. and George II., this difference might be fatal by strengthening the hands of a pretender and plunging the country into a civil war. Theoretically, the separate parliament of Scotland was ridiculously indefensible. Scotland and England being already united under one crown, how absurd it was that the parliament at Westminster, held perfectly competent to enact laws for Cumberland and Northumberland, became legislatorially incapable a few feet over the border! But so much more powerful are custom and prejudice than reason, that the first proposal to do away with this

dangerous distinction was received as though it had been a proposal to abridge some dear and indefeasible liberty of the Scottish people. For once, reason prevailed over idle or interested clamour, and both parliaments simultaneously passed an act appointing and authorising commissioners, named by the queen, to draw up articles for the parliamentary union of the two kingdoms.

The commissioners, quickened in their proceedings by the queen's expressed desire for despatch, speedily presented for the consideration of the two parliaments a series of articles by which full provision was made for retaining in force all the existing laws of Scotland, except where alteration would manifestly benefit that country; the courts of session and other courts of Scottish judicature were also preserved, and, in fact, the main alteration was the abolition of the anomalous separate parliament of Scotland, and giving that country a representation in the parliament of Great Britain, of sixteen peers and forty-five commoners. There was, both in Scotland and on the part of the tories in England, considerable opposition made to these really wise and necessary articles, but common sense and the influence of the crown at length prevailed, and the articles were passed into law by a great majority in both parliaments.

Hitherto the whig ministry, supported by the powerful influence of the duchess of Marlborough, had triumphed over all the efforts of the tories; but the duchess had been guilty of two capital mistakes, by which she now found her influence very greatly diminished. In the first place, forgetting that she owed her vast influence over the queen far more to her personal complaisance and agreeableness than to her really considerable political talents, she became so proud of her power, that she relaxed in those personal attentions and complaisances by which she had obtained it, and disgusted the queen by an offensive and dictatorial tone. While she thus perilled her influence, she at the same time unwittingly raised up a rival to herself in the person of a Mrs. Masham, a poor relation of her own, whom she placed in a confidential situation about the queen's person, relying upon her gratitude, and expecting to find her not a dangerous rival, but a pliant and zealous tool. But Mrs. Masham speedily perceived that the queen was not only personally disgusted by the hauteur of the duchess, but also much inclined to the tory opinions; she consequently took up the party of Mr. Harley, afterwards lord Oxford, who was personally in the queen's favour, and who was extensively and constantly intriguing for the ruin of the whigs. In conjunction with Mr. St. John, afterwards lord Bolingbroke, and sir Simon Harcourt, a lawyer of great abilities, and aided by the personal influence of Mrs. Masham, Harley doubted not that he should triumph over the whigs; and an event, trifling enough in itself, soon occurred to develope the queen's leaning towards the tories; and to encourage it by showing how extensively that party existed among the people.

A clergyman named Sacheverel had much distinguished himself by his sermons in favour of high church principles and in condemnation of dissent and dissenters. Imaginative, impassioned, and possessed of that fluency which even men of good judgement so often mistake for eloquence, he soon became an oracle and a favourite with a very large party. Being appointed to preach on the fifth of November at St. Paul's, he made use of the 'gunpowder plot' as an argument from which to infer that any departure from the doctrine of non-resistance might lead to the most heinous and destructive wickedness, and that the existing toleration of dissenters was very likely to be ruinous to the church of England, which he declared to be as ill defended by its pretended friends, as it was fiercely attacked by its determined enemies. The lord mayor of that year, sir Samuel Gerrard, no very accurate judge, it may be presumed, of either theological correctness or literary elegance, allowed the printed edition of this sermon to be dedicated to him. And here, probably, the whole affair would have ended and been forgotten, but for the injudicious meddling of archbishop Dolben's son, who in his place in parliament made complaint of the sermon and read all the most violent paragraphs of it; a manifestly unfair proceeding, inasmuch as the same passages might have a very different effect when read with or without their context. Instead of checking Mr. Dolben's officiousness by voting the matter unfit for their consideration, the committee voted the passages read to be seditious and scandalous libels; and Sacheverel was ordered to attend at the bar of the house, where he avowed the alleged libels and plainly said that he gloried in having published them. Even this vain and silly exultation of a weak man, whom an almost equally weak opponent had thus suddenly dragged into the notoriety he coveted and would probably never have otherwise obtained, did not instruct the house that contempt and obscurity were the severest pains and penalties that could be inflicted upon such a man as Sacheverel; and a committee was appointed to draw up articles of impeachment against him, and Mr. Dolben was named manager on the behalf of the commons of England.

The harmless declamation of a vain man was thus raised into a degree of factitious importance which was really disgraceful to the people, and for three weeks all the public business of both houses of parliament was set aside on account of a trial which ought never to have commenced. The lords sat in Westminster-hall, which was daily besieged by the principal rank, fashion, and beauty of the capital, the queen herself setting the example by attending as a private auditor of the proceedings.

Mr. Dolben, whose injudicious meddling had occasioned this mock-heroic farce, was assisted in his absurd prosecution by sir Joseph Jekyll, solicitor-general Eyre, the recorder, sir Peter King, general Stanhope, sir Thomas Parker, and Mr. Walpole; all

gentlemen whose talents were degraded by so silly a business.

Dr. Sacheverel was defended by sir Simon Harcourt, Mr. Phipps, and doctors Friend, Smallridge, and Atterbury; and the trial, absurd as its origin was, produced a display of great talent and eloquence. Unfortunately the silly passion shown by the house of commons communicated itself to the people out of doors. Most serious riots took place, in which the rabble in their zeal for Dr. Sacheverel not only destroyed several dissenting meeting-houses, but also plundered the houses of several leading dissenters, and the disturbances at length grew so alarming that the queen published a proclamation against them. The magistrates now exerted themselves with some vigour; several ruffians were apprehended, and two convicted of high treason and sentenced to death; which sentence, however, was commuted.

While the populace was rioting without, the lords were trying Sacheverel. He was very ably defended, and he personally delivered an address, of which the composition was so immeasurably superior to that of his sermons, that it was generally supposed to have been written for him by Dr. Atterbury, afterwards bishop of Rochester; a man of great genius, but of a turn of mind which fitted him rather for the wrangling of the bar than for the mild teaching and other important duties of the Christian ministry. A majority of seventeen votes condemned Sacheverel, but a protest was signed by thirty-four peers. Partly in deference to this protest, and partly from fear that severity would cause dangerous renewals of the riotous conduct of Sacheverel's rabble friends, the sentence was extremely light, merely prohibiting the doctor from preaching for three years, and ordering his alleged libels to be burned by the common hangman, in presence of the lord mayor and the two sheriffs.

The warmth which the people in general had shown on behalf of the doctor showed so extensive a prevalence of tory principles, that the queen's secret advisers of that party thought that they might now safely recommend a dissolution of parliament. The queen complied, and a vast majority of tories was returned to the new parliament. Thus convinced of the correctness with which Harley had long assured her, that she might safely indulge her inclination to degrade the whig party, the queen proceeded accordingly. She began by making the duke of Shrewsbury lord chamberlain, instead of the duke of Kent. Soon afterwards the earl of Sunderland, son-in-law to the duke of Marlborough, was deprived of his office of secretary of state, which was conferred upon the earl of Dartmouth; the lord stewardship was taken from the duke of Devonshire and given to the duke of Buckingham, and Mr. Henry St. John was made secretary in lieu of Mr. Boyle. Still more sweeping alterations followed, until at last no state office was filled by a whig, with the single exception of the duke of Marlborough.

The parliament soon afterwards passed a resolution warmly approving the course pursued by the queen, and exhorting her to discountenance and resist all such measures as those by which her royal crown and dignity had recently been threatened. From all this it was clear that the power of Marlborough, so long supported by the court intrigues of his duchess, was now completely destroyed by her imprudent hauteur. His avarice was well known, and it was very extensively believed that the war with France would long since have been brought to a conclusion if the pacific inclinations of the French king had not been constantly and systematically thwarted by the duke for the furtherance of his own ambitious schemes. And though the tory ministry continued the war, and the almost entirely tory parliament recommended that it should be prosecuted with all possible vigour, the mortification and degradation of the lately idolised duke were aimed at by every possible means. Thus the thanks of the house of commons were refused to him for his services in Flanders, while they were warmly given to those of the earl of Peterborough in Spain, and the lord keeper in delivering them took occasion to contrast the generous nature of the earl with the greed and avarice of the duke.

As the expenses of the war increased, so the people grew more and more weary of their war mania. The ministry consequently now determined to take resolute steps for putting an end to it; and as it was obvious that the duke would use all the influence of his command to traverse their peaceable policy, they came to the resolution of proceeding against him in some one of the many cases in which he was known to have received bribes. Clear evidence was brought forward of his having received six thousand pounds per annum from a Jew for securing him the contract to supply the army with bread; and upon this charge the duke was dismissed from all his public employments.

The poet Prior was now sent on an embassy to France, and he soon returned with Menager, a French statesman, invested with full powers to arrange the preliminaries of peace; the earl of Strafford was sent back to Holland, whence he had only lately been recalled, to communicate to the Dutch the preliminaries and the queen's approval of them, and to endeavour to induce the Dutch, also, to approve them. Holland at first objected to the inspection of the preliminaries, but after much exertion all parties were induced to consent to a conference at Utrecht. It was soon, however, perceived that all the deputies, save those of England and France, were averse to peace, and it was then determined by the queen's government to set on foot a private negotiation with France with a view to a separate treaty.

A.D. 1712.—Early in August, 1712, viscount Bolingbroke, formerly Mr. St. John, was sent to Versailles, accompanied by Prior and the Abbé Gaultier, to make arrangements for the separate treaty. He was well received by the French court, and

very soon adjusted the terms of the treaty. The interests of all the powers of Europe were well and impartially cared for; but the noblest article of the treaty was that by which England insisted upon the liberation of the numerous French protestants who were confined in prisons and galleys for their religious opinions.

A.D. 1713.— But while the ministry was thus ably and triumphantly conducting the foreign affairs of the nation, serious dissensions were growing up between Harley and Bolingbroke. These able statesmen had for a long time been most cordial in their agreement on all points of policy. But the daily increasing illness of the queen, and the probability, not to say certainty, that she would not long survive, brought forward a question upon which they widely differed. Bolingbroke, who had always been suspected of being a strong Jacobite, was for bringing in the pretender as the queen's successor; while Harley, now lord Oxford, was as strongly pledged to the Hanoverian succession.

The whigs watched with delight and exultation the growth of the ill-disguised enmity between these two great supports of the tory party. The queen in vain endeavoured to compose their differences, and it is to be feared that the sufferings of the last months of her life were much increased by her anxieties on this account. She daily grew weaker, and was not only despaired of by her physicians, but was herself conscious that her illness would have a fatal termination.

A.D. 1714.—The queen at length sunk into a state of extreme lethargy, but by powerful medicines was so far recovered that she was able to walk about her chamber. On July 30, she rose as early as eight o'clock. For some time she walked about, leaning upon the arm of one of her ladies, when she was seized with a fit of apoplexy, from which no medicines could relieve her, and she expired on the following morning, in the forty-ninth year of her age and the thirteenth of her reign.

Though Anne possessed no very brilliant talents, her reign was in the main prosperous and wise, and was wholly free from all approach to tyranny or cruelty. Literature and the arts flourished exceedingly under her; Pope, Swift, Addison, Bolingbroke, and a perfect galaxy of lesser stars, very justly obtained for this reign the proud title of the Augustan age of England.

CHAPTER LVIII.

The Reign of GEORGE I.

A.D. 1714.—ANNE having left no issue, by the act of succession the English crown devolved upon George, son of the first elector of Brunswick and the princess Sophia, granddaughter of James I.

The new king was now in his fifty-fourth year, and he bore the character of being a man of solid ability, though utterly destitute of all shining talents, and of even the appearance of any attachment to literature or the arts. Direct, tenacious of his purpose, and accustomed all his life to application to business, great hopes were entertained that his accession would, at the least, secure order and regularity in the conduct of public affairs. His own declaration was 'My maxim is to do justice, to fear no man, and never to abandon my friends.'

As it was feared that the intriguing genius of Bolingbroke might have made some arrangements for an attempt on the throne on the part of the pretender, the friends of George I. had procured from him, as soon as it was tolerably certain that Anne could not survive, an instrument by which the most zealous and influential friends to his succession were added to certain great officers, as lords justices, or a commission of regency to govern the kingdom until the king should arrive.

As soon as the queen expired, the regency caused George I. to be proclaimed in all the usual places, the important garrison of Portsmouth was reinforced, and measures were taken at all the other ports and garrisons to defeat any attempts at invasion. The vigour and vigilance thus displayed prevented any outbreak or disturbance, if any such had ever been actually contemplated; and the regency felt confident enough to deprive Bolingbroke of his office of secretary of state, with every circumstance of insult. His office was given to the celebrated poet and essayist Addison, of whom a curious anecdote is related, very characteristic of the immense difference between the qualities of a scholar and those of a man of business. Mr. secretary Addison, renowned as a classical and facile writer, was very naturally called upon to write the despatch that was to announce the death of queen Anne to her successor; and so much was he embarrassed by his anxiety to find fitting terms, that his fellow-councillors grew impatient, and called upon the clerk to draw out the despatch, which he did in a few dry business-like lines, and ever after boasted himself a readier writer than the facile and elegant writer of the delightful papers in the *Spectator*.

On landing at Greenwich George I. was received by the assembled members of the regency, attended by the life-guards under the duke of Northumberland. He immediately retired to his chamber, where he gave audience to those who had been zealous for his succession. From this moment the king showed a determined partiality to the whigs, which gave great and general disgust; a feeling that was still farther increased by the headlong haste with which the whig ministers and favourites conferred all offices of trust and emolument upon their own partisans, in utter contempt of the merits and claims of those whom they ousted.

The greediness of the whigs, and the pertinacious partiality shown to that party by the king, threw a great part of the nation into a very dangerous state of discontent, and there arose a general cry, accompanied by much tendency to actual rioting, of 'Sacheverel for ever, and down with the whigs!'

Undeterred by the increasing number

and loudness of the malcontents, the whig party, confident in their parliamentary strength and in the partiality of the king, commenced the business of the session by giving indications of their intention to proceed to the utmost extremes against the late ministers. In the house of lords they affected to believe that the reputation of England was much lowered on the continent by the conduct of the late ministers, and professed hopes that the wisdom of the king would repair that evil; and in the lower house they stated their determination to punish the alleged abettors of the pretender; a sure way of pleasing the king, and an artful mode of confouding together the supporters of the pretender with the loyal subjects of George I. who yet were honest enough to oppose so much of his system of government as appeared to be injurious or dangerous to the country and to himself.

Following up the course thus indicated, the ministers appointed a parliamentary committee of twenty persons, to examine papers and find charges against the late ministry; and shortly afterwards Mr. Walpole, as chairman of this committee, stated that a report was ready for the house, and moved for the committal of Mr. Matthew Prior and Mr. Thomas Harley; and those members, being present in their places, were immediatety taken into custody by the serjeant at arms. Mr. Walpole then again rose to impeach lord Bolingbroke of high treason. Before the house could recover from its astonishment, lord Conlngsby rose and said,

'The worthy chairman of the committee has impeached the hand, I now impeach the head; he has impeached the scholar, I impeach the master; I impeach Robert, earl of Oxford and Mortimer, of high treason and other crimes and misdemeanours.'

Lord Oxford was now completely abandoned by nearly all those who had seemed to be so much attached to him; a too common fate of fallen greatness.

Even among the whigs, however, there were some who disapproved of the extreme violence of the present proceedings. Sir Joseph Jekyl, for instance, pointing out an overstrained article that was charged against Oxford, handsomely said that it was his way to mete out equal justice to all men, and that as a lawyer he felt bound to say that the article in question did not amount to treason. But the heads of the faction would not patiently listen to such moderate and honourable language; and Mr. Walpole, in a tone and with a manner very improper to be used by one gentleman towards another, replied, that many members quite as honest as sir Joseph, and better lawyers than he, were perfectly satisfied that the charge did amount to treason.

The humane and honest opposition of sir Joseph Jekyll being thus sneered down, lord Conlngsby and the other managing whigs proceeded to impeach lord Oxford at the bar of the house of lords, and to demand that he should immediately be committed to custody. Upon this latter point a debate arose in the house of lords, which was terminated by the earl himself, who said that he had all along acted upon the immediate orders of the late queen, and that, having never offended against any known law, he was wholly unconcerned about the life of an insignificant old man. He was consequently committed to the Tower, though the celebrated Dr. Mead positively certified that his committal would endanger his life. The duke of Ormond and lord Bolingbroke, against whom the proceedings were no less vindictively carried on, fled to the continent, upon which the earl marshal of England was ordered to erase their names and arms from the peerage list, and all their possessions in England were declared forfeit to the crown.

A D. 1715.—The pretender, who had numerous friends in England and Scotland, looked with great complacency upon these violent proceedings, judging that the discontent they caused could not fail to forward his designs upon the crown; and while the king was intent upon alienating the affections of a large portion of his people in order to support a greedy faction, an actual rebellion broke out. Two vessels, with arms, ammunition, and officers, were sent from France to the coast of Scotland, and the pretender promised that he would speedily follow with a greater force. The earl of Mar was consequently induced to assemble his friends and vassals to the number of three hundred, and to proclaim the pretender. As the cause was popular, and no opportunity was lost of magnifying the force with which that prince was to arrive in Scotland, Mar soon found himself at the head of an army of ten thousand men. But while he was completing his preparations to march southward, the duke of Argyle at the head of only about six thousand men attacked him near Dumblain, and though at the close of the engagement both parties left the field, yet the loss inflicted upon Mar was so great as virtually to amount to defeat, and the injury thus done to the cause of the pretender was increased by the conduct of Simon, lord Lovat. That restless and thoroughly unprincipled man held the castle of Inverness for the pretender, to whose forces it would at all times have served as a most important *point d'appui*; but lord Lovat, changing with the changed fortune of his party, now basely surrendered the castle to the king.

The English ambassador in France, the accomplished and energetic lord Stair, had so well performed his duty to the king, that he was able to send home the most timely and exact information of the designs of the pretender; and just as the rebellion was about to break out in England, several of the leading malcontents were seized by the ministry and committed to close custody. For one of these, sir William Wyndham, his father-in-law the duke of Somerset, offered to become security; but even that wealthy and powerful nobleman was refused. The rebellion was thus confined, in the west of England, to a few feeble and unconnected outbreaks; and at Oxford, where it was known that many young men

of family were among the malcontents, all attempt was prevented by the spirited conduct of major-general Pepper, who occupied the city with his troops, and positively promised to put to death any student, no matter what his rank or connections, who should dare to appear beyond the limits of his own college.

In the north of England the spirits of the malcontents were kept up, in spite of all the ill success that had hitherto attended their cause, by their reliance upon aid from the pretender in person. The earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Foster raised a considerable force, and being joined by some volunteers from the Scottish border, made an attempt to seize Newcastle; but the gates were shut against them, and, having no battering train, they were fain to retire to Hexham, whence, by way of Kendal and Lancaster, they proceeded to Preston. Here they were surrounded by nearly eight thousand men under generals Carpenter and Wills. Some fighting ensued, but the cause of the rebels was now so evidently hopeless, that Mr. Foster sent colonel Oxburgh, of the royal army, who had been taken prisoner, with proposals for a capitulation. General Wills, however, declined to hear of them, except as armed rebels, to whom he could show no other favour than to leave them to the disposal of government instead of giving them over to instant slaughter by his troops. The unhappy men were consequently obliged to surrender at discretion; some of their officers who had deserted from the royal army were immediately shot, the other officers and gentlemen were sent to London, and the common men thrown into the various prisons of Lancashire and Cheshire.

Had the pretender promptly joined the earl of Mar, and, joined by him, marched to effect a junction with the earl of Derwentwater, the event would probably have been very different; but having delayed his appearance in Scotland until his friends were thus overpowered in detail, common sense should have dictated to him the folly of his carrying his attempt any farther for the present. But, alas! common sense was precisely that quality which the Stuarts were least gifted with! At the very moment when the prisons of England were filled with his ill-fated and sacrificed adherents, he hurried through France in disguise, embarked at Dunkirk, and landed in Scotland with a train of six gentlemen! With this inadequate force for the conquest of a great and powerful kingdom, he proceeded through Aberdeen to Feterosse, where he was joined by the earl of Mar and somewhat less than two score other nobles and gentry. He now proceeded to Dundee, caused a frothy and useless declaration of his rights and intentions to be circulated, and then went to Scone with the intention of adding the folly of being crowned there to the folly of being proclaimed in all other places of note through which he had passed. Even the vulgar and the ignorant were by this time convinced of the utter hopelessness of his cause; and as he found that 'few cried God bless him,' and still fewer joined his standard, he quite coolly told his friends—who had sacrificed every thing for him—that he had not the necessary means for a campaign, and then embarked, with his personal attendants, at Montrose—leaving his dupes to their fate. Such baseness, such levity, joined to such cold selfishness, ought to have made even those who most firmly believed in the abstract rights of the pretender rejoice that he was unable to obtain power in England; since so heartless a man must needs have made a cruel monarch.

The government had acted with vigour and ability in suppressing the rebellion; it now acted with stern unsparing severity in punishing those who had been concerned in it. The mere herd of rebels, to the number of more than a thousand, were transported to the colonies. Two-and-twenty officers were executed at Preston, and five at Tyburn, with all the disgusting accompaniments of drawing and quartering. The earls of Derwentwater, Nithisdale, and Carnwarth, and the lords Kenmuir, Nairne, and Widdrington were sentenced to death, as were Mr. Foster, Mr. Mackintosh, and about twenty other leading men.

Nithisdale, Foster, and Mackintosh were fortunate enough to escape from prison and reach the continent; Derwentwater and Kenmuir were executed upon Tower-hill, and met their fate with a decent intrepidity, which made the spectators forget their crime.

During all this time the earl of Oxford had remained in the Tower, unnoticed and almost forgotten. When the numerous executions had literally disgusted men with the sad spectacle of bloodshed, he petitioned to be allowed to take his trial; rightly judging that as compared to actual rebellion, the worst that was charged against him would seem comparatively venial, even to his enemies. He was accordingly arraigned before the peers in Westminster-hall, and some technical dispute arising between the lords and commons as to the mode of his trial, the lords voted that he should be set at liberty.

A.D. 1721.—Passing over, as of no importance, the sailing from Spain of a fleet under the duke of Ormond, for the purpose of making a new attempt on England; the pretender's hopes from that expedition being disappointed by a storm which utterly disabled the fleet off cape Finisterre; we come to a domestic event which originated in this year and reduced thousands of people from affluence to beggary.

The South Sea company, to which government was greatly indebted, was in the habit of contenting itself with five per cent. interest, on account of the largeness of its claim, instead of six per cent., which the government paid to all the other public companies to which it was indebted. A scrivener, named Blount, of more ability than principle, availed himself of this state of things to commence a deep and destructive part of the scheme. It was quite obviously to the advantage of the nation to

pay five rather than six per cent. upon all its debts, as well as upon the one considerable debt that was due to the South Sea company; and, on the other hand, it was well worth the while of that wealthy company to add as much as possible to the already large amount upon which five per cent. interest was punctually paid by the government. Blount put the case so plausibly on the part of the company, and so skilfully threw in the additional inducement to the government of a reduction of the interest from five to four per cent. at the end of six years, that the scheme seemed to be an actual reduction of one sixth of the whole national burthen immediately, and a reduction of a third at the end of six years. Every encouragement and sanction were consequently given to the plan by which the South Sea company was to buy up the claims of all other creditors of the government. Hitherto only the fair side of the scheme had been displayed; now came the important question, where was the South Sea company, wealthy as it might be, to find the vast sum of money necessary for rendering it the sole government creditor? Blount was ready with his reply. By a second part of his scheme he proposed to enrich the nation enormously by opening up a new vast and safe trade to the South Seas; and flaming prospectuses invited the public to exchange government stock for equal nominal amounts in the South Sea stocks—said to be vastly more valuable. The cunning of Blount and his fellow-directors was so well aided by the cupidity of the public, that when the books were opened for this notable transfer there was a positive struggle for the precedence; a consequent run took place for South Sea shares, which in a few days were sold at more than double their original value, and ere the end of the delusion, which was kept up for several months, the shares met with a ready sale at *ten times their original cost*! When we reflect that a thousand pounds thus produced ten thousand to the speculator, and a hundred thousand a million, we may judge how much excitement and eagerness prevailed. Enormous fortunes, of course, were made in the transfer and re-transfer of shares, and to those who sold out while the delusion was still at its height the scheme was a very El Dorado. But the great majority of the supposed fortunate possessors of South Sea stock were far too well pleased with their prospects to part with them, as they imagined it difficult to put a sufficient value upon their probabilities of vast and ever-increasing interest! Among this number was the poet Gay, who, though a scholar and a wit, was, nevertheless, in the actual business of life, as simple as a child. He was strongly advised by his friends to sell some stock which had been presented to him, and thus, while the stock was at its highest value, secure himself a competence for life. But no, like thousands more, he persisted in holding this precious stock; and all who did so found their scrip mere waste paper when the company was called upon to pay the very first vast and very genuine demand out of profits which were represented as being equally vast, but which had the slight defect of being wholly imaginary. Thousands upon thousands of families were by this artful and most vile scheme reduced to utter ruin, and nothing that has occurred in our own time—replete as it is with bubbles and swindling directors—is calculated to give us any adequate idea of the suffering, the rage, and the dismay that were felt in all parts of the kingdom. The government did all that it consistently could to remedy the disastrous effects produced by individual knavery acting upon general cupidity and credulity. The chief managers of the scheme were deprived of the immense property they had unfairly acquired by it, and redress as far as possible afforded to the sufferers; but in the almost infinite variety of transfers which had taken place, it inevitably followed that millions of property passed from the hands of those who speculated foolishly into the hands of those who were more sagacious and more wary, though not positively involved in the guilt of the deception; and for many years thousands had to toil for bread who but for this scheme would have been affluent, while thousands more enjoyed wealth not a jot more honestly or usefully earned than the gains of the veriest gambler.

So extensive were the suffering and confusion created by this event, that the friends of the pretender deemed the crisis a fit one at which to bring forward his pretensions again. But, as was usual with that party, there was so much dissension among the leading malcontents, and their affairs were so clumsily conducted on the part of some of them, that the ministry got intelligence of the designs which were on foot, and suddenly ordered the apprehension of the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Orrery, the lords North and Grey, Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, Mr. Layer, and several other persons of less note. In the investigation that followed, sufficient legal evidence could be found only against the bishop of Rochester and Mr. Layer, though there could be no moral doubt of the guilt of the others. All, therefore, were discharged out of custody except the bishop, who was banished the kingdom, and Mr. Layer, who was hanged at Tyburn.

Scarcely less sensation was caused by an accusation which was brought against the earl of Macclesfield, of having sold certain places in chancery. The house of commons impeached him at the bar of the house of lords, and a most interesting and well-contested trial ensued, which lasted for twenty days. The earl was convicted, and sentenced to be imprisoned until he should pay a fine of thirty thousand pounds. He paid the money in less than two months; and his friends deemed him very hardly done by, inasmuch as it was proved on the trial that he had only sold such places as had been sold by former chancellors. To us, however, this seems but a very slender excuse for the offence; as a judge in equity he ought to have put a stop to so dangerous a practice and not have profited by it, especially as the honourable precedent of chan-

cellor Bacon was in existence to remind him that in chancery as elsewhere, 'two blacks do not make a white.' As to the fine, large as the sum seems, it was not at all too heavy; no small portion of it having been the produce of the offence for which it was imposed.

A.D. 1727.—From the very commencement of his reign George I. had shown at least as much anxiety for Hanover as for England, and having now been above two years prevented by various causes from visiting the electorate, he appointed a regency and set out for Hanover in a state of health that gave no reason to fear any ill result. The voyage to Holland and the subsequent journey to within a few leagues of Osnaburg were performed by the king in his usual health and spirits, but as he approached Osnaburg he suddenly called for the postillion to stop. It was found that one of his hands was paralysed, his tongue began to swell, and no efforts of the surgeon who travelled with him could afford him any relief; and on the following morning he expired, in the thirtieth year of his reign and in the sixty-eighth of his age.

CHAPTER LIX.

The Reign of GEORGE II.

A.D. 1727.—GEORGE the second, like his deceased father, was a German by birth, language, and sentiments. In their personal qualities, also, they bore a striking resemblance: both were honest, just, plain-dealing men; both were alike parsimonious and obstinate; and as both were beset by political factions whose rancour knew no bounds, so each of those monarchs had to contend with the caprice or venality of rival statesmen, as by turns they directed the councils of the nation.

The king was in the forty-fourth year of his age on coming to the throne; and he took the first opportunity of declaring to his parliament that he was determined to adhere to the policy of his predecessor. Owing to the previous continental wars in which England had taken a part, the kingdom was involved in a labyrinth of treaties and conventions. Much discontent was also felt and expressed on many points of domestic policy. Dangerous encroachments had been made in the constitution by the repeal of the triennial act; by frequent suspensions of the habeas corpus act; by keeping up a standing army; and by the notorious venal practices employed in establishing a system of parliamentary corruption. At first some change in the ministry appeared in contemplation; but after a little time it was settled that sir Robert Walpole should continue at the head of the administration; with lord Townshend as director of the foreign affairs, and Mr. Pelham, brother of the duke of Newcastle, as secretary-at-war. There was, however, a great and concentrated mass of opposition gradually forming against Walpole, which required all his vigilance and ability to overcome.

Peace was established at home and abroad; and the new parliament, which assembled in January, 1728, afforded no topic of interest; but in the succeeding year the commons complained of the occasional publication of their proceedings, and it was unanimously resolved, 'That it is an indignity to, and a breach of the privilege of the house, for any person to presume to give, in written or printed newspapers, any account or minutes of the debates or other proceedings of the house or of any committee thereof; and that, upon the discovery of the author, &c., this house will proceed against the offenders with the utmost severity.' An address to his majesty was also presented by the commons, complaining of serious depredations having been committed by the Spaniards on British ships, in manifest violation of the treaties subsisting between the two crowns; and requesting that active measures might be taken to procure reasonable satisfaction for the losses sustained, and secure his majesty's subjects the free exercise of commerce and navigation to and from the British plantations in America. This was followed by a defensive treaty between Great Britain, France, Spain, and Holland: the question between this country and Spain as to naval captures being left to future adjudication by commissioners.

A.D. 1730.—Some changes now took place in the ministry. Lord Harrington was made secretary of state, in the room of lord Townshend, who appears to have interfered more with the affairs of the nation than was agreeable to sir Robert Walpole, to whom he was related by marriage. The latter, it is said, upon being asked the cause of his difference with his brother-in-law, drily replied, 'As long as the firm of the house was Townshend and Walpole, all did very well: but when it became Walpole and Townshend, things went wrong and a separation ensued.' About the same time the duke of Dorset was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland in the room of lord Carteret; the duke of Devonshire, privy seal, and lord Trevor, president of the council.

With the blessings of peace England was now enjoying a high degree of prosperity; her trade with foreign nations was constantly increasing; and from her American colonies the imports of sugar, rum, &c. were most abundant. The whale fishery also on the coast of New England, New York, &c. was highly productive. The most flattering accounts were received from our transatlantic friends; and the tide of emigration from our shores, but more particularly from Ireland, was fast flowing in that direction.

A.D. 1732.—The parliamentary session was opened by the king in person, who, in an elaborate speech, complimented the country on its political aspects, and dwelt with evident satisfaction on the late continental alliances he had entered into. This was naturally followed by congratulatory addresses from both houses; and the minister saw himself surrounded by a phalanx of supporters, too numerous for the opposition to disturb his equanimity. But amid the general prosperity, there were some public delinquencies which seemed to require the strong arm of justice to unmask

and punish. The most glaring of these, perhaps, was an enormous fraud committed by certain parties who had the management of the funds belonging to the 'charitable corporation.' This society had been formed under the plausible pretext of lending money at legal interest to the poor and to others, upon security of goods, in order to screen them from the rapacity of pawnbrokers. Their capital was at first limited to 30,000*l.*, but by licenses from the crown they increased it to 600,000*l.* George Robinson, M.P. for Marlow, the cashier, and John Thompson, the warehouse keeper, had suddenly disappeared, and it was now discovered that for a capital of 500,000*l.* effects to the amount of 30,000*l.* only could be found, the remainder having been embezzled. A petition to the house of commons having been referred to a committee, it clearly appeared that a most iniquitous scheme of fraud had been systematically carried on by the cashier and warehouseman, in concert with some of the directors, for embezzling the capital and cheating the proprietors; on which it was resolved that sir Robert Sutton, with nine others, who had been proved guilty of many fraudulent practices in the management of the charitable corporation, should make satisfaction to the poor sufferers out of their estates, and be prevented from leaving the kingdom.

In the following year the *excise scheme* was first introduced into the house of commons; and although it was simply a plan for converting the duties on wine and tobacco, which had been hitherto duties of customs, into duties of excise, the ferment which this proposition excited was almost unprecedented. The sheriffs of London, accompanied by many of the most eminent merchants, in two hundred carriages, came down to the house to present their petition against the bill; other petitions were also presented; and the minister finding that his majority was small and the opposition to the measure so universal, determined on withdrawing it. The most riotous rejoicings followed; and if a correct judgment might be formed from outward appearances, the inhabitants of London and Westminster must have thought they had obtained a deliverance from some great impending danger.

Very little occurred during the succeeding year worthy of remark. The princess royal was married to the prince of Orange; a bill passed for the naturalisation of his royal highness; and the 'happy pair' left St. James's for Rotterdam on the 22nd of April. Parliament was now dissolved by proclamation. The king had previously prorogued it, after thanking the members for the many signal proofs they had given him of their duty and attachment to his person and government; and concluded with a prayer that providence would direct his people in the choice of their representatives.

A.D. 1735.—When the new parliament met in January, it was seen that the elections had made no perceptible change in the composition of the house; the leaders of parties were the same; and nearly the same motions, amendments, debates, and arguments were reproduced. Indeed, if we except some angry disputes which occurred between the ministers and the prince of Wales, relative to the income allowed out of the civil list to the latter, scarcely any event worthy of remark took place for a long time. The affair to which we refer thus originated. Motions having been made in each house of parliament to address his majesty to settle 100,000*l.* per annum on the prince, it was opposed by the ministers as an encroachment on the prerogative, an officious intermeddling with the king's family affairs, and as an effort to set his majesty and the prince at variance. But the truth was, there had long been a serious misunderstanding between these royal personages, arising chiefly from the prince being at the head of the opposition party; and now that there seemed no chance of his obtaining the income he required, it was highly resented by him, and caused an entire alienation between the two courts of St. James's and Leicester-house. Nor can it be wondered at that the prince should feel himself grossly slighted when out of a civil list of 800,000*l.* a revenue of 50,000*l.* per annum only was allowed him; although his father when prince had 100,000*l.* out of a civil list of 700,000*l.* The breach grew wider every day; and at length so rancorous had these family squabbles become, that in the last illness of the queen, who expired in November, 1737, the prince was not even permitted to see her.

The growing prosperity of England during a long peace was duly appreciated by sir Robert Walpole, and he neglected nothing that seemed likely to ensure its continuance; but the arbitrary conduct pursued by the Spaniards on the American coasts, and the interested clamours of some English merchants engaged in a contraband trade with the Spanish colonies, led to a war between the two countries, which lasted from the year 1739 to 1748.

In order to prevent the ships of any other nation from trading with their American colonies, the Spaniards employed vessels called guarda-costas to watch and intercept them; but instead of confining themselves to this their legitimate object, the captains of the Spanish guard-ships frequently interfered with British merchants, who were on their way to other American colonies, and, under pretence of searching for contraband goods, boarded their ships, and sometimes treated the crews with the greatest barbarity. The accounts of these indignities created a desire among all classes of his majesty's subjects for inflicting on the Spaniards signal and speedy retribution; but the pacific policy of the minister was inimical to the adoption of vigorous measures. Captain Jenkins, the master of a Scottish merchant-ship, who was examined at the bar of the house of commons, declared that he was boarded by a guarda-costa, who, after ransacking his ship and ill-treating his crew, tore off one of his ears, and throwing it in his face, told him 'to take it to his king.' Upon being asked

what he thought when he found himself in the hands of such barbarians, Jenkins replied, 'I recommended my soul to God and my cause to my country.' These words, and the display of his ear, which, wrapped up in cotton, he always carried about him, filled the house with indignation; but it was not till more than a twelvemonth afterwards that an order in council was issued for making reprisals on the Spaniards.

A.D. 1740.—The war with Spain had now commenced, and the most strenuous exertions were made to put the navy in the best possible condition. Admiral Vernon, with a small force, captured the important city of Porto Bello, on the American isthmus. But it appeared at the close of the year that the Spaniards had taken upwards of 400 English vessels, many of them richly laden.

At this period the violence of party politics was displayed in all its rancour. Many changes took place in the cabinet; and Walpole, descrying the coming storm, presented two of his sons with valuable sinecures. Soon after, Mr. Sandys gave notice that he should make a motion in the house of commons for the dismissal of sir Robert Walpole from the king's councils for ever. On the appointed day the house was crowded at an early hour, and the public were in a state of breathless expectation to learn the result. The accusations against the minister were by no means confined to any particular misconduct, but were vague and indefinite. The very length of Mr. Walpole's power, said Mr. Sandys, was in itself dangerous; to accuse him of any specific crime was unnecessary, the dissatisfaction of the people being a sufficient cause for his removal! The discussion was long and animated, and the debate closed by a powerful speech from Walpole, which made a deep impression on the house; and the motion was negatived by the large majority of 290 against 106. In the lords, a similar motion met with the like result.

A.D. 1741.—The success which had attended Vernon's attack on Porto Bello induced the government to send out large armaments against the Spanish colonies. In conjunction with lord Cathcart, who had the command of a numerous army, Vernon undertook to assail Spanish America on the side of the Atlantic, while commodore Anson sailed round Cape Horn to ravage the coasts of Chili and Peru. Part of these arrangements were frustrated owing to the death of lord Cathcart; his successor, general Wentworth, being an officer of little experience and very jealous of the admiral's popularity. As might be expected where such was the case, the expedition lamentably failed of its object; incapacity and dissension characterised their operations; nothing of the slightest importance was effected; and they returned home after more than fifteen thousand of the troops and seamen had fallen victims to the diseases of a tropical climate. Nor was the result of the expedition under Anson calculated to retrieve these disasters; for although he plundered the town of Paita, in Peru, and captured several prizes, among which was the Spanish galleon, laden with treasure, that sailed annually from Acapulco to Manilla, he encountered such severe storms, particularly in rounding Cape Horn, that his squadron was finally reduced to only one ship.

It is time that we turn to the affairs of continental Europe, so far, at least, as they involved England. In October, 1740, the emperor Charles VI., the last heir-male of the house of Hapsburg, died. Almost all the powers of Europe had, by the 'pragmatic sanction,' guaranteed the possessions of Austria to the archduchess Maria Theresa, queen of Hungary; yet no power except England was influenced by its engagements. Scarcely had the Hungarian queen succeeded her father, when she found herself surrounded by a host of enemies. But the most powerful and the most wily of them was Frederick III., king of Prussia, who, having at his command a rich treasury and a well-appointed army, entered Silesia, and soon conquered it. Knowing, however, that she had not only to contend with the king of France, who had resolved to elevate Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, to the empire; but also numbered among her foes the kings of Spain, Poland, and Sardinia, he offered to support her against all competitors, on the condition of being permitted to retain his acquisition. This she heroically and indignantly refused; and although the French troops even menaced her capital, Maria Theresa convened the states of Hungary, and made a powerful appeal to the nobles, which they responded to by a solemn declaration that they were all ready to die in defence of her rights. Another large army was quickly raised; the English parliament voted her a subsidy; and so great was the attachment of the English people to her cause, that the pacific Walpole could no longer control the desire that was manifested for becoming parties in the war.

A.D. 1742.—In the new parliament, which was opened by the king in person, it was evident that the opponents of Walpole had greatly strengthened themselves; and being shortly after able to obtain a trifling majority of votes on the Westminster election petition, Sir Robert expressed his intention of retiring from office. He consequently resigned all his employments, and was created earl of Orford, with a pension of 4,000*l.* a year, his majesty testifying for his faithful servant the most affectionate regard.

England, accustomed to consider the equilibrium of the continental states as the guarantee of her own grandeur, would naturally espouse the cause of Maria Theresa; while it was quite as natural that the king of England, as elector of Hanover, would be ready to enforce its propriety. But there was another motive at this time still more powerful, namely, the war which had recently broken out between England and Spain; for it could not be expected that, in a continental war in which the latter country was one of the belligerents,

England would omit any opportunity that offered of weakening that power. Yet as long as Walpole was the directing minister, the king restricted himself to negotiations and subsidies. But when Walpole was superseded by lord Carteret, the cause of Maria Theresa was sustained by the arms of England, and by larger subsidies; while the king of Naples was forced by an English fleet to the declaration of neutrality. England had at length become a principal in the war; or, as Smollet observes, 'from being an umpire had now become a party in all continental quarrels, and instead of trimming the balance of Europe, lavished away her blood and treasure in supporting the interest and allies of a puny electorate in the north of Germany.'

A.D. 1743.—George II. was now at the head of the Anglo-electoral army, which on its march to Hanau met and engaged the French under the command of marshal the duke of Noailles and some of the princes of the blood. They began the battle with their accustomed impetuosity, but were received by the English infantry with the characteristic coolness and steady intrepidity for which they are so eminently distinguished. In this battle the king showed much passive courage, and his son, the duke of Cumberland, was wounded; but it proved a decisive victory, 6,000 of the enemy having fallen, while the loss on the side of the British did not amount to more than one third of that number.

About this time a treaty was concluded between this country and Russia for fifteen years, in which it was stipulated that the empress should furnish his Britannic majesty, as soon as required, with a body of 12,000 troops, to be employed according to the exigency of affairs: and that Great Britain should furnish Russia with twelve men of war, on the first notice, in case either of them were attacked by an enemy and demanded such succour.

A.D. 1744.—To remove the Hanoverian dynasty from the throne of these realms seemed to be the darling object of the courts of France and Spain, who were secretly planning to restore the Stuart race in the person of the son of the late pretender. Declarations of war between France and England accordingly took place; and in May the king of France arrived at Lisle, to open the campaign in Flanders, with an army of 120,000 men, commanded by the celebrated marshal Saxe. The allied armies, consisting of English, Hanoverians, Austrians, and Dutch, amounting in the whole to about 75,000, advanced with the apparent intention of attacking the enemy; but, after performing numerous inconsistent and inexplicable movements, without risking either a siege or a battle, the summer passed away, and they retired into winter quarters. Meantime some indecisive engagements had taken place between the English and combined fleets in the Mediterranean.

Towards the close of the year lord Carteret, now earl of Granville, resigned office, and a coalition of parties was formed, which, from including tories, whigs, and patriots, obtained the name of the 'broad-bottom' administration. Mr. Pelham was chancellor of the exchequer and first lord of the treasury; lord Hardwicke, chancellor; the duke of Dorset, president of the council; the duke of Newcastle and lord Harrington, secretaries of state; and the duke of Bedford, first lord of the admiralty Mr. Pitt, afterwards earl of Chatham, gave them his support, having been promised a place as soon as the king's aversion could be overcome.

A.D. 1745.—Robert Walpole, earl of Orford, after a life of political activity, during which he had occupied the most prominent station for twenty years, died on the 18th of March, aged 71. His general policy was principally characterised by zeal in favour of the protestant succession; by the desire of preserving peace abroad, and avoiding subjects of contention at home. Under his auspices the naval superiority of England was maintained; commerce encouraged; justice impartially administered; and the rights of the people preserved inviolate.

In Italy the united armies of France and Spain, owing to their vast superiority in numbers, were enabled to vanquish the Austrians; and the Anglo-electoral troops in the Netherlands also met with serious reverses. The French army under marshal Saxe was strongly posted at Fontenoy; to which place the duke of Cumberland advanced on the 30th of April, and by nine o'clock in the morning the troops were engaged. The valour of the British infantry was never more signally displayed; for a time they bore down everything before them; but the Dutch failing in their attempt on the village of Fontenoy, and the allies, coming within the destructive fire of the semicircle of batteries erected by Saxe, were outflanked and compelled to retreat. The loss on each side amounted to about 10,000 men; but though the victory was not absolutely decisive, it enabled the French marshal to take some of the most considerable towns of the Netherlands, and the allies retired for safety behind the canal at Antwerp.

Thirty years had elapsed since the chevalier de St. George had stirred up that rebellion which had ended so fatally for his own hopes, and so disastrously for his adherents. Since that time he had lived in Italy, had married a grand-daughter of John Sobieski, king of Poland, and had one son, Charles Edward, who was afterwards known in England as the 'young pretender.' While George II. and his ministers were fully occupied in endeavouring to bring the war in Germany to a successful issue, Charles Edward received every encouragement from Louis of France to take advantage of that opportunity and try his strength in Britain. And now that the national discontent was gaining ground in consequence of the loss at Fontenoy, and other events not much less disastrous, he determined to attempt the restoration of his family; and accompanied only by a small party of his most devoted friends, he landed in the Hebrides. Here he was soon joined by the Highland chieftains, and speedily found himself at the head of seve

ral thousand hardy mountaineers, who were highly pleased with his affable manners, and with genuine enthusiasm expressed themselves ready to die in his service. Their first movement was towards Edinburgh, which city surrendered without resistance, but the castle still held out. The young pretender now took possession of Holyrood palace, where he proclaimed his father king of Great Britain, and himself regent, with all the idle pageantries of state. Meanwhile a proclamation was issued, offering a reward of 30,000*l.* for his apprehension.

Sir John Cope, the commander of the king's troops in Scotland, having collected some reinforcements in the north, proceeded from Aberdeen to Dunbar by sea, and hearing that the insurgents were resolved to hazard a battle, he encamped at Preston Pans. Here he was unexpectedly attacked, and with such vigorous onslaught, by the fierce and undisciplined Highlanders, that a sudden panic seized the royal troops, and in their flight they abandoned all their baggage, cannon, and camp equipage to their enemies. Elated with success, the rebels entered England, and proceeded as far as Derby, without encountering any opposition. Here, however, they learned that the duke of Cumberland had arrived from the continent, and was making preparations to oppose them with an overwhelming force; and it was therefore finally determined, that as they could neither raise recruits in England, nor force their way into Wales, they should hasten their return to Scotland.

The pretender had good reason to believe that important succours would be sent to him from France, or it is not likely he would have crossed the border. But the vigilance of admiral Vernon prevented the French fleet from venturing out; and thus all hope of foreign assistance was cut off. The forces of the pretender were greatly augmented on his return to Scotland; but finding that Edinburgh was in possession of the king's troops, he bent his course towards Stirling, which town he captured, and besieged the castle. Matters had now assumed a very serious aspect, and public credit was most seriously affected; but there was no lack of energy in the government, nor any want of patriotism among the nobility, merchants, or traders of England: all ranks, in fact, united with ready zeal in meeting the exigency of the occasion. Many new regiments were raised by wealthy and patriotic individuals; and it was found that by the voluntary exertions of the people 60,000 troops could be added to the king's forces.

A.D. 1746.—In January general Hawley had suffered a complete defeat in endeavouring to raise the siege of Stirling. But a day of terrible retribution was at hand. On the 16th of April, the royal army, under the command of the duke of Cumberland, encountered the troops of the pretender on Culloden-moor. The Highlanders began the attack in their wild furious way, rushing on the royal troops with their broadswords and Lochabar axes; but the English being now prepared for this mode of attack, received them with fixed bayonets, keeping up a steady and well-sustained fire of musketry, while the destruction of their ranks was completed by discharges of artillery. In thirty minutes the battle was converted into a rout; and orders having been issued to give no quarter, vast numbers were slain in the pursuit. The loss of the rebels was estimated at about 4,000, while the number of killed in the royal army is said to have scarcely exceeded fifty men! Intoxicated, as it were, with their unexampled victory, the conquerors seemed bent only on merciless vengeance, and the whole country around became a scene of cruelty and desolation. The unfortunate prince Charles Edward escaped with difficulty from the battle, and after wandering alone in the mountains for several months, in various disguises, found means to make his escape to France.

One great cause of the pretender's preservation was the belief that he had been slain; which arose from the following circumstance. Among his friends, who followed as much as possible in his track, a party was surprised in a hut on the side of the Benalder mountain, by the soldiers who were in search of him. Having seized them, one named Mackenzie effected his escape, upon which his companions told the soldiers that it was the prince; the soldiers thereupon fled in pursuit and overtook the youth, who, when he found their error, resolved to sacrifice his life, in the hope it might save his master's. He bravely contended with them, refused quarter, and died with his sword in his hand, exclaiming as he fell, 'You have killed your prince.' And this declaration was believed by many. 'We cannot, however,' says the biographer of the events of Culloden, 'without pride, mention the astonishing fact, that though the sum of thirty thousand pounds sterling was long publicly offered for his apprehension, and though he passed through very many hands, and both the reward and his person were perfectly well known to an intelligent and very inquisitive people, yet no man or woman was to be found capable of degrading themselves by earning so vast a reward by betraying a fugitive whom misfortune had thrown upon their generosity.' At length, on the 19th of September, the young pretender embarked with twenty-five gentlemen and one hundred and seven common men, in a French vessel, sent for that purpose to the coast; and after a passage of ten days he arrived at Roscau, near Morlaix, and immediately proceeded to Paris, where he was kindly received by Louis XV. But his hopes were for ever fled. The courage and fortitude he displayed in Scotland seem to have forsaken him with a reverse of fortune, and during the remainder of his days no trace of noble ambition marked his actions.

The duke of Cumberland had now become the idol of the nation; and for his bravery at Culloden the parliament voted 25,000*l.* per annum in addition to his for-

ner income. Several acts were passed for protecting the government of Scotland, and securing its loyalty; and many executions of the rebels took place in different parts of the kingdom. Bills of indictment for high treason were found against the earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie, and lord Balmerino, who were tried in Westminster-hall. All three pleaded guilty; Kilmarnock and Balmerino were executed on Tower-hill, but Cromartie's life was spared. Foremost among those who had engaged to venture their lives and fortunes in restoring the Stuart family to the throne of England was lord Lovat, a man whose character was branded with many vices, and whose great age (for he was in his 90th year) had not deterred him from taking an active part in fomenting and encouraging the late rebellion. Being found guilty by his peers, he was remanded to the Tower, where in a few months afterwards he was beheaded.

A.D. 1747.—We must now briefly speak of the state of affairs on the continent. Early in the spring the duke of Cumberland led his troops thither, to join our Austrian and Dutch allies. The French had a decided advantage in point of numbers, and marshal Saxe, their commander, commenced the campaign with the invasion of Dutch Brabant. But, with the exception of the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom, by the French, the war was languidly carried on. This celebrated siege, however, lasted from July 16 to September 15, and presented a continued scene of horror and destruction; but though the town was burned, the garrison had suffered little, while heaps of slain were formed of the besiegers. The governor, calculating from these circumstances on the impregnability of the fortress, was lulled into false security; whilst the French troops threw themselves into the fosse, mounted the breaches, and entered the garrison; and thus became masters of the navigation of the Scheldt. In Italy, the allies, though forced to raise the siege of Genoa, were generally successful.

At sea the English well maintained their superiority. In an engagement with the French off Cape Finisterre, the English were victorious; and several richly laden ships, both outward and homeward bound, fell into their hands. Admiral Hawke also defeated the French fleet off Belleisle, and took six sail of the line.

In November a new parliament assembled, and the ministers derived much popularity on account of the suppression of the late rebellion, as well as for their naval successes. All parties, however, were tired of the war, and preparations were made for opening a congress at Aix-la-Chapelle preliminary to a general peace; but as the issue of it was uncertain, the usual grants and subsidies were readily voted without enquiry. Though so long since began, it was not till October in the following year that this treaty of peace was concluded. The chief parties to it were Britain, Holland, and Austria on one side, and France and Spain on the other. By it all the great treaties from that of Westphalia in 1648, to that of Vienna in 1738, were renewed and confirmed. France surrendered her conquests in Flanders, and the English in the East and West Indies. But the right of British subjects to navigate the American seas without being subject to *search* by the Spaniards was suffered to pass unnoticed, although that was the original bone of contention and the basis of the attacks made on Walpole's ministry. The only advantage, indeed, that England gained, was the recognition of the Hanoverian succession, and the general abandonment of the pretender, whose cause was from henceforth regarded as hopeless.

A.D. 1749.—The war being at an end, the disbanding of the army naturally followed; and, as must ever in some degree be the case at such a time, the idle and unemployed committed many depredations on the public. To remedy this, a colony was established in Nova Scotia, where lord Halifax went out as governor, and laid the foundation of a town, which, in compliment to its projector, the earl of Halifax, was named after him. It was soon found that the soil of Nova Scotia was incapable of repaying the labourer for his toil, and many who had been transported there obtained leave to go to more southern latitudes. They who remained excited the jealousy of the native Indians, who still resided on the borders of this barren spot; and the French, who were the first European settlers there, encouraged this jealous feeling. Meantime the animosity between the English and French grew stronger, till at length the latter claimed the whole territory between the Mississippi and New Mexico on the east, and to the Apalachian mountains on the west. From the fact of their having been the first to discover that river, they took from the English, who had settled beyond those mountains, their possessions, and erected forts to protect all the adjacent country.

A.D. 1751.—The first event of any importance this year was the death of Frederick, prince of Wales, which happened on the 10th of March, in the forty-fifth year of his age. His death was caused by an abscess in his side, from the blow of a cricket-ball which he received while playing at that game on the lawn of Cliefden-house, Bucks, a collection of matter having been produced that burst in his throat and suffocated him. The prince had long been on bad terms with his father, whose measures he uniformly opposed; and though the anti-ministerial party and a considerable portion of the people spoke highly of his benevolence and munificence, and loudly applauded his conduct at the time, it is clear that much of his patriotism originated in a vain desire for popularity. He left five sons and three daughters; his eldest son, George, being only eleven years old: a regency was consequently appointed: but the king surviving till the prince attained his majority, there was never any occasion for it to act.

The most memorable act passed in the course of this session was that for regulating the commencement of the year, and

correcting the calendar according to the Gregorian computation. The New Style, as it was termed, was introduced by pope Gregory XIII. in the 16th century, and had long been adopted by most states on the continent. By this act, therefore, it was provided that the year should begin on the first day of January, instead of, as heretofore, on March 25, and that eleven intermediate nominal days between the 2nd and 14th of September, 1752, should be omitted; the Julian computation, supposing a solar revolution to be effected in the precise period of 365 days and six hours, having made no provision for the deficiency of eleven minutes, which, however, in the lapse of eighteen centuries amounted to a difference of eleven days. Bills were also passed for the better prevention of robberies, for the regulation of places of amusement, and for punishing the keepers of disorderly houses; the necessity of this arising from the spirit of extravagance which prevailed throughout the kingdom, as dissipation and amusement occupied every class of society.

Among the domestic events of this year no one created more sensation than the death of Henry St. John, viscount Bolingbroke; a nobleman who had for half a century occupied a high station in the country, whether we regard him in the character of a statesman, an orator, an author, or a polished courtier. He possessed great energy and decision of character, but he was deficient in that high principle and singleness of purpose that inspire confidence and lead to unquestioned excellence.

The new parliament was opened on the 10th of May, 1753; and the first business of the house was to take into consideration the state of Ireland, which, in proportion as it advanced in civilisation, showed a disposition to shake off its dependence on England. The kingdom was in a state of tranquillity at the session which terminated the labours of the last parliament; but previous to the new election, the death of Mr. Pelham caused several changes in the government offices; the late minister was succeeded in the treasury by his brother, the duke of Newcastle; and unanimity now prevailed in the cabinet.

A.D. 1755.—We have before referred to the animosity which existed between the English and French relative to their North American possessions. Hostilities were now commenced by the colonial authorities, without the formality of a declaration of war; the Virginian port of Log's Town was surprised by a French detachment, and all its inhabitants inhumanly murdered; the North American Indians were stimulated to attack the British colonists, and large supplies of arms and ammunition were imported from France. The British ministers immediately prepared for hostilities; all the French forts within the limits of Nova Scotia were reduced by colonel Monckton; but an expedition against the French forts on the Ohio, commanded by general Braddock, met with a severe defeat; the general, falling into an ambuscade of French and Indians, was slain, and the regular soldiers fled with disgraceful precipitation. The provincial militia, however, led by colonel Washington, displayed good courage, nobly maintained their ground, and covered the retreat of the main army. The loss of the English on this occasion was very severe: upwards of 700 men, with several officers, were slain; the artillery, stores, and provisions became the property of the victors, as well as the general's cabinet, containing his private instructions, &c., of which the enemy availed himself to great advantage. Two other expeditions, destined for the attack of Crown Point and fort Niagara, also failed. But the reprisals at sea more than compensated for these misfortunes, as upwards of three hundred merchant ships and eight thousand seamen were captured that year by British cruisers.

A. D. 1756.—Notwithstanding hostilities had been carried on nearly a twelvemonth, war was not formally declared till the 18th of May, the chief subject of complaint being the encroachments of the French on the Ohio and Nova Scotia. This was followed by threats of invasion upon England or Ireland; in consequence of which a body of Hessian and Hanoverian troops was introduced to defend the interior of the kingdom; a measure which gave rise to considerable discontent, as most people thought that the ordinary force of either country was sufficient to repel invasion. But whilst the government was providing for its internal security, the enemy was making serious attempts to wrest from us our possessions both in the East and West Indies. The reduction of Minorca was a favourite object of the French government; a formidable force was landed on the island, and close siege laid to Fort St. Philip, which commands the principal town and harbour. The governor, general Blakeney, made a long and able defence: but admiral Byng, who had deen intrusted with the charge of the English fleet in the Mediterranean, and was ordered to attempt the relief of the place, seems to have been destitute of any decisive plan; and, after avoiding an action with a French squadron, he returned to Gibraltar, abandoning Minorca to its fate, which, to the infinite chagrin of the nation, fell into the hands of the enemy.

The surrender of Minorca was an unexpected blow, and the rage of the people at its loss was directed against the unfortunate Byng, who, being tried by a court-martial at Portsmouth, was condemned to death, for not doing his utmost to engage the enemy, but recommended to the mercy of the crown, as it did not appear to the court that it was through cowardice or disaffection. Great exertions were made to save the admiral's life, but in vain; he was ordered to be shot on board the Monarque, and he met his fate with coolness and intrepidity.

In America a second series of expeditions against the French forts signally failed; while the marquis de Montcalm, the governor of Canada, captured Oswego, where the British had deposited the greater part of their artillery and military stores.—But it is time that we call the reader's attention

to the progress of affairs in our Eastern possessions.

A.D. 1757.—The jealousy which had been created among the petty independent princes of India, by the privileges which the emperor of Delhi had granted to the English settlers at Calcutta, had risen to an alarming height; but successful means had been used to allay their fury until the accession of the ferocious Suraja Dowla, soubahdar of Bengal, who was enraged at the shelter which the English afforded to some of his destined victims. He advanced towards Calcutta, when the governor and most of the local authorities, panic-stricken, made their escape in boats, leaving about a hundred and ninety men, under the control of Mr. Holwell, to make the best of their forlorn situation. This mere handful of Englishmen, composing the garrison, for a short time bravely defended themselves, but when they fell into the power of the infuriated Suraja, he ordered the unhappy prisoners, then amounting to one hundred and forty-six, to be thrust into the prison of Calcutta, called the Black Hole; a room less than twenty feet square. Here the heat and foulness of the air reduced them to the most pitiable state imaginable; and when on the following morning an order came for their release, only twenty-three were found alive. The news of this horrid catastrophe reached Madras just when colonel Clive and admiral Watson, flushed by their recent victory over the celebrated pirate Angria, had arrived at Madras to aid in the destruction of the French influence in the Deccan. Calcutta was therefore the scene of their next operations; and no sooner did the fleet make its appearance before that city than it surrendered. The French fort of Chandernagore was reduced: several of Suraja Dowla's own places were taken, conspiracies were formed against him, and the haughty chieftain felt that the sovereignty of Bengal must be decided by a battle. Contrary to the opinion of all his officers, Clive resolved to engage him, although the disparity of their forces was prodigious. He accordingly took up a position in the grove of Plassey: his troops in the whole not exceeding three thousand two hundred men, of whom only nine hundred were Europeans; while Suraja Dowla had with him fifty thousand foot, eighteen thousand horse, and fifty pieces of cannon. So great were the errors committed by the enemy, and so skilfully did the British commander use his means, that a complete victory was won, at the astonishingly small loss of seventy men in killed and wounded. This event laid the foundation of the British dominion in India; and in one campaign we became possessed of a territory which, in its wealth and extent, exceeded any kingdom in Europe.

A.D. 1758.—Whilst victory followed victory in the eastern world, a change in the English ministry led to similar successes in the west. It was at this period that the celebrated William Pitt (afterwards earl of Chatham) was brought into office, with Mr. Legge; but both of them being opposed to the expensive support of continental connections, they would have been dismissed by the king, but for the popularity which their principles had acquired. In North America the British arms had been tarnished by delays and disasters that might have been avoided; and it was therefore resolved on to recall the earl of Loudon, and intrust the military operations to generals Abercrombie, Amherst, and Forbes, the first-named being the commander-in-chief. Amherst laid siege to Louisbourg, and aided by the talents of brigadier Wolfe, who was fast rising into eminence, forced that important garrison to surrender. This was followed by the entire reduction of Cape Breton, and the inferior stations which the French occupied in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Brigadier-general Forbes was sent against Fort du Quesne, which the French at his approach abandoned. But the expedition against Ticonderago, which Abercrombie himself undertook, failed of success; the number and valour of his troops being unequal to the capture of a place so strongly fortified.

An expedition was now planned against Quebec; and as the inhabitants of Canada had good reason to believe that their laws and religion would be respected, they were prepared to submit to a change of masters. Thus when general Wolfe proceeded up the St. Lawrence, he encountered no very serious opposition from the Canadians, who seemed to regard the approaching struggle with indifference. While Wolfe advanced towards Quebec, general Amherst conquered Ticonderago and Crown Point, and sir W. Johnson gained the important fortress of Niagara. Amherst expected to be able to form a junction with Wolfe, but in this he was disappointed; and though the inadequacy of his force made him almost despair of success, the ardent young general resolved to persevere in this hazardous enterprise. Having effected a landing in the night, under the heights of Abraham, he led his men up this apparently inaccessible steep, thereby securing a position which commanded the town. The marquis de Montcalm was utterly astonished when he heard that so daring and desperate an effort had been achieved by the English troops. A battle was now inevitable, and both generals prepared for the contest with equal courage. It was brief but fierce; the scale of victory was just beginning to turn in favour of the British, when a ball pierced the breast of Wolfe, and he fell mortally wounded. The unhappy tidings flew from rank to rank; every man seemed determined to avenge the loss of his general; and with such impetuosity did they charge the enemy, that the words 'They run!' resounded in the ears of Wolfe as, expiring, he leaned on a soldier's breast. 'Who run?' he eagerly enquired; and on being told it was the French, he calmly replied, 'I die happy.' The marquis de Montcalm fell in the same field, and met his fate with similar intrepidity. In skill and valour he was no way inferior to his more youthful rival. When told, after the battle, that his wounds were mortal, he exclaimed, 'So much the better: I shall not live to witness

the surrender of Quebec.' In a few days after this battle, the city opened its gates to the British, and the complete subjugation of the Canadas speedily followed.

A.D. 1760.—In the East Indies the success of the English was scarcely less decisive than in America. By land and by sea several victories had been gained in that quarter; and at length colonel Coote and the French general Lally fought a determined battle at Wandewash (Jan. 21), in which the French were signally defeated, and their influence in the Carnatic destroyed.

The war on the continent, in which the English had taken a very active part, had now raged for four years, without gaining any other advantage than the gratification of defending the possessions of their sovereign in Germany. England, indeed, was now in a state of unparalleled glory. At sea, the conduct of her admirals had destroyed the naval power of the French; in the Indies her empire was extended, and the English rendered masters of the commerce of the vast peninsula of Hindostan; while in Canada a most important conquest had been achieved. These important acquisitions made the English very impatient of the German war; and they asserted that the French islands in the West Indies, more valuable to a commercial people than half the states of Germany, might have been gained with less expense and risk than had been spent in defending one paltry electorate. In the midst of these disputes, George II. died suddenly, on the 25th of October, in the 77th year of his age, and the 34th of his reign. The immediate cause of his decease was a rupture of the right ventricle of the heart. If we impartially regard the character of this king we shall find both in his private and public conduct room for just panegyric. That during his whole reign he evinced a remarkable affection for his Hanoverian subjects is certainly true; yet his exposing that country to the attacks of the enemy, rather than neglect the rights of England in North America, clears him of the imputation of partiality. In his temper he was hasty and violent, yet his general conduct was so little influenced by this, that it was generally mild and humane. He was impartial in the administration of justice, sincere and open in his intentions, and temperate and regular in his manner of living. Under his reign the agriculture, commerce, and industry of Great Britain daily increased; and his subjects, even when at war with the most powerful nations of Europe, enjoyed peace at home, and acquired glory abroad.

Great progress had been made during this reign in disseminating a taste for general literature and the arts; and though it was not the fashion for the magnates of the land to be very liberal in their patronage to such as devoted their minds to the advancement of science, still much was done towards pioneering the way for a future age, when a solution of many of the phenomena of nature might seem to demand more serious attention. Among the great historians were Hume, Gibbon, and Robertson. In philology and criticism were Warburton, Bentley, and Boyle. Mathematics and astronomy could boast of Halley, Bradley, and Maclaurin. Theology was distinguished by the eminent names of Potter, Hoadley, Sherlock, Doddridge, Watts, Chandler, and many others. Painting had its Reynolds, Ramsay, and Hogarth; music its Handel, Boyce, Greene, and Arne; and among the votaries of the muses were Pope, Akenside, Thomson, Young, Gray, Glover, and others scarcely less distinguished.

CHAPTER LX.

The Reign of GEORGE III.

A.D. 1760.—GEORGE II. was succeeded by his grandson, George III., eldest son of Frederic, prince of Wales, whose death has been mentioned as occurring in 1751. On his accession to the throne he was twenty-two years of age; affable, good-tempered, upright, and religious. His education had been under the direction of lord Bute, and he had a great advantage over his predecessors, in being acquainted with the language, habits, and institutions of his countrymen: his first entrance into public life consequently made a favourable impression on his subjects; and addresses, containing professions of the most loyal attachment, poured in from all parts of the kingdom.

On his majesty's accession, the nominal head of the administration was the duke of Newcastle, but Mr. Pitt, principal secretary of state, was the presiding genius of the cabinet. The chief remaining members were lord Northington, afterwards lord chancellor; lord Carteret, president of the council; the duke of Devonshire, lord chamberlain; Mr. Legge, chancellor of the exchequer; lord Anson, first lord of the admiralty; and lord Holdernesse, secretary of state. On the 18th of November the king met his parliament, and in a popular speech, which he commenced with, 'Born and educated in this country, I glory in the name of Briton,'—the flourishing state of the kingdom, the brilliant successes of the war, and the extinction of internal divisions were acknowledged; while the support of the 'protestant interest,' and a 'safe and honourable peace,' were declared to be the objects of the war. An act was then passed for granting to his majesty an annual income of 800,000*l*.

A.D. 1761.—One of the first important acts of the new monarch was a declaration of his intention to marry the princess Charlotte, daughter of the duke of Mecklenburgh-Strelitz: the necessary preparations were accordingly made; she arrived in London on the 8th of September, the nuptials took place that evening in the royal chapel, and on the 22nd their majesties were crowned in Westminster-abbey.

Soon after the king's accession, negotiations for peace were commenced by the courts of France and Great Britain, but there was little honesty of intention on either side; Mr. Pitt being firmly resolved to humble the house of Bourbon, while the duke of Choiseul, on the part of France

was relying on the promises of Spanish aid, to enable him to carry on hostilities with increased vigour. The war languished in Germany; but at sea the honour of the British flag was still nobly sustained. Peace appeared to be desirable for all parties, and negotiations were resumed; but neither power was willing to make concessions; and Mr. Pitt having discovered that an intimate connection between the courts of Versailles and Madrid had been formed, he proposed in council to anticipate the hostile intentions of the latter, by seizing the Plate fleet, laden with the treasures of Spanish America. To this the king and the rest of the ministers were adverse; the consequence of which was, that Mr. Pitt and his brother-in-law, lord Temple, sent in their seals of office. His majesty, anxious to introduce his favourite, the earl of Bute, into the cabinet, accepted the premier's resignation; and in return for his great services, a pension of 3000*l.* per annum was settled upon him, which was to continue to his wife, (on whom the title of baroness Chatham was conferred) and their eldest son, for their lives.

A.D. 1762.—A very few months after the late changes in the cabinet had occurred, it became fully evident that the 'family compact' of the houses of Bourbon had been completed. On this occasion the new ministry showed no want of alacrity in maintaining their country's honour; and on the 4th of January war was declared against Spain. The first blow was struck by admiral Rodney, who captured Martinico; which was followed by the surrender of the dependent isles, Grenada, St. Lucie, and St. Vincent. The next expedition undertaken by the English was equally successful; a fleet under admiral Pococke, assisted by an army under the earl of Albemarle, was sent against Havannah, the capital of the island of Cuba, which surrendered after a vigorous resistance of two months. The riches acquired by the English on this occasion amounted to twelve ships of the line, besides money and merchandise to the amount of four millions sterling.

While these successes attended the British arms in the West Indies, an armament from Madras, under general Draper and general Cornish, reduced the island of Manilla, and its fall involved the fate of the whole range of the Philippine islands. The capture of the Hermione, a large Spanish register ship, took place soon after, and the cargo, which was estimated at a million sterling, passed in triumph to the bank at the same hour in which the birth of the prince of Wales was announced to the public (April 12, 1762).

An attempt made by Spain to subdue Portugal having proved unsuccessful, and both France and Spain being heartily tired of a war which threatened ruin to the colonies of both, they became desirous of peace; this being agreeable to the British ministry, of whom the earl of Bute was then at the head, preliminaries were speedily set on foot. Indeed, so anxious was his lordship to avoid a continuance of hostilities, that he not only stopped the career of colonial conquest, but consented to sacrifice several acquisitions that Britain had already made. The definitive treaty was concluded at Paris on the 11th of February, 1763. Florida was received in exchange for Havannah; Cape Breton, Tobago, Dominica, St. Vincent, Grenada, and Senegal were retained; the conquest of Canada remained intact, and the British nation had also gained large possessions and a decided superiority in India.

A.D. 1763.—In Germany the marquis of Granby signalised himself at the head of the allied army; and, in union with the king of Prussia, would in all probability have succeeded in expelling the French troops, had not a general treaty of peace put an end to the contest. Britain by the colonial war obtained complete maritime supremacy; she commanded the entire commerce of North America and Hindostan, and had a decided superiority in the West Indian trade. But during the 'seven years' war' a question arose which led to very important discussions: France, unable to maintain a commercial intercourse with her colonies, opened the trade to neutral powers: England declared this traffic illegal, and relying on her naval superiority, seized neutral vessels and neutral property bound to hostile ports. The return of peace put an end to the dispute for a season, but the subject has since been the fruitful source of angry discussion in every subsequent war.

The earl of Bute, under whose auspices the late peace had been made, had always been beheld with jealousy by the popular party, who accused him of having formed that 'influence behind the throne greater than the throne itself,'—though it really seems to have been a mere delusion, fostered and encouraged for factious purposes—now suddenly resigned his office of first lord of the treasury, and was succeeded by Mr. George Grenville.

The public attention was now almost wholly bent on the result of the trial of John Wilkes, member for Aylesbury, a man of good talents and classical taste, but who bore a very profligate character. Disappointed in his expectations from the ministry, he assumed the part of a violent patriot, and inveighed vehemently against the measures pursued by government. The press teemed with political pamphlets, to which the ministerial party seemed indifferent, until the appearance of No. 49 of the 'North Briton,' in which very strong and scurrilous abuse was published against the king's speech delivered at the close of parliament. A general warrant was thereupon issued for apprehending the author, printer, and publisher of it; and Mr. Wilkes being taken into custody he was sent to the Tower, and all his papers were seized. He was afterwards tried in the court of common pleas, and acquitted, lord chief-justice Pratt declaring against the legality of general warrants; that is, warrants not specifying the names of the accused.

But Wilkes, after his release, having republished the offensive paper, an informa

tion was filed against him at his majesty's suit, for a gross libel, and the 'North Briton' was burned by the hands of the common hangman; nor did the matter end here; the legality of general warrants gave rise to several stormy debates in the house of commons; and at length Mr. Wilkes was expelled for having printed in his own house an infamous poem, called 'An Essay on Woman,' with notes, to which the name of bishop Warburton was affixed. As he did not appear to the indictment preferred against him, he was declared an outlaw. He then retired to France; and we may here as well observe, though in doing so we overstep our chronological boundary, that in 1768 he returned to England, and by submitting to the fine and imprisonment pronounced against him, procured a reversion of the sentence of outlawry. He then offered himself to represent the county of Middlesex, and was unanimously chosen, in opposition to the ministerial candidates. He afterwards commenced a prosecution against the earl of Halifax, and recovered 4000*l.* damages for his imprisonment in the Tower upon an illegal warrant.

A.D. 1765.—This year is rendered important in the annals of England by the passing of an American stamp act, which gave rise to those disputes which alienated the colonies from the mother country, and ended in a total separation. As the late war had been entered into by Great Britain, in order to protect her American settlements from the encroachments of the French, it was thought reasonable that they should contribute towards the expenses which had been incurred. A bill was accordingly brought into parliament, and received the royal assent, for imposing a stamp and other duties on fifty-three articles of their commerce. Eventually, however, the resistance made by the Americans to these imposts, and the general discontent which prevailed in England, occasioned the repeal of the act. A change in the ministry, by the introduction of the marquis of Rockingham, was the immediate consequence; but his rule was of very limited duration, and the duke of Grafton was appointed first lord of the treasury. The privy seal was bestowed on Mr. Pitt, who was now created earl of Chatham; lord Camden succeeded lord Northington as lord chancellor, and Mr. Townshend was made chancellor of the exchequer.

The affairs of the East India Company now claimed the attention of the house. Mr. Vansittart had acted as governor-general from the time of colonel Clive's return to England in 1760. But the viceroy of Bengal had opposed the company, and a war ensued which ended by the English making an entire conquest of the kingdom of Bengal. The preceding year the company sent over lord Clive, who found that their agents had acquired the custom of exacting large sums as presents from the native princes: by which means they had accumulated great riches, and the name of an Englishman had become odious. Lord Clive resolved to restrain the rapacity of these persons, and he concluded a treaty for the company, by which they would enjoy a revenue of 1,700,000*l.*

The wealth of this powerful body rendered it too formidable in the eyes of government, and a question arose whether the East India Company had any right to territorial jurisdiction. On examining into their charter, it appeared that they were prohibited from making conquests; and it being proved that they had subdued some of the native princes, and annexed their dominions to the company's settlements, it was agreed that this commercial association should be brought in some degree under the control of parliament.

The metropolis was for a long time agitated with the affair of Wilkes; of which a set of restless demagogues took advantage to disturb the public mind, already overexcited by the opposition to the measures of government as regarded the North American colonies. But no national event worthy of historical record occurred for some considerable time.

One or two matters of domestic interest which happened during this period must, however, be noticed. The first relates to an address from the corporation of London to the king, which was presented on May 23, 1770, in which they lamented the royal displeasure they had incurred in consequence of their former remonstrance; but they still adhered to it, and again prayed for a dissolution of parliament. To which his majesty replied that 'he should have been wanting to the public, as well as to himself, had he made such a use of the prerogative as was inconsistent with the interest, and dangerous to the constitution of the kingdom.' Upon this the lord mayor, Beckford, a high-spirited and fearless democrat, begged leave to *answer the king*. Such a request was as indecorous as it was unusual; but in the confusion of the moment, leave was given; and, with great fluency of language, he delivered an extempore address to his majesty, concluding in the following words:—'Permit me, sire, to observe, that whoever has already dared, or shall hereafter endeavour, by false insinuations and suggestions, to alienate your majesty's affections from your loyal subjects in general, and from the city of London in particular, and to withdraw your confidence from, and regard for, your people, is an enemy to your majesty's person and family, a violator of the public peace, and the betrayer of our happy constitution as it was established at the glorious and necessary revolution.' No reply was given, but the king reddened with anger and astonishment. When his civic lordship again appeared at St. James, the lord-chamberlain informed him that his majesty desired that nothing of the kind might happen in future.

An *ex-officio* prosecution against Woodfall, the printer and publisher of the 'Public Advertiser,' in which the 'Letters of Junius' originally appeared, having placed him at the bar, lord Mansfield informed the jury that they had nothing to do with the *intention* of the writer, their province was limited to the *fact* of publishing; the *truth*

or *falschood* of the alleged libel was wholly immaterial. The jury, however, after being out nine hours, found a verdict of guilty of *printing and publishing only*, which in effect amounted to an acquittal. These celebrated 'Letters' were equally distinguished by the force and elegance of their style as by the virulence of their attacks on individuals, and though conjecture has ever since been busy to discover the author, and strong circumstantial evidence has been brought forward at different times to identify *different* persons with the authorship, the point still lies open to some doubt. In the belief of lord Macaulay, the author of these letters was sir Philip Francis, the keen opponent of Warren Hastings in the council chamber at Calcutta.

Before this time (1771) the parliamentary debates had only been given in monthly magazines and other periodicals published at considerable intervals. The practice of daily reporting now commenced; but as it was an innovation on the former practice, and in direct violation of the standing orders of the house, several printers were apprehended and taken before lord-mayor Crosby and aldermen Oliver and Wilkes, who discharged them, and held the messenger of the commons to bail for false imprisonment. The house of commons, enraged at this daring contempt of their authority, committed their two members, Crosby and Oliver, to the Tower; but eventually the matter was suffered to drop; the aldermen were liberated; and from that time the publication of the parliamentary proceedings has been *connived at!*

On the death of Mr. Townshend, who did not long survive his appointment, the office of chancellor of the exchequer was filled by Lord North.—Lord Chatham having now lost his influence over the ministry, and being dissatisfied with their proceedings, resigned his place as lord keeper of the privy seal, and retired from the cares of government.

In the late arrangements made between government and the East India Company, permission was given to the latter to export teas free of duty. Lord North hoped that the low price of the article would induce the Americans to pay the small duty charged on importation by the English legislature, for the mere purpose of maintaining its *right* of taxation. Custom-houses had been established in their sea-ports, for the purpose of collecting these duties; which being considered by the Americans as an infringement of their liberty, they resolved to discontinue the use of British commodities. Accordingly, when three vessels, laden with tea, arrived at Boston, they were boarded during the night by a party of the townsmen, and the cargoes thrown into the sea. This outrage, followed by other acts of defiance, and a repetition of similar conduct on the part of the inhabitants of South Carolina, gave great offence, while it occasioned considerable alarm in England; and acts were passed for closing the port of Boston, and for altering the constitution of the colony of Massachusetts.

When the order to close the port of Boston reached America, a copy of the act, surrounded with a black border, was circulated through all the provinces, and they resolved to spend the first of June, the day appointed to put the act into execution, in fasting and prayer. Whilst each province was framing resolutions, the other bills reached Massachusetts. These raised their irritated feelings to the highest pitch, and they formed an association, in which they bound themselves by a solemn league and covenant, to break off all commercial intercourse with Great Britain, until the Boston port bill and other acts should be repealed, and the colony restored to its ancient rights. In this situation of affairs the British parliament assembled, when a conciliatory plan for accommodating the troubles of America was proposed in the house of lords by the earl of Chatham, and rejected. The petition and remonstrance of THE CONGRESS were also rejected, and an application made by their agents to be heard at the bar of the house of commons was refused.

'Upon the great question of taxing the American colonies,' observes Mr. Wade, in his 'British History,' p. 466, 'there was a general coincidence of opinion, both in the nation and legislature. The populace expressed no sympathy with the claim of the Bostonians to be exempt from the fiscal jurisdiction of parliament; neither does it appear there were many addresses in their favour from the county freeholders nor the great commercial and municipal bodies of the kingdom. Among the chief political leaders there were shades of difference, which may be ascribed to their position, as they happened to be members or not of the government, but there hardly seems to have been a substantive disagreement.—The right of taxation was as indisputable as the right of resistance. Unrepresented Boston or Baltimore had no greater claim to exemption from parliamentary government than unrepresented Birmingham or Manchester. They participated in the advantages of the general government of the mother country, and were equally bound to contribute to its general expenditure. But it does not follow that they were always to remain in a state of minority and dependence. If they had the power and were competent to the task of self-government, they had an unquestionable right to its benefits, and to make the experiment.' Another recent authority, of equal value, has this remark: 'It is useless to conceal that the American war was popular at its commencement. The vague notion of dominion over an entire continent flattered English pride, and the taxes which the ministers demanded, promised some alleviation to the public burdens. The colonial revolt was regarded by many as a rebellion, not against the British government, but the British people, and the contest was generally looked upon in England as an effort to establish, not the royal authority, but the supremacy of the nation.'

A.D. 1775.—An open rupture between the

parent state and its colonies was evidently approaching with rapid strides. Determined to support their cause with the utmost vigour, the Americans at once proceeded to train their militia, erect powder mills in Philadelphia and Virginia, and prepare arms in every province. They also assumed the appellation of 'the United Colonies of America,' established an extensive paper currency, and were very active in raising a regular army. On the other hand, the authority of the British government was promptly supported by general Gage, who had lately been appointed governor of Massachusetts bay. This officer, having received intelligence that some military stores belonging to the provincials were deposited at a place called Concord, sent thither a detachment of soldiers to destroy them; but on their return to Boston, these troops were pursued by a body of provincials, who would have succeeded in cutting them off, had not the general sent out a large force to cover their retreat. The loss of the English on this occasion amounted to 273 men; of the Americans only 50 were killed and 38 wounded. War had therefore now actually commenced; and the provincials, elated with their success, pursued their hostile intentions with increased vigour. Having a short time after surprised the fortresses of Ticonderago and Crown Point, and by that means possessed themselves of upwards of 100 pieces of cannon, besides a large quantity of military stores of every description, they assembled an army of 20,000 men, which they intrusted to Mr. George Washington, and resolved to lay siege to Boston. In the meantime the English cabinet having received intelligence of these resolute proceedings, sent a reinforcement to their army, with the generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton. The Americans, not at all intimidated by these measures, persisted in blockading Boston; and in the night of the 16th of June they took possession of and fortified an eminence called Bunker's-hill, from which they could open a formidable cannonade on the town. To this point general Gage sent two thousand men, in order to dislodge them; in which attempt they at last succeeded, but not without a loss so heavy, that the English general resolved to confine himself for the future to defensive operations.

Hitherto, notwithstanding their uninterrupted success, the American colonists had disclaimed all idea of assuming independence; but, on the contrary, as was averred in a petition from the congress, presented to the king by Mr. Penn, a descendant of the founder of Pennsylvania, they were extremely desirous of effecting a compromise. He at the same time assured the government, that if the present application was rejected, they would enter into alliance with foreign powers; and that such alliances, if once formed, would be with great difficulty dissolved. The petition was however rejected; an act was passed, prohibiting all trade with the colonies, and another, by which all American vessels were declared enemies' ships.

The Americans finding that their endeavours to conciliate the ministry were ineffectual, gave orders to their generals to endeavour to subjugate such of the colonies as remained faithful to Great Britain. Two parties were sent into Canada, under general Montgomery and colonel Arnold, who, after having surmounted innumerable difficulties, laid siege to Quebec; but in this attempt they were overpowered: Montgomery was killed, Arnold was wounded, and their men were compelled to make a precipitate retreat. While the Americans were thus unsuccessful in Canada, the British governors in Virginia and North and South Carolina had used their best endeavours to keep those provinces in alliance, but without effect; they therefore found themselves obliged to return to England. General Gage was recalled, and the command of the troops at Boston devolved on general Howe, who was soon after obliged to evacuate the place, and repair to Halifax, in Nova Scotia. The royal forces had no sooner relinquished the town than general Washington took possession of it, and, with the assistance of some foreign engineers, fortified it in such a manner as to render it almost impregnable. It now wanted little to effect a total alienation of the colonies from Great Britain; and the fact of having subsidised a large body of German mercenaries for the purpose of assisting in the subjugation of the revolted provinces, served as a fair excuse for the congress to publish *the declaration of independence of the thirteen United States*, which took place on July 4, 1776.

This bold measure was determined on at a time when the congress had no very flattering prospect before their eyes, and little to encourage them save the indomitable spirit of resistance that everywhere manifested itself to British supremacy. Its army was a raw militia, and it was unprovided to any extent with ships or money; while the English forces, greatly augmented, were preparing to besiege New York. General Howe had been joined by his brother, lord Howe, and on August 26, the campaign opened by the English taking possession of Long Island, preparatory to an attack on New York, which was captured on September 21; Washington evacuating that city with the utmost precipitation. The city was soon after set on fire by some incendiaries, who had concealed themselves, and nearly a third part of it was destroyed. After an undeviating course of victory, general Howe led his troops into winter quarters; but in the disposition of them he departed from his usual prudence, and allowed them to be too much scattered; which led to the Hessian troops, who, from their depredations and cruelties, had roused the resentful feelings of the inhabitants of New Jersey, being surprised in their cantonments, where nearly 1000 were taken prisoners, and many slain.

A.D. 1777.—Gratified with the intelligence they received of Howe's successes, the English ministry determined to follow them up by sending an army under general Burgoyne, from Canada through the northern states, to cooperate with Howe in the

south. For a time everything seemed to promise a favourable issue to this project; sir W. Howe defeated Washington at the battle of Brandywine, and took Philadelphia; while Burgoyne, having reduced Ticonderago, was pursuing his march southward. But innumerable difficulties lay in his way; and when he reached Saratoga, he was surrounded by the American forces under generals Gates and Arnold, and he and his whole army, amounting to 5,752 men, were compelled to surrender prisoners of war. Thus ended a campaign which at the outset seemed so promising; but disastrous as it had turned out, neither the confidence of ministers nor of the British people appeared to be at all abated.

A.D. 1778.—Whilst England was engaged in this unfortunate contest with her colonies, a cessation seemed to have taken place in the contentions and animosities of other nations, and their whole attention was apparently engrossed by speculating on the novel scene before them. The great disturbers of mankind appear to have laid aside their rapacity and ambition, whilst they contemplated the new events which were transpiring, and predicted the conclusion of so strange a warfare. The enemies of England, who had long beheld, with apprehension, the increase of her commerce, and many of England's old allies who envied her the possession of such valuable colonies, were astonished at the revolution which threatened her, and looked forward with pleasure to the time when her power and glory should be wrested from her grasp. The Americans were received, protected, and openly caressed by France and Spain, who, beginning to feel the influence of that commerce from which they had been so long excluded, treated the colonies with respect, and rejected the feeble remonstrances of England's ambassadors. Happy had it been for France, and happy for the world, if, content with reaping the benefits of American commerce, they had remained spectators of the contest, and simply profited by the dissensions of their neighbours. For it is beyond all doubt, that the seed of republicanism which was sown in America, sprang up and was nurtured in France, nor could its rank growth be checked till every acre of that fair land had been steeped in blood.

Crippled and pent up in situations from which they could not stir without danger, the royal troops exhibited a most forlorn appearance, while every day was adding to the strength and resources of the insurgents. They had established for themselves an efficient government; they had agents at the principal European courts; they raised and maintained armies; and they had, in fact, been recognised as an independent nation by two of the principal powers of Europe. The treaty between France and America was completed; and the discussions which arose on the notification of this circumstance to the British parliament, were stormy and violent. Though both parties were unanimous in their opinion that a war with France was unavoidable, yet the opposition, who had from the beginning reprobated the American war, insisted that the acknowledgement of the independence of the colonies was the only effectual method of terminating the contest. The ministerial party, on the other hand, represented the disgrace of bending beneath the power of France, and the dishonour of leaving the American loyalists exposed to the rancour of their countrymen.

An invasion of England being at this time threatened by the French, an address was moved for recalling the fleets and armies from America, and stationing them in a place where they might more effectually contribute to the defence of the kingdom. This measure was vigorously opposed by the administration, and by some members of the opposition. Lord Chatham, whose infirmities had lately prevented him from attending in his place in parliament, evinced his decided disapprobation of it: he had entered the house in a rich suit of black velvet, a full wig, and wrapped in flannel to the knees; and was supported to his seat by his son and son-in-law, Mr. William Pitt and viscount Mahon. It is said that he looked weak and emaciated; and, resting his hands on his crutches, he at first spoke with difficulty, but as he grew warm his voice rose, and became, as usual, oratorical and affecting 'My lords,' said he, 'I rejoice that the grave has not closed upon me, that I am still alive to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and most noble monarchy.' He was replied to with great respect by the duke of Richmond, when on attempting to rise again he fell back before uttering a word, in a convulsive fit, from which he never recovered, and died a few days after, in the 70th year of his age, May 11, 1778. His merits were transcendent, and his death was lamented as a national loss. Apart from the aberrations originating in an ardent love of power, his course was splendid and magnanimous; and it was truly said of him by lord Chesterfield, that his private life was stained by no vices, and sullied by no meanness. Contemporary praise and posthumous honours were showered down upon the man of whom the nation was justly proud. His remains were interred, with great solemnity, in Westminster-abbey; and the city of London erected a flattering tribute to his memory in Guildhall.

A French squadron was sent from Toulon to the assistance of America, under the command of count d'Estaing, who reduced the island of Grenada, while a body of his forces made themselves masters of St. Vincent. In other parts of the West Indian seas the British arms were ably supported by the bravery and vigilance of the admirals Hyde Parker and Rowley. On the 27th of July an indecisive action was fought off Brest, between the French fleet, under M. d'Orvilliers, and a British squadron, under admiral Keppel. Sir Hugh Palliser, the second in command, accused the admiral of not having done his duty; he was accordingly tried by a court martial, and honourably acquitted; in fact, it appeared that he had been so badly supported by

Palliser, that he was unable to make any use of the slight advantage he obtained.

Sir Charles Hardy, a brave and experienced officer, whose services had been rewarded with the governorship of Greenwich hospital, was appointed to succeed Keppel in the command of the channel fleet. In the meantime, the Spanish court was prevailed on by the French to take up arms in defence of America, and to accede to the general confederacy against Great Britain. As the danger to which the nation was now exposed was become truly alarming, it was thought advisable to raise volunteer companies in addition to the militia; and in this the spirit and magnanimity of the people reflected great credit on the national character. Strengthened by the alliance of Spain, the French began to extend their ideas of conquest; and thinking that a blow near at hand was more likely than operations carried on at a distance to alarm the fears of the English, they made attempts on the Islands of Guernsey and Jersey, but in each they were completely frustrated.

But the old enemies of Britain had grown arrogant during the unnatural contest that was waged with the unruly scions of her own stock; and preparations were now made for Britain itself. A junction was effected between the French and Spanish fleets, which made their appearance in the channel, to the number of sixty sail of the line besides frigates. This formidable armament was opposed by a force, much inferior, under admiral Hardy, who leisurely retired up the channel, enticing them to follow him, but, with all their immense superiority, they chose rather to decline an encounter; it is true they for some time continued to menace and insult the British coasts with impunity, but without accomplishing anything further than the capture of the Ardent man-of-war, which by accident had fallen in with the combined fleets.

In calling the reader's attention to the state of the continent at this period, we have to notice that the peace which followed the memorable 'seven years' war' was temporarily menaced by the efforts of the emperor Joseph to obtain possession of Bavaria; but the prompt interference of the king of Prussia, who brought into the field an immense army, together with the remonstrances of Russia, and the unwillingness of France to second the ambitious designs of Austria, induced the emperor to abandon his aggressive intentions.

A.D. 1780.—The first business of importance that came before the parliament this year was the state of Ireland, which brought from lord North a plan of amelioration that met with the approbation of the house, and, as it opened her ports for the import and export of her manufactures, the change was hailed as a happy omen for the sister kingdom. The next subject for legislative discussion was the wasteful and extravagant expenditure in the different official departments of the state; and the eloquence and financial knowledge of Mr. Burke were amply displayed in a plan for general reform, which was seconded by petitions from various parts of the kingdom, praying for a change of men as well as measures. But at this crisis the attention of all parties was attracted by a sudden alarm. Sir George Saville had in the preceding session proposed a bill to repeal the act of William III., which imposed certain penalties and disabilities on the Roman catholics, and which passed both houses without opposition. The loyal conduct of this body of his majesty's subjects, and their readiness to risk their lives and fortunes in defence of their king and country, were generally acknowledged; but in consequence of the population of Scotland expressing a dread of granting toleration to papists, the bill did not extend to that kingdom. This encouraged a set of fanatics in England to form themselves into an association, whose professed object was to protect the protestant religion, by reviving the intolerant statutes which before existed against the Roman catholics. The great majority of the members of this 'protestant association' were at the time correctly described as 'outrageously zealous and grossly ignorant'—persons who, had they been unassisted by anyone of rank or influence, would have sunk into oblivion from their own insignificance; but lord George Gordon, a young nobleman of a wild and fervid imagination, or, more correctly, perhaps, one who on religious topics was a *monomaniac*, finding this 'association' would be likely to afford him an excellent opportunity of standing forth as the champion of the protestant faith, and thereby gaining a good share of mob notoriety, joined the club, and thus raised it into temporary importance. He became their chairman, and, free from even the apprehension of any fatal results, he proposed in a meeting of the society at Coachmakers'-hall, on the 29th of May, that they should assemble in St. George's Fields at 10 o'clock on the 2nd of June, when they should accompany him with a petition to the house of commons, praying a repeal of the late act of toleration granted to the Roman catholics.

On the following Friday, the day appointed for this display of 'moral force,' the members of the house were much surprised—although there was every reason, after this public notice, to expect nothing less—to perceive the approach of fifty thousand persons distinguished by blue cockades in their hats, with the inscription, 'No Popery.' Lord George presented the petition to the house, and moved that it be taken into immediate consideration; but his motion was rejected by 192 votes to 6. During the discussion his lordship frequently addressed the mob outside, and told them the people of Scotland had no redress till they pulled down the catholic chapels. Acting upon this suggestion, the populace proceeded to demolish and burn the chapels of the foreign ambassadors. On the following Monday the number of the mob was greatly increased by the idle and the profligate, who are ever ready for riot and plunder. Their violence was now no longer confined to the catholics,

but was exerted wherever they could do most mischief. They proceeded to Newgate, and demanded the immediate release of such of their associates as had been confined there. On receiving a refusal they began to throw firebrands and combustibles into the keeper's dwelling-house. The whole building was soon enveloped in flames, and in the interval of confusion and dismay, all the prisoners, amounting to upwards of three hundred, made their escape and joined the rioters. The New Prison, Clerkenwell, the King's Bench, the Fleet Prison, and New Bridewell, were also set on fire; and many private houses shared the same fate: in short, on that night London was beheld blazing in no less than thirty-six different places at once. At length they attempted the Bank, but the soldiers there inflicted a severe chastisement on them. The military came in from the country, and, in obedience to an order of the king in council, directions were given to the officers to fire upon the rioters without waiting the sanction of the civil power. Not only had the most fearful apprehensions been excited, and great injury done, but the character of the nation in the eyes of foreign powers could not fail to suffer almost indelible disgrace from such brutal and tumultuous scenes. It was not until a week had elapsed that tranquillity was restored; when it was found that 458 persons had been killed or wounded, exclusive of those who perished from intoxication. Under a warrant of the secretaries of state, lord George Gordon was committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason; but when brought to trial the charge could not be sustained, and this most mischievous person was acquitted. However, though he escaped punishment for these proceedings, he was afterwards imprisoned for a libel on the queen of France, and ended his days in Newgate. Out of the rioters who were tried and found guilty, twenty-five of the most violent were hanged.

We gladly turn from these scenes of civil tumult to a more agreeable part of an historian's duty. The commencement of the year was attended with some considerable naval advantages to Great Britain. The fleet under the command of sir Hyde Parker engaged a French squadron in the West Indies, and captured nine merchantmen. The success which attended admiral Rodney was more important. On the 16th of January he attacked, off Cape St. Vincent, a Spanish fleet, consisting of eleven ships of the line, captured four of them, drove two more on shore, and burned another: thence proceeding to America, he thrice encountered the French fleet, under the count de Guichen, and though he obtained no decisive success, he prevented Washington from receiving naval aid in his meditated attack on New York. A very severe loss was soon after sustained by the English: on the 8th of August the Spanish fleet fell in with the trade fleet bound for the East and West Indies, the whole of which, consisting of fifty-four merchantmen, were captured; their convoy, the Ramillies of 74 guns, and two frigates, alone escaping.

The operations of the war, taken altogether, notwithstanding the powerful alliance against Great Britain, had hitherto been supported with vigour and magnanimity. Yet while we were frustrating every attempt of our open and declared enemies, a confederacy was formed throughout Europe, which, as it acted indirectly, could not well be resisted. This confederacy, termed the 'armed neutrality,' was planned by the empress of Russia, who issued a manifesto, asserting the right of neutral vessels to trade freely to and from all ports belonging to belligerent powers, except such as were actually in a state of blockade; and that all effects belonging to the subjects of the belligerent powers should be looked upon as free on board such ships, excepting only such goods as were contraband: in other words, that 'free vessels were to make free merchandise.' Russia, Denmark, and Sweden were the first to bind themselves to the conditions of this league; Holland quickly followed the example; the courts of Vienna, Berlin, Naples, and lastly, Portugal, the oldest ally of England, joined the association. From the commencement of the American war the Dutch had shown great partiality to the revolters; and as proof was at length obtained of their having concluded a treaty with the Congress, the English government was determined on taking vengeance for their perfidy, and war was instantly declared against them.

A. D. 1781.—At the commencement of this year the war in America was renewed with various success. The progress of the British forces under lord Cornwallis, in Virginia and the Carolinas, had raised great expectations of triumph in England, and had proportionably depressed the Americans; but the British general had to contend against the united forces of France and her transatlantic ally; and though he obtained some fresh laurels, his successes were rendered ineffectual by his subsequent reverses. At length, after making a most vigorous resistance against overwhelming numbers, while defending York Town, where he had fortified himself, he was compelled to capitulate; when the whole of his army became prisoners of war to Washington, and the British vessels in the harbour surrendered to the French admiral de Grasse. As no rational expectation of subjugating America now remained, the military operations in that quarter of the globe were regarded as of comparatively little consequence.

Immediately after the declaration of war against Holland, admiral Rodney, in conjunction with general Vaughan, attacked the important settlement of Eustatia, which surrendered to them without resistance. The immense property found there surpassed the most sanguine expectations of the captors; but it unfortunately happened, that as the riches acquired on this occasion were on their transit to England, the ships conveying it were intercepted by the French, and twenty-one of them were

taken. On the 6th of the following August admiral Hyde Parker fell in with a Dutch squadron off the Doggers' Bank, and a most desperate engagement took place: the contest was fiercely maintained for two hours, when the Dutch bore away for the Texel with their convoy, and the English were too much disabled to pursue them.

A.D. 1782.—Though the enemies of Great Britain had at this time gained decided advantages by land, and in numerical force possessed a manifest superiority by sea, yet such was the courage, perseverance, and power with which she contended against them single-handed, that notwithstanding the recent disasters in America, and the enormous expenditure necessary to carry on so fierce and extensive a warfare, the splendour of the nation suffered no diminution; and exploits of individual heroism and brilliant victories continued to gladden the hearts of all who cherished a love of their country's glory. At the same time popular clamour and discontent rose to a high pitch on account of the depressed state of trade which the armed neutrality had caused; while invectives against the government for the mal-administration of affairs as regarded the American war were loud and deep. The whig opposition, making an adroit use of these disasters against lord North and his tory friends, induced them to resign; and about the end of March they were succeeded by the marquis of Rockingham, as first lord of the treasury, the earl of Shelburne and Mr. Fox, principal secretary of state, and lord Thurlow, lord chancellor; besides lord Camden, the dukes of Richmond and Grafton, Mr. Burke, admiral Keppel, general Conway, &c. to fill the other most important posts. The present ministry, however, had not continued in office above three months before a material change was occasioned by the death of the marquis of Rockingham. The earl of Shelburne being appointed to succeed that nobleman, his colleagues took offence; and lord Cavendish, Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, and several others resigned. Mr. Townshend was then made secretary of state; and Mr. Pitt, second son of lord Chatham, succeeded lord Cavendish in the office of chancellor of the exchequer.

Negotiations for peace were now commenced by the new ministry, but without at all relaxing in their efforts to support the war. The islands of Minorca, St. Nevis, and St. Christopher's were taken by the enemy; and a descent on Jamaica was meditated with a fleet of thirty-four ships; they were, however, fortunately met by admiral Rodney off Dominica, and a most desperate engagement ensued, of nearly twelve hours' continuance, which terminated in the total defeat of the French; their admiral, count de Grasse, being taken prisoner, with the Ville de Paris, besides six other ships of the line and two frigates. In this action the bold nautical manœuvre of breaking the line and attacking the enemy on both sides at once, was first tried and successfully executed. This glorious action was fought on the 12th of April; and about the same period, the fleet under admiral Barrington captured, off Ushant, two large French men-of-war, with ten sail of vessels under their convoy.

During this period the arms of Spain had been more than usually successful. In America they conquered the English fortresses on the Mississippi, as well as Pensacola and all Florida. But all their efforts, in combination with their French allies, against Gibraltar, proved fruitless; its brave governor, general Elliott, returning their tremendous cannonade with a well-directed and impetuous discharge of red-hot balls from the fortress, thereby utterly destroying the floating batteries which the besiegers had vainly boasted were irresistible. Ever and anon during the last five years this memorable siege had been carried on; but on the day after this ever-memorable bombardment and defence (Sept. 13), not a vestige of all their formidable preparations remained.

In the East, Hyder Ali had succeeded in gaining the capital of Arcot, and his success gave him strong hope that he should drive the British from that part of the globe; but sir Eyre Coote was victorious in more than one decisive engagement with Hyder, whose death soon after gave the government to his son Tippoo Sahib; and as he appeared somewhat disposed to be on terms with England, affairs in that quarter wore a better aspect. Still the war in the East had a humiliating termination.

Some serious casual disasters occurred during the course of the year. Four large ships foundered at sea on their return from the West Indies; and the Royal George, of 100 guns, a fine ship which had been into port to refit, was, while careening at Spithead, overset by a sudden gust of wind, and about 700 persons, with admiral Kempenfelt, were drowned.

A.D. 1783.—The famous 'coalition ministry,' of incongruous celebrity, was now formed; the duke of Portland being first lord of the treasury; lord North and Mr. Fox, *joint* secretaries of state; lord John Cavendish, chancellor of the exchequer; viscount Keppel, first lord of the admiralty; viscount Stormont, president of the council; and the earl of Carlisle, lord privy-seal. These seven constituted the new cabinet, the whigs having a majority of one over the three tories, North, Carlisle, and Stormont. It was an ill-assorted and insincere compact, an abandonment of principle for power, which soon lost them the confidence and support of the nation.

Negotiations for a general peace commenced at Paris, under the auspices of Austria and Russia; and the basis of it being arranged, it was speedily ratified. Great Britain restored the island of St. Lucia to France; also the settlements on the Senegal, and the city of Pondicherry, in the East Indies; while France gave up all her West India conquests, with the exception of Tobago. Spain retained Minorca and West Florida, East Florida being also ceded in exchange for the Bahamas. And between England and Holland a suspension of hostilities was agreed to in the first

place; but in the sequel it was stipulated that there should be a general restitution of all places taken during the war, excepting the town of Negapatam, with its dependencies, which should be ceded to Great Britain.

In the treaty with America, the king of Great Britain acknowledged the thirteen United States to be 'free, sovereign, and independent,' relinquishing for himself, his heirs, and successors, all right and claim to the same. To prevent all disputes in future on the subject of boundaries between these states and the adjoining provinces, lines were minutely drawn; the right of navigation on the Mississippi was declared common to the two powers; and no confiscations or persecutions of the loyalists were to take place.

Such was the termination of the contest between Great Britain and the American colonies; a contest in which the former lost upwards of one hundred millions of money, and through which a federative state of vast extent and power sprung into existence. But great as the change was, the mother country had ultimately little real cause to regret the detachment of the thirteen provinces: freedom of commercial relations, advantageous to both countries, superseded a right of sovereignty which, in reality, was of far less value than it appeared to be. In short, the commerce of England, instead of being destroyed by the war of independence, increased most rapidly, and English trade was never more prosperous than in the period that succeeded the loss of the colonies. The Canadas and Nova Scotia shared in the rising prosperity of America; and the West India islands, emancipated from unwise commercial restrictions, also rapidly improved.

The coalition ministry was now to be subjected to a severe test. Mr. Fox thought proper to introduce to parliament two bills for the better government of India, by which the entire administration of the civil and commercial affairs of the company were to be vested in a board of nine members, chosen for four years, and not removable without an address from either house of parliament. That such a board would be an independent authority in the state was quite manifest; and it accordingly met with a determined opposition, particularly in the house of lords, where lord Thurlow observed, that if the bill passed, the crown would be no longer worthy of a man of honour to wear; that 'the king would, in fact, take the diadem from his own head, and place it on that of Mr. Fox.' The bill was thrown out by the lords, and this was immediately followed by a message from the king requiring Mr. Fox and lord North to send in their seals of office by the under secretaries, as 'a personal interview with him would be disagreeable.' Early the next morning letters of dismission were sent to the other members of the cabinet. Thus an end was put to the coalition ministry, which was considered by the greater part of the nation to have been a corrupt confederacy of two desperate factions to monopolise the principal offices of state, and to seize upon the government of the country.

A.D. 1782.—A new administration was now formed, in which Mr. Pitt was appointed first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer. Lord Sydney (late Mr. Townshend) and the marquis of Carmarthen, were made secretaries of state; lord Thurlow, lord high chancellor; the duke of Rutland, privy-seal; earl Gower, president of the council; the duke of Richmond, master of the ordnance; lord Howe, first lord of the admiralty, and Mr. Dundas, treasurer of the navy. It being, however, impossible to carry on public business while the coalition party had a majority in the house of commons, a dissolution of parliament became unavoidable.

The elections turned out favourably for the new ministers, and when the parliament assembled, his majesty met the representatives of the people with evident satisfaction. He directed their attention to the affairs of the East India Company, advising them at the same time to reject all such measures as might affect the constitution at home. Mr. Pitt had strenuously opposed Mr. Fox's India bill; and now finding himself ably supported, framed a new one for the government of India, which transferred to the crown the influence which Mr. Fox had designed to intrust to parliamentary commissioners, but leaving the whole management of commercial affairs with the court of directors.

The year 1785 furnishes little matter for the historian, except the contentions between the rival politicians. A very important effort at legislation was made by Mr. Pitt, which consisted of an attempt to establish a system of commercial union between Great Britain and Ireland. It passed both houses; but, in the meantime, a great part of the Irish parliament became dissatisfied with its details; the consequence of which was, that the administration did not press its adoption.

A.D. 1786.—Early in the session Mr. Pitt introduced to parliament his celebrated plan of a 'sinking fund' for the gradual reduction of the national debt. It appeared that the condition of the revenue was in so flourishing a state, that the annual receipts exceeded the expenditure by 900,000*l*. It was therefore proposed that this sum should be increased to one million, and placed in the hands of commissioners appointed for the purpose, to be applied to the discharge of the national debt. After some opposition, and an amendment suggested by Mr. Fox, the bill passed.

On the 2nd of August, as the king was alighting from his carriage, a woman approached him under pretence of offering a petition, and attempted to stab him with a knife she had concealed. His majesty avoided the blow by drawing back, when she made another thrust at him, but was prevented from effecting her purpose by a yeoman of the guards who seized her at the instant. On being examined before the privy council it appeared that she was a lunatic; her name Margaret Nicholson.

Nothing at this period excited equal in

terest to the trial of Mr. Hastings, the governor of Bengal, who had returned to England, possessed, as it was asserted, of inordinate wealth obtained by unfair means. The trial was conducted by Mr. Burke, who exhibited twenty-two articles of impeachment against him. On the part of the prosecution Mr. Sheridan appeared vindictively eloquent. He said, 'The administration of Mr. Hastings formed a medley of meanness and outrage, of duplicity and depredation, of prodigality and oppression, of the most callous cruelty, contrasted with the hollow affectation of liberality and good faith.' Mr. Hastings, in his defence, declared, 'That he had the satisfaction to see all his measures terminate in their designed objects; that his political conduct was invariably regulated by truth, justice, and good faith; and that he resigned his charge in a state of established peace and security; with all the sources of its abundance unimpaired, and even improved.' The trial lasted seven years, and ended in the acquittal of Mr. Hastings, at least of all intentional error; but his fortune and his health were ruined by this protracted prosecution.

The debts of the prince of Wales engrossed much of the public attention at this period. His expensive habits and munificent disposition had brought his affairs into a very embarrassed state; and the subject having undergone parliamentary discussion, an addition of 10,000*l.* was made to his former income of 50,000*l.*, and the sum of 181,000*l.* was granted by parliament for the payment of his debts.

A.D. 1788.—An event occurred about this time in Holland which threatened the tranquillity of Europe. Ever since the acknowledgement of the independence of the United Provinces, two powerful parties had been continually struggling for the superiority; one was the house of Orange, which had been raised to power by their great services to the state, both against the tyranny of Spain and the efforts of France; the other was the aristocratical party, which consisted of the most wealthy individuals in the country. This party was secretly favoured by France, and was denominated the 'party of the states' or 'the republican party.' The prince of Orange being at length compelled to leave the Hague, he applied for protection to England and Prussia, who lent their aid, and the stadtholder was reinstated.

It was during this session that the attention of parliament was first engaged in attempting the abolition of the slave trade. This inhuman traffic, so abhorrent in its nature to all principles of humanity, seems to have been carried out by Great Britain and other nations for a length of time without having attracted the notice of the public. It was first pointed out by the quakers in the independent provinces of South America, who in many instances had emancipated their slaves. A number of pamphlets were published on the subject; several eminent divines of the established church recommended it in their discourses and writings; the two universities, and after them, the whole nation, presented petitions praying for the interference of parliament to forward the humane design of African emancipation. Mr. Wilberforce brought the subject before parliament; but as many circumstances arose to retard the consideration of it, a resolution was carried to defer it to a future opportunity.

Towards the close of the year the nation was thrown into great dismay by the fact that the king was suffering so severely under a mental malady, that on the 4th of November it was necessary to consult the most eminent physicians, and to assemble the principal officers of state. His majesty's disorder not abating, but the contrary appearing from the examination of the physicians before the privy-council, the house twice adjourned; but hearing on their reassembling the second time that there was a great prospect of his majesty's recovery, though the time was uncertain, both houses turned their thoughts to the establishment of a regent during his majesty's incapacity. The right of the prince of Wales to this office was asserted by Mr. Fox, and denied by Mr. Pitt, who affirmed, that for any man to assert such a right in the prince of Wales was little less than treason to the constitution. After violent altercations, a modified regency was carried in favour of the prince; the queen to have the custody of the royal person, and the appointment to places in the household For the present, however, these arrangements were not needed, for the health of the king was rapidly improving; and on the 10th of March his majesty sent a message to parliament, to acquaint them of his recovery, and of his ability to attend to the public business of the kingdom. The effect of this pleasing intelligence was instantaneous: every town and village in the kingdom testified their loyalty and attachment to the sovereign; and sorrow was succeeded by rapturous exultation.

A.D. 1789.—According to the promise given by the king, that the British constitution should be extended to Canada, that province now applied for a form of legislature. For the better accommodation of its inhabitants, Mr. Pitt proposed to divide the province into Upper and Lower Canada; and to provide separate laws which might suit the French Canadian noblesse on the one hand, and the British and American colonists on the other. In the course of the discussion, Mr. Fox observed that it would be wrong to abolish hereditary distinctions where they had been long established, and equally wrong to create those distinctions in a country which was not suited for their establishment. This drew from Mr. Burke the observation that 'it became a duty of parliament to watch the conduct of individuals, and societies, which were evidently disposed to encourage innovations.' Mr. Fox, thinking these sentiments contained a censure on him, defended his opinions by a full explanation of his sentiments on the French revolution. Mr. Burke had previously written an excellent work, intended to operate as an antidote to the growing evils of republicanism and infidelity. In parliament, he denounced the

insidious cry of liberty and equality, and a breach was thus made in the long-cemented friendship of these two distinguished statesmen, which ever after remained unclosed.

A.D. 1790.—At this period France had begun to exhibit scenes of anarchy and confusion, which, for monstrous wickedness and wide-spread misery, never before had their parallel in the world's history. A condensed narrative of those revolutionary horrors will be found under the proper head. We shall here simply remark, that the progress of free-thinking, miscalled philosophy, which had been much encouraged in that country during the last century, had diffused a spirit of innovation and licentiousness that was highly unfavourable to the existence of an absolute monarchy. Moreover, the participation of France in the American struggle for independence had instilled into the minds of Gallo-American champions of liberty a perfect detestation of regal authority; and on their return from that vaunted land of freedom, they imparted to their countrymen the spirit of liberty which had been kindled in the western hemisphere. But, perhaps, the more immediate cause of this wild ebullition of popular fury arose from the embarrassed state of the finances, which induced Louis XVI. to assemble the states-general in order to consider the measures by which this serious evil might be redressed.

The principles and practices to which we have referred, so contrary to all ideas of good government, were circulated with great zeal and activity throughout the neighbouring nations. So resolute were they in disseminating their opinions, that there was scarcely a place in Europe in which their agents were not established. In Great Britain and Ireland these democratic missionaries were received with every mark of approbation, not only by individuals, but by various political societies, who made it their study to propagate their principles, and recommend their example, and in the transactions of these societies, the means by which the French revolution had been conducted were greatly applauded, and described as worthy of the imitation of mankind.

On the opening of parliament in February, his majesty, in his speech from the throne, remarked that he had received continual assurances of the pacific dispositions of the continental powers, and congratulated the nation on the advantages which must arise from such an uninterrupted tranquillity. The supplies for the army and navy having been stated to the house, some animadversions took place with regard to the military establishment, which it was said might have been safely reduced. In the course of the debate, Mr. Fox took occasion to remark, that the French soldiers, during the late commotions, had, by refusing to obey the dictates of the court, set a glorious example to the military of Europe, and had shown that men by becoming soldiers did not cease to be citizens—a remark, certainly, most objectionable at the time, if not positively seditious, and as such it was treated by Mr. Burke and other members.

During the present session, a message from the king informed the house of some hostile proceedings on the part of Spain, who had seized three British ships that were endeavouring to establish a foreign trade between China and Nootka Sound, on the west coast of North America; the Spaniards insisting on their exclusive right to that part of the coast. Orders were immediately issued for augmenting the British navy; but the expected rupture between the two countries was averted by timely concessions on the part of Spain.

A new parliament having met on the 20th of November, the king, after making some remarks on the state of Europe, observed that the peace of India had been disturbed by a war with Tippoo Sultan, son of the late Hyder Ali. The business of the session was then entered into, and various debates occurred with respect to the convention with Spain, and the extensive preparations that had been made in anticipation of a war with that power.

A.D. 1791.—The whole kingdom was now divided into two parties, arising from the opposite views in which the French revolution was considered; one condemning the promoters of Gallic independence as the subverters of all order; while the other considered the new constitution of France as the basis of a system of politics, from which peace, happiness, and concord would arise to bless the world! On the 14th of July, the anniversary of the demolition of the Bastile, the 'friends of liberty' agreed to celebrate that event by festive meetings in the principal towns in the kingdom. These meetings were rather unfavourably regarded by the opponents of the revolution, as indicative of principles inimical to the British constitution; but no public expression of disapprobation had yet appeared. In the metropolis and most of the other towns these meetings had passed over without any disturbance; but in the populous town of Birmingham, where a dissension had long subsisted between the high churchmen and the dissenters, its consequences were very alarming. A seditious hand-bill, which represented the late transactions in France as worthy to be imitated by the English, having been circulated about the town by some unknown person, created a great sensation. The friends of the intended meeting thought it necessary to disclaim the sentiments contained in the hand-bills; but as their views were misrepresented, the hotel in which the meeting was held was soon surrounded by a tumultuous mob, who expressed their disapprobation by shouts of 'Church and King!' In the evening the mob demolished an Unitarian meeting-house belonging to the celebrated Dr. Priestley, and afterwards attacked his dwelling-house and destroyed his valuable library. For three days the rioters continued their depredations, but tranquillity was restored on the arrival of the military, and some of the ringleaders were executed.

A.D. 1792.—Parliament assembled the 31st of January, and were agreeably surprised by a declaration of the minister, that the finances of the nation would allow him to take off taxes to the amount of 200,000*l.*, and to appropriate 400,000*l.* towards the reduction of the national debt. He then descanted on the flourishing state and happy prospects of the nation, declaring at the same time how intimately connected its prosperity was with the preservation of peace abroad and tranquillity at home.

The duke of York having at the close of the previous year married the princess Frederica Charlotta, eldest daughter of the king of Prussia, the commons passed a bill to settle 25,000*l.* per annum on the duke, and 8,000*l.* on the duchess should she survive him.—The house also, during this session, went into a committee on the African slave-trade, and gave it as their opinion that it should be abolished. In the course of debate, Mr. Pitt and many others spoke in favour of its immediate abolition. After many divisions the term was limited to the 1st day of January, 1796. In the house of lords several of the peers were in favour of its indefinite continuance.

The war in India against Tippoo Saib had lately been vigorously conducted by lord Cornwallis, who having surmounted all impediments, commenced the siege of Seringapatam, the capital of Tippoo's dominions. This reduced that prince to such difficulties as compelled him to conclude peace on the terms offered by the earl, and to deliver up his two sons as hostages for the performance of the conditions.

CHAPTER LXI.

The Reign of GEORGE III. (*continued*).

A.D. 1790.—'WHEN your neighbour's house is on fire, it is well to look after your own,' says a trite but wise old saw. The rapidity with which the new political principles of the French republicans were diffused throughout Great Britain, and the numerous inflammatory libels which were issued from the press, awakened well-grounded apprehensions of the government, and induced the legislature to adopt measures for the suppression of the growing evil. The moral as well as the political results of French republicanism were fast developing; and every reckless demagogue was busily at work, disseminating the poison of infidelity and sedition. To put a stop, if possible, to this state of things, a royal proclamation was issued for the suppression of seditious correspondence abroad, and publications at home, 'tending to bring into contempt the wise and wholesome provisions made at the time of the glorious revolution.' The London Corresponding Society, and various other societies in this country, had recently sent congratulatory addresses to the National Assembly of France! But the heart of England was still sound, although some of the limbs were leprous.

In the meantime affairs on the continent became every day more interesting. An alliance was entered into between Russia, Austria, and Prussia, the ostensible object of which was to reestablish public security in France, with the ancient order of things, and to protect the persons and property of all loyal subjects. On the 25th of July the duke of Brunswick, commander-in-chief of the allied armies, issued at Coblentz his celebrated manifesto to the French people, promising protection to all who should submit to their king, and threatening the city of Paris with fire and sword if injury or insult were offered to him or any of his family. The republicans, indignant at this foreign interference, now resolved on the king's dethronement. Having by their mischievous publications turned the tide of disgust against their sovereign, and persuaded the populace that the royalists had invited the allies to invade them, the suspension of royal authority was soon after decreed, the king and his family were closely confined in the Temple, all persons who were attached to monarchical government were cast into prison or massacred; and, to crown the whole, the inoffensive monarch was led forth to execution, and while praying to the Almighty to pardon his enemies, ignominiously perished by the guillotine.

While these detestable scenes of murder were displayed in France, the vigilance of the English government was excited by the propagation of revolutionary principles, and it was compelled to employ such measures as the dangerous circumstances of the country demanded. The sanguinary conduct of the French revolutionists, their extravagant projects, and unholy sentiments, naturally alarmed all persons of rank and property; and associations, not merely of the high and wealthy, but of all classes who had anything to lose, were formed for the protection of liberty and property against the efforts of anarchists and levellers. But still there were many desperate characters ready to kindle the flame of civil war on the first favourable opportunity. Another proclamation was therefore issued, in which it was stated, that evil-disposed persons were acting in concert with others in foreign countries in order to subvert the laws and constitution; and that a spirit of tumult and sedition having manifested itself on several occasions, his majesty had resolved to embody part of the national militia. This was, in fact, a measure absolutely necessary on another account, it being clear that the French republic had resolved to provoke England to a war, by the most unjustifiable breach of the laws of nations: this was, their avowed design to open the river Scheldt, in direct opposition to the treaties of which England was a guarantee, and to the manifest disadvantage of the commerce of the United Provinces, who were the allies of England.

So portentous was the political aspect at this time, that it was thought necessary to summon the parliament sooner than usual. In the speech from the throne his majesty declared that he had hitherto observed a strict neutrality in regard to the war on the continent, and had refrained from interfering with the internal affairs of France,

but that it was impossible for him to see, without the most serious uneasiness, the strong and increasing indications which appeared there, of an intention to excite disturbances in other countries, to disregard the rights of neutral powers, and to pursue views of unjust conquest and aggrandisement. He had therefore taken steps for making some augmentation of his naval and military force; and he recommended the subject to the serious attention of parliament. After very long and animated debates on the address of thanks for the king's speech (during which many of the opposition, who were by this time thoroughly disgusted with the French revolutionists, deserted their party), the motion was carried by a large majority.

The next subject which engaged the attention of parliament was the alien bill, which authorised government to dismiss from the kingdom such foreigners as they should think fit. During the month of December, an order of government was also issued, for preventing the exportation of corn to France; and several ships laden with grain were compelled to unload their cargoes.

A.D. 1793.—That a war between Great Britain and France was speedily approaching was believed by all parties; yet war was neither foreseen nor premeditated by the king's ministers: it was the unavoidable result of circumstances. In a decree of the French convention on the 19th of November, 1792, they had declared their intention of extending their fraternity and assistance to the disaffected and revolting subjects of all monarchical governments. The disavowal of this assertion was demanded by the British ministry; but as this was not complied with, M. Chauvelin, ambassador from the late king of France—though not acknowledged in that light by the republic—received orders to quit the kingdom, in virtue of the alien act. In consequence of this measure, the French convention, on the 1st of February, declared war.

No sooner was Great Britain involved in this eventful war, than a treaty of commerce was concluded with Russia, a large body of troops was taken into the service of government, and an engagement was entered into by the king of Sardinia, who agreed, for an annual subsidy of 20,000*l.*, to join the Austrians in Italy with a very considerable military force. Alliances were likewise formed with Austria, Prussia, Spain, Holland, Portugal, and Russia, all of whom agreed to shut their ports against the vessels of France. Denmark, Sweden, and Switzerland, however, refused to join the confederacy. The king of the Sicilies agreed to furnish 6,000 troops and four ships of the line; the empire also furnished its contingents to the Austrian and Prussian armies; and British troops were sent to the protection of Holland, under the command of the duke of York.

The French army, commanded by general Dumouriez, invaded Holland, and having taken Breda, Gertruydenburg, and some other places, advanced to Williamstadt, which was defended by a detachment from the brigade of the English guards, just arrived in Holland. Here the French met with a repulse, and were compelled to raise the siege with great loss. Dumouriez then quitted Holland to defend Louvain; but being afterwards defeated in several engagements with the allied armies, particularly at Neer-winden, his soldiers were so discouraged, that they deserted in great numbers. At length, weary of the disorganised state of the French government, and finding himself suspected by the two great factions which divided the republic, Dumouriez entered into negotiations with the allied generals, and agreed to return to Paris, dissolve the national convention, and free his country from the gross tyranny which was there exercised under the specious name of equality. But the conventionalists withheld his supplies, and sent commissioners to thwart his designs and summon him to their bar. He instantly arrested the officers that brought the summons, and sent them to the Austrian headquarters. But the army did not share the anti-revolutionary feelings of the general, and he was himself obliged to seek safety in the Austrian camp, accompanied by young Egalité (as he was then styled), son of the execrable duke of Orleans, afterwards Louis Philippe, king of the French!

The duke of York, who was at the head of the allied armies, had laid siege to and taken Valenciennes; and he was now anxious to extend their conquests along the frontier: he accordingly marched towards Dunkirk, and commenced the siege on the 27th of August. He expected a naval armament from Great Britain to act in conjunction with the land forces; but, from some unaccountable cause, the heavy artillery was so long delayed, that the enemy had time to provide for the defence of the town. The French troops, commanded by Houchard, poured upon them in such numbers, that the duke was compelled to make a precipitate retreat, to avoid losing the whole of his men. He then came to England, and having held a conference with the ministers, returned to the continent. At Valenciennes it was decided, in a council of war, that the emperor of Germany should take the field, and be invested with the supreme command.

The principal persons of the town and harbour of Toulon entered into an agreement with the British admiral, lord Hood, by which they delivered up the town and shipping to his protection, on condition of its being restored to France when the Bourbon restoration should be effected. The town, however, was not for any long time defensible against the superior force of the enemy which had come to its rescue; it was therefore evacuated, fourteen thousand of the inhabitants taking refuge on board the British ships. Sir Sidney Smith set fire to the arsenals, which, together with an immense quantity of naval stores, and fifteen ships of the line, were consumed. On this occasion the artillery was commanded by Napoleon Buonaparte, whose skill and courage were conspicuous

and from that day his promotion rapidly took place.

The efforts made by the French at this time were truly astonishing. Having prodigiously increased their forces, they were resolved to conquer, whatever might be the cost of human life. Every day was a day of battle; and as they were continually reinforced, the veteran armies of the allies were obliged to give way. On the 22nd of December they were driven with immense slaughter from Hagenau; this was followed up by successive defeats till the 17th, when the French army arrived at Weissemburg in triumph. During this last month the loss on both sides was immense, being estimated at between 70,000 and 80,000 men. The French concluded the campaign in triumph, and the allied powers were seriously alarmed at the difficulties which were necessary to be surmounted, in order to regain the ground that had been lost.

In the East and West Indies the English were successful. Tobago, St. Domingo, Pondicherry, and the French settlements on the coast of Malabar and Coromandel, all surrendered to them.

A.D. 1794.—From the great and important events which were occurring on the continent, we turn to the internal affairs of Great Britain. The French republic having menaced England with an invasion, it was proposed by ministers that associations of volunteers, both of cavalry and infantry, might be formed in every county, for the purpose of defending the country from the hostile attempts of its enemies, and for supporting the government against the efforts of the disaffected.

On the 12th of May a message from the king announced to parliament the existence of seditious societies in London, and that the papers of certain persons belonging to them had been seized, and were submitted to the consideration of the house. Several members of the Society for Constitutional Reformation, and of the London Corresponding Society, were apprehended on a charge of high treason, and committed to the Tower. Among them were Thomas Hardy, a shoemaker in Piccadilly, and Daniel Adams, secretaries to the before-named societies; the celebrated John Horne Tooke; the rev. Jeremiah Joyce, private secretary to earl Stanhope; John Augustus Bonney, an attorney; and Messrs. Thelwall, Richter, Lovatt, and Stone. They were brought to trial in the following October, and had the good fortune to be acquitted.

Every appearance on the grand theatre of war indicated a continuance of success to the French in the ensuing campaign. The diligence and activity of their government, the vigour and bravery of their troops, the abilities and firmness of their commanders, the unwearied exertions of all men employed in the public service, astonished the whole world. Filled with an enthusiastic devotion to the cause in which they had embarked, their minds were intent only on the military glory and aggrandisement of the republic. While the whole strength which could be collected by the allies amounted to less than four hundred thousand men, the armies of France were estimated at upwards of a million.

Though the superiority by land was at present evidently in favour of the French, yet on the ocean 'Old England' maintained its predominance. During the course of the summer the island of Corsica was subdued; and the whole of the West India islands, except part of Guadaloupe, surrendered to the troops under the command of sir Charles Grey and sir John Jervis. The channel fleet, under its veteran commander, lord Howe, sailed from port, in order to intercept the Brest fleet, which had ventured out to sea to protect a large convoy that was expected from America. The hostile fleets descried each other on the 28th of May, and as an engagement became inevitable, the enemy formed in regular order of battle. On the morning of the 1st of June a close action commenced; the enemy's fleet consisting of twenty-six sail of the line, and the British of twenty-five. Though the battle did not last long, it was very severe, and proved decisive; seven of the French ships being compelled to strike their colours, one of which, La Vengeur, went down with all her crew almost immediately on being taken possession of. In the captured ships alone, the killed and wounded amounted to 1,270. The total loss of the British was 906. When intelligence of this memorable victory arrived in England, it produced the greatest exultation, and the metropolis was illuminated three successive nights.

This naval loss of the French, though it considerably diminished the ardour of their seamen, was greatly overbalanced by the general success of their military operations. The principal theatre of the contest was the Netherlands, where generals Jourdain and Pichegru had not less than 200,000 good troops, headed by many expert and valiant officers, and abundantly supplied with all the requisites of war. To oppose this formidable force, the allies assembled an army of 146,000, commanded by the emperor in person, assisted by generals Clairfait, Kaunitz, prince Coburg, the duke of York, &c. Numerous were the battles, and enormous the loss of life on each side during this campaign; in one of these bloody conflicts alone, the battle of Charleroi, the loss of the Austrians was estimated at 15,000 men. The armies of France were, in fact, become irresistible, and the allies retreated in all directions; Nieuport, Ostend, and Bruges, Tournay, Mons, Oudenarde, and Brussels, Landrecies, Valenciennes, Condé, and Quesnoi—all fell into their hands. During this victorious career of the French in the Netherlands, their armies on the Rhine were equally successful; and though both Austrians and Prussians well maintained their reputation for skill and bravery, yet the overwhelming masses of the French, and the fierce enthusiasm with which these republicans fought, were more than a match for the veteran bands by whom they were opposed.

But the military operations of the French were not confined to the Netherlands and the frontiers of Germany; they had other

armies both in Spain and Italy. The kingdom of Spain, which was formerly so powerful as to disturb, by its ambition, the peace of Europe, was at this time so much reduced by superstition, luxury, and indolence, that the court of Madrid with difficulty maintained its rank among the countries of Europe. It was therefore no wonder that the impetuosity and untiring energy which proved so destructive to the warlike Germans, should overwhelm the inert armies of Spain, or that their strongholds should prove unavailing against such resolute foes. In Italy, too, the French were not less fortunate. Though they had to combat the Austrian and Sardinian armies, a series of victories made them masters of Piedmont, and the campaign ended there, as elsewhere, greatly in favour of revolutionised France.

Having in some measure overstepped our historical boundary line, by giving even this very hasty and imperfect view of transactions with which Great Britain was only *indirectly* concerned, though at the time of their occurrence they were of the deepest interest to the nation—we shall now return to the operations of the common enemy in the Netherlands, which, notwithstanding the approach of winter, were conducted with great perseverance. The duke of York was posted between Bois-le-Duc and Breda, but being attacked with great impetuosity by the superior numbers of Pichegru, he was overpowered, and obliged to retreat across the Maese, with the loss of about 1,500 men. On the 30th of September Crevecœur was taken by the enemy, and Bois-le-Duc surrendered immediately after. They then followed the duke across the Maese, when his royal highness found it necessary to cross the Rhine, and take post at Arnheim. Nimeguen fell into the hands of the French on the 7th of November; and as the winter set in with uncommon severity, the whole of the rivers and lakes of Holland were bound up by the frost. At the beginning of January, 1795, the river Waal was frozen over; the British troops were at the time in a most deplorable state of ill health; and the enemy, seizing the favourable opportunity, crossed the river with an army of 70,000 men, and having repulsed the force which was opposed to them, on the 16th of January took possession of Amsterdam. The fortresses of Williamstadt, Breda, Bergen-op-Zoom, admitted the French; the shattered remnant of the British army was obliged to retreat, under the most severe privations, and in a season unusually inclement; and the prince of Orange escaped in a little boat, and landed in England, where he and his family became the objects of royal liberality. The United Provinces were now revolutionised after the model of France; the rights of man were proclaimed, representatives of the people chosen, and the country received the name of the Batavian republic. If there were any in Holland who seriously expected that this new order of things was likely to prove beneficial to the country, they soon had experience to the contrary; for, on the one hand, the English seized their colonies and destroyed their commerce, while on the other, the French despised their new confederates, and treated them with all the hauteur of insolent conquerors.

A.D. 1795.—At the conclusion of the past year the aspect of affairs on the continent was most gloomy and unpromising. The French republic had suddenly become more extensive by its conquests than France had been since the days of Charlemagne; they had acquired an increased population, estimated at thirteen millions which, added to twenty-four millions contained in France, constituted an empire of 37,000,000 people. As this immense population inhabited the centre of Europe, they were capable by their position to defy the enmity of all their neighbours, and to exercise an influence almost amounting to a universal sovereignty.

The consternation of Great Britain and the allied powers was greatly increased by the conduct of the king of Prussia, who withdrew from the coalition, and concluded a treaty of peace with the French convention. This act, in addition to the dismemberment of Poland, was commented on in the British parliament in terms of severe and merited censure. He had received large subsidies from England, and was pledged, as a member of the coalition, to do his utmost towards the overthrow of regicidal France and the restoration of the Bourbons; and his defection at such a time was as unprincipled as the effect of it was likely to be disastrous. But the English and Austrians, encouraged by the distracted state of France, more especially by the royalist war in La Vendée, continued their efforts; notwithstanding Spain followed the example of Prussia, and the duke of Tuscany, also, deserted the allies.

Though unfortunate in her alliances, and unsuccessful in the attempts made by her military force on the continent, Great Britain had still the satisfaction of beholding her fleets riding triumphantly on the ocean. On the 23rd of June, admiral lord Bridport attacked the French fleet off L'Orient, and captured three ships of the line. Some other minor actions also served to show that Britain had not lost the power to maintain her naval superiority. As Holland was now become subject to France, letters of reprisal were issued out against the Dutch ships, and directions were given for attacking their colonies, with the intention, however, of restoring them when the stadtholder's government should be reestablished. The Cape of Good Hope was obliged to submit to the British arms, together with Trincomalee, and all the other United settlements except Batavia.

The other events of the year may be thus summed up.—The marriage of the prince of Wales with the princess Caroline of Brunswick; a match dictated by considerations of what are termed prudence, rather than of affection: the prince's debts at the time amounted to 620,000*l*., and parliament agreed to grant him 125,000*l*. per annum in addition to his income arising from the duchy of Cornwall, a portion being reserved for the gradual liquidation of his debts.—

The death of Louis XVII., son of the unfortunate Louis XVI. and lawful sovereign of France, in prison.—The acquittal of Warren Hastings, after a trial which had lasted seven years.— The commencement of the societies of United Irishmen against, and of Orange clubs in favour of, the government.—A dearth of corn in England, with consequent high prices, great distress, and riots which created much alarm.

In seasons of scarcity and consequent high prices, the multitude are easily excited to acts of insubordination. At this period their attention had been aroused to political subjects by some meetings held in the open fields, at the instance of the Corresponding Societies, where the usual invectives against government had formed the staple of their discourse, and the people had been more than usually excited. A report was circulated that vast bodies of the disaffected would make their appearance when the king proceeded to open parliament; and so it proved, for the amazing number of 200,000 persons assembled in the park on that occasion, on the 29th of Oct. An immense throng surrounded his Majesty's carriage, clamorously vociferating, 'Bread! Peace! No Pitt!' some voices also shouting out, 'No King!' while stones were thrown at the coach from all directions, and on passing through Palace-yard, one of the windows was broken by a bullet from an air-gun. On entering the house, the king, much agitated, said to the lord chancellor, 'My lord, I have been shot at.' On his return these scandalous outrages were repeated; and a proclamation was issued offering a thousand pounds' reward for the apprehension of the persons concerned in these seditious proceedings.

A.D. 1796.—The late unjustifiable insults to the sovereign were the subject of deep regret to all who wished well to the institutions of the country and the maintenance of true freedom; while even those who were inimical to the government were greatly displeased, inasmuch as they felt assured that ministers would apply for additional legislative powers. And so it proved; for the business of parliament was no sooner resumed than two new penal statutes were brought forward. The first was entitled 'an act for the preservation of his majesty's person and government against treasonable and seditious practices and attempts.' By the other bill it was enacted, that no meeting of any description of persons exceeding the number of fifty, except such as might be called by sheriffs or other magistrates, should be holden for political purposes, unless public notice should have been given by seven housekeepers; that if such a body should assemble without notice, and twelve or more individuals should remain together (even quietly) for an hour after a legal order for their departure, they should be punished as felons without benefit of clergy; and that the same rigour might be exercised, if any person after due notice of the meeting should use seditious language, or propose the irregular alteration of anything by law established. The discussions which took place on these bills in both houses were very animated, and they passed with great majorities.

The unremitting struggle which during this campaign took place on the continent, between the allied armies and those of France, was far too important as regarded the interests of Great Britain for us to pass it lightly over, however little it may at first sight appear to belong strictly to British history. The French armies on the frontiers of Germany were commanded by their generals Moreau and Jourdain; the army of Italy was conducted by Napoleon Buonaparte. This extraordinary man, whose name will hereafter so frequently occur, had, like Pichegru, Jourdain, Moreau, &c., attained rapid promotions in the republican armies. In 1791 he was a captain of artillery; and it was only at the siege of Toulon, in 1793, that his soldierly abilities began to be developed. He had now an army of 56,000 veterans under his command, opposed to whom were 80,000 Austrians and Piedmontese, commanded by General Beaulieu, an officer of great ability, who opened the campaign on the 9th of April. Having, after several engagements, suffered a defeat at Millesimo, he selected 7,000 of his best troops, and attacked and took the village of Dego, where the French were indulging themselves in security. Massena, having rallied his troops, made several fruitless attempts during the day to retake it; but Buonaparte arriving in the evening with some reinforcements, renewed the attack, drove the allies from Dego, and made 14,000 prisoners. Count Colli, the general of the Sardinian forces, having been defeated by Buonaparte at Mondovi, requested a suspension of arms, which was followed by the king of Sardinia's withdrawal from the confederacy, the surrender of his most important fortresses, and the cession of the duchy of Savoy, &c. to the French. This ignominious peace was followed by similar conduct on the part of the duke of Parma, who, like the king of Sardinia, appeared to have no alternative but that of utter extinction.

The Austrian general Beaulieu, being now no longer able to maintain his situation on the Po, retreated across the Adda at Lodi, Pizzighettone, and Cremona, leaving a detachment at Lodi to stop the progress of the enemy. These forces were attacked, on the 10th of May, by the advanced guard of the republican army, who compelled them to retreat with so much precipitation as to leave no time for breaking down the bridge of Lodi. A battery was planted on the French side, and a tremendous cannonading kept up; but so well was the bridge protected by the Austrian artillery, that it was the opinion of the general officers that it could not be forced; but as Buonaparte was convinced that the reputation of the French army would suffer much if the Austrians were allowed to maintain their position, he was determined to encounter every risk in order to effect his object. Putting himself, therefore, at the head of a select body of his troops, he passed the bridge in the midst of a most destructive fire of the Austrian artillery, and then fell with such irresistible fury on his opponents, that he gained a

complete victory. Marshal Beaulieu, with the shattered remnants of his army, made a hasty retreat towards Mantua, pursued by a large body of the French. Pavia, Milan, and Verona were now soon in their hands; and on the 4th of June they invested Mantua, the only place of importance which the emperor held in Italy. Not long after, Buonaparte made himself master of Ferrara, Bologna, and Urbino; and next menaced the city of Rome. As the pope was incapable of resisting this unprovoked invasion of his territories, he was reduced to the necessity of soliciting an armistice, which was granted on very humiliating terms. He agreed to give up the cities of Bologna and Ferrara, with the citadel of Ancona, and to deliver up a great number of paintings and statues, and to enrich the conqueror with some hundreds of the most curious manuscripts from the Vatican library.

The court of Vienna now recalled Beaulieu, and gave the command to marshal Wurmser; but the tide of success ran more strong against him, if possible, than it had done against his predecessor. As Buonaparte was at this time employed in forming a republic of the states of Reggio, Modena, Bologna, and Ferrara, the Austrians had leisure to make new military arrangements. They reinforced marshal Wurmser, and formed a new army, the command of which was given to general Alvinzi. At the beginning of November, several partial engagements took place between Alvinzi and Buonaparte, till the 15th, when a most desperate engagement at the village of Arcola ended in the defeat and retreat of the Austrians, who lost about 13,000 men. Mantua, however, was still obstinately defended, but the garrison ceased to entertain hopes of ultimate success.

While the French army under Buonaparte was overrunning Italy, the armies on the Rhine, under Jourdain and Moreau, were unable to make any impression on the Austrians. The armistice which had been concluded at the termination of the last campaign, expired on the 31st of May, when both armies took the field; and the archduke Charles, who commanded the Austrians, gained several advantages over both Jourdain and Moreau, till, at the end of the year, the hostile armies having been harassed by the incessant fatigues they had undergone, discontinued their military operations during the winter.

The successes of Buonaparte in Italy, and the general aversion with which the people beheld the war, induced the British ministry to make overtures for peace with the French republic. Lord Malmesbury was accordingly despatched to Paris on this important mission, and proposed as the basis, the mutual restitution of conquests; but there was no disposition for peace on the part of the French directory, and the attempt at pacification ended by a sudden order for his lordship to quit Paris in forty-eight hours. While these negotiations were pending, an armament was prepared at Brest for the invasion of Ireland, which had long been meditated by the French rulers. The fleet, consisting of twenty-five ships of the line and fifteen frigates, was intrusted to admiral Bouvet; the land forces, amounting to 25,000 men, were commanded by general Hoche. They set sail on the 18th of December, but a violent tempest arose, and the frigate on board of which the general was conveyed being separated from the fleet, they returned to harbour, after losing one ship of the line and two frigates.

A few incidental notices will serve to wind up the domestic events of the year:—Sir Sidney Smith was taken prisoner on the French coast, and sent, under a strong escort, to Paris.—The princess of Wales gave birth to a daughter—the princess Charlotte; immediately after which, at the instance of the prince on the ground of 'incongeniality,' a separation took place between the royal parents.—A government loan of 18,000,000*l.* was subscribed in fifteen hours, between the 1st and 5th instant One million was subscribed by the bank of England in their corporate capacity, and 400,000*l.* by the directors individually.

A.D. 1797.—The garrison of Mantua, which had held out with astonishing bravery, surrendered on the 2nd of February, but obtained very honourable terms. After this, Buonaparte received very considerable reinforcements, and having cut to pieces the army under Alvinzi, he resolved on penetrating into the centre of the Austrian dominions. When the court of Vienna received information of this design, they raised a new army, the command of which was given to the archduke Charles. The French defeated the Austrians in almost every engagement; and Buonaparte, after making 20,000 prisoners, effected a passage across the Alps, and drove the emperor to the necessity of requesting an armistice. In April a preliminary treaty was entered into, by which it was stipulated that France should retain the Austrian Netherlands, and that a new republic should be formed from the states of Milan, Mantua, Modena, Ferrara, and Bologna, which should receive the name of the Cisalpine Republic. He then returned to Italy, leaving minor details of the treaty to be adjusted afterwards, and which was accordingly done at Campo Formio, in the following October.

England was now the only power at war with France; and great as had been the exertions of the people, still greater were of course required of them. The large sums of money which had been sent abroad, as subsidies to foreign princes, had diminished the quantity of gold and silver in Great Britain: this cause, added to the dread of an invasion, occasioned a run upon the country banks, and a demand for specie soon communicated itself to the metropolis. An order was issued to prohibit the directors of the bank from payments in cash. On the meeting of parliament, a committee was appointed to enquire into the state of the currency; and though the affairs of the bank were deemed to be in a prosperous state, an act was passed for confirming the restriction, and notes for one and two pounds were circulated. The consternation occasioned by these measures was at first very general, but the alarm

gradually subsided, and public confidence returned.

One of the first acts of Spain after declaring war against England, was the equipment of a large number of ships, to act in concert with the French. The Spanish fleet, of twenty-seven sail of the line, was descried on the 14th of January by admiral sir John Jervis, who was cruising off Cape St. Vincent, with a fleet of fifteen sail. He immediately formed his line in order of battle, and having forced his way through the enemy's fleet, and separated one third of it from the main body, he attacked with vigour, and in a short time captured four first-rate Spanish men-of-war, and blockaded the remainder in Cadiz. The Spaniards had 600 killed and wounded; the British, 300. For this brilliant exploit Sir John was raised to the peerage by the title of earl of St. Vincent; and commodore Nelson, who was now commencing his brilliant career, was knighted.

Rejoicings for the late glorious victory were scarcely over, when a serious mutiny broke out in the channel fleet. The principal cause of this untoward event was the inadequacy of the sailors' pay, which, notwithstanding the advance that had taken place in the price of provisions, had received no augmentation for a very considerable period. This discontent was first made known to lord Howe, who in February and March received anonymous letters, in which were enclosed petitions from different ships' companies, requesting an increase of pay, a more equal distribution of prize money, &c. The novelty of this circumstance induced his lordship to make some enquiries; but as there was no appearance of disaffection in the fleet, he concluded that the letters must have been forgeries, and took no further notice of it. On the 15th of April, when orders were given for preparing to sail, the crews of the ships lying at Spithead ran up the shrouds, gave three cheers, and refused to comply. They then chose two delegates from each ship, who drew up petitions to the admiralty and the house of commons, and each seaman was bound by an oath to be faithful to the cause. At length lord Bridport went on board, and told them he was the bearer of redress for all their grievances, and the king's pardon; and on the 8th of May an act was passed for augmenting the pay of sailors and mariners. The facility with which these claims had been granted instigated the seamen at the Nore to rise in mutiny and make further demands. A council of delegates was elected, at the head of whom was a bold and insolent man named Richard Parker, who undertook to command the fleet, and prevailed on his companions to reject repeated offers of pardon. In this instance, however, government was determined to employ force, if necessary, to reduce the mutineers to obedience, and to yield nothing more than had been granted to the seamen at Portsmouth. Preparations for hostilities were commenced on both sides, when dissensions among the disaffected themselves began to appear, and, after some bloodshed, all the ships submitted, giving up Parker and his fellow-delegates: some of whom, with their leader, expiated their offences by an ignominious death, but the great body of the revolters were conciliated by an act of amnesty.

Notwithstanding the late dangerous mutiny, the idea was very prevalent in the country, that if a hostile fleet were to make its appearance, the men would show themselves as eager as ever to fight for the honour of Old England. In a few months afterwards an opportunity occurred of testing their devotion to the service. The Batavian republic having fitted out a fleet of fifteen ships, under the command of their admiral De Winter, with an intention of joining the French, admiral Duncan, who commanded the British fleet, watched them so narrowly, that they found it impracticable to venture out of the Texel without risking an engagement. The British admiral being obliged by tempestuous weather to leave his station, the Dutch availed themselves of the opportunity, and put to sea; but were descried by the British fleet, which immediately set sail in pursuit of them. On the 11th of October the English came up with, and attacked them off Camperdown; and after a gallant fight of four hours, eight ships of the line, including those of the admiral and vice-admiral, besides four frigates, struck their colours. The loss of the English in this memorable action amounted to 700 men; the loss of the Dutch was estimated at twice that number. The gallant admiral Duncan was raised to the peerage, and received the title of viscount Camperdown, with an hereditary pension.

About three months previous to this action admiral Nelson, acting on fallacious intelligence, made an unsuccessful attack on Santa Cruz, in the island of Teneriffe; on which occasion the assailants sustained great loss, and Nelson himself had his arm shot off.

A.D. 1798.—As the French republic had at this time subdued all its enemies except England, the conquest of this country was the principal object of their hopes and expectations. The vast extent of territory which the French now possessed, together with the influence they had obtained over the councils of Holland, rendered them much more formidable than they had been at any former period. The circumstances of the British nation were, however, such as would discourage every idea of an invasion. Its navy was more powerful than it had ever been; the victories which had lately been gained over the Dutch and Spanish fleets had confirmed the general opinion of the loyalty as well as bravery of its seamen; and all parties burying, for a time, all past disputes in oblivion, unanimously resolved to support the government. On the meeting of parliament, in January, a message from the king intimated that an invasion of the kingdom was in contemplation by the French. This communication gave rise to very active measures, which plainly manifested the spirit of unanimity which reigned in Great Britain. Besides a large addition made to the militia,

every county was directed to raise bodies of cavalry from the yeomanry; and almost every town and considerable village had its corps of volunteers, trained and armed. The island was never before in such a formidable state of internal defence, and a warlike spirit was diffused throughout the entire population. A voluntary subscription for the support of the war also took place, by which a million and half of money was raised towards defraying the extraordinary demands on the public purse.

While this universal harmony seemed to direct the councils of Great Britain, the Irish were greatly divided in their sentiments, and at length commenced an open rebellion. In the year 1791 a society had been instituted by the catholics and protestant dissenters, for the purpose of obtaining a reform in parliament, and an entire deliverance of the Roman catholics from all the restrictions under which they laboured on account of religion. This institution was projected by a person named Wolfe Tone; and the members, who were termed the 'United Irishmen,' were so numerous, that their divisions and subdivisions were, in a short time, extended over the whole kingdom. Though a reform of parliament was the ostensible object of this society, yet it soon proved that its secret but zealous endeavours were directed to the bringing about a revolution, and, by effecting a disjunction of Ireland from Great Britain, to establish a republican form of government similar to that of France. So rapidly did the numbers of these republican enthusiasts increase, and so confident were they of the ultimate success of their undertakings, that in 1797 they nominated an executive directory, consisting of lord Edward Fitzgerald, Arthur O'Connor, Oliver Bond, Dr. Mac Niven, and counsellor Emmet. Their conspiracy was planned with such consummate art, and conducted with such profound secrecy, that it would, doubtless, have been carried into effect, but for its timely discovery in March, by a person employed by the government, when the principal ringleaders were apprehended, and Fitzgerald was mortally wounded while resisting the officers of justice. A second conspiracy shortly afterwards was in like manner detected, but not until a general insurrection had been determined upon, in which the castle of Dublin, the camp near it, and the artillery barracks, were to be surprised in one night, and other places were to be seized at the same moment. But the flame of rebellion was not easily extinguished. In May, a body of rebels, armed with swords and pikes, made attempts on the towns of Naas and Wexford; but they experienced a signal defeat from lord Gosford, at the head of the Armagh militia, and four hundred of them were left dead on the field. They afterwards marched, 15,000 strong, against Wexford, and upon defeating the garrison, which sallied forth to meet them, obtained possession of the town. Subsequently they became masters of Enniscorthy; but being driven back, with great slaughter, from New Ross, they wreaked their vengeance upon their captives at Wexford in the most barbarous manner. On the 12th of June, general Nugent attacked the rebels, 5,000 in number, commanded by Munro, near Ballynahinch, and routed them with great slaughter. But their greatest discomfiture was that which they sustained in their encampment on Vinegar-hill, where general Lake attacked and completely routed them. Various other minor engagements ensued about this time, in all which the rebels were defeated with considerable loss.

In the present divided and dangerous state of Ireland, it was judged prudent by the legislature to appoint to the lieutenancy of that country a military man of acknowledged prudence and bravery. The person chosen for the station was lord Cornwallis, who arrived at Dublin on the 20th of June. His first act was to publish a proclamation offering his majesty's pardon to all such insurgents as would desert their leaders, and surrender themselves and their arms. This proclamation, and the resolute conduct of government, had a great effect on the rebels, and the insurrection was in a short time suppressed. On the 23rd of August, about 800 Frenchmen, under the command of general Humbert, who had come to the assistance of the rebellious Irish, landed at Killala, and made themselves masters of that town. But instead of being joined by a considerable body of rebels, as they expected, were met by general Lake, to whom they surrendered as prisoners of war. An end was thus temporarily put to the Irish rebellion—a rebellion which, though never completely organised, was fraught with excesses on each side at which humanity shudders. It was computed at the time that not less than 30,000 persons, in one way or other, were its victims.

The preparations which had been making for the invasion of England were apparently continued, but at the same time an armament was fitting out at Toulon, the destination of which was kept a profound secret. It consisted of thirteen ships of the line, with other vessels amounting in all to forty-five sail, besides 200 transports, on board of which were 20,000 choice troops, with horses, artillery, and an immense quantity of provisions and military stores. All Europe beheld with astonishment and apprehension these mighty preparations, and seemed to wait in awful expectation for the storm of war that was about to burst on some devoted land. This armament, which was under the command of general Buonaparte, set sail on the 20th of May, and having taken possession of the island of Malta on the 1st of June, proceeded towards Egypt, where it arrived at the beginning of July; its ultimate destination being said to be the East Indies, *viâ* the Red Sea. Sir Horatio Nelson, who was sent in pursuit of the French fleet, being wholly ignorant of its destination, sailed for Naples, where he obtained information of the surrender of Malta, and accordingly directed his course towards that island. On his arrival he had the mortification to find that Buonaparte was gone, and conjecturing that he had sailed to Alexandria, he immediately prepared to follow. He was, however, again disap

pointed, for on reaching Alexandria he learned that the enemy had not been there. After this the British squadron proceeded to Rhodes, and thence to Sicily, where they had the satisfaction of hearing that the enemy had been seen off Candia about a month before, and had gone to Alexandria. Thitherward they pressed all sail, and on the 1st of August descried the French fleet lying in Aboukir bay. Buonaparte had landed his army on the 5th of July, and having made himself master of Alexandria, he drew up his transports within the inner harbour of that city, and proceeded with his army along the banks of the Nile. The French fleet, commanded by admiral Brueys, was drawn up near the shore, in a compact line of battle, flanked by four frigates, and protected in the front by a battery planted on a small island. Nelson decided on an immediate attack that evening, and, regardless of the position of the French, led his fleet between them and the shore, so as to place his enemies between two fires. The victory was complete. Nine ships of the line were taken, one was burnt by her captain, and the admiral's ship, L'Orient, was blown up in the action, with her commander and the greater part of the crew. The loss of the English was 900 sailors killed; that of the French far greater. The glorious conduct of the brave men who achieved this signal triumph was the theme of every tongue, and the intrepid Nelson was rewarded with a peerage and a pension.

The victory of the Nile produced a powerful effect throughout Europe. The formidable preparations which had menaced Asia and Africa with immediate ruin were overthrown, and seemed to leave behind them an everlasting monument of the extreme folly and uncertainty of human undertakings. The deep despondency which had darkened the horizon of Europe was suddenly dispelled, the dread of Gallic vengeance seemed to vanish in a moment, and the minds of men were awakened into action by the ardent desire of restoring tranquillity to Europe. A second coalition was immediately formed against France, under the auspices of Great Britain, and was entered into by Austria, Russia, the Ottoman Porte, and Naples.—Towards the close of the year the island of Minorca surrendered, with scarcely a show of resistance, to general Stuart and commodore Duckworth.

We must now take a glance of the state of British affairs in India. Tippoo Sahib having entered into a secret correspondence with the French republic, the governor-general demanded an explanation of his intentions; and as this demand was not complied with, general Harris invaded his territories. After some slight engagements, the British army advanced to Seringapatam, the capital of Tippoo, and on the 4th of May, after a gallant and desperate resistance, they succeeded in taking it, the sultan being killed while defending the fortress.

A.D. 1799.—In consequence of the new confederacy which had been formed against the French republic, the campaign of this year became particularly interesting. A French army which had advanced into Suabia, under general Jourdain, was opposed by the Austrians under the archduke Charles, and being discomfited, was compelled to retreat into Switzerland. The Austrians pursued them as far as Zurich, where they were enabled to make a stand until they received reinforcements. In the meantime, an army of Austrians and Russians, under general Suwarrow, having obliged the French to relinquish their conquests in Italy, they determined to hasten to the assistance of the archduke; but being anticipated by the French general Massena, the Austrians were obliged to retreat in great haste, and the Russians were surrounded so completely, that only 5,000, with their general, escaped. In fact, so severe were the several contests, that in the space of fifteen days 30,000 men on both sides fell victims to the unsparing sword.

While these events were transacting in Italy and Switzerland, an attempt was made by Great Britain to drive the French from Holland, and to reinstate the prince of Orange in his authority as stadtholder. A landing was accordingly effected at the mouth of the Texel, under sir Ralph Abercromby; and immediately afterwards the British fleet, commanded by admiral Mitchell, entered the Zuider Zee, and captured eight ships of the line, besides some smaller vessels of war and four Indiamen. On the 13th of September the duke of York assumed the chief command of the army, which amounted to 35,000 men, including 17,000 Russians. This army was at first successful, and drove the French from their positions; but their reinforcements arriving, and the British commanders finding no support from the Dutch, a suspension of arms was agreed upon, and the duke resolved to relinquish the enterprise. Holland was consequently evacuated; and, as the price of being allowed to reembark without molestation, 8,000 seamen, Dutch or French, prisoners in England, were to be liberated.

After the battle of the Nile, Buonaparte led his army into Palestine, with the avowed intention of taking possession of Jerusalem, rebuilding the temple, and restoring the Jews. El-Arisch and Gaza surrendered to him, Jaffa was carried by storm, and he rapidly advanced as far as the city of Acre, which he invested with an army of 10,000 select troops; but here he met with an opponent who not only arrested his progress, but who ultimately put his veteran legions to shame. The pacha had the assistance of that gallant Englishman, sir Sidney Smith, whose former dashing exploits on the coasts of France had rendered his name far more familiar than agreeable to Gallic ears. On the 20th of March Buonaparte opened his trenches; but a flotilla conveying part of his besieging train had been captured by sir Sidney Smith, who was on board the Tigre of 84 guns, then lying off Acre, and the enemy's guns were employed in its defence. However, the French made a breach, and attempted to carry the place by assault, but were again and again re

pulsed, with great loss. An alternation of attacks and sorties followed for the space of sixty days, during which Buonaparte uselessly sacrificed an immense number of his bravest soldiers, and at last was compelled to raise the siege. Having received intelligence of the arrival of a Turkish army in Egypt, Napoleon returned from Palestine across the deserts of Arabia, and on the 25th of July obtained a great victory over the Turks near the Pyramids.

But he was now about to enter on a new theatre of action. Party dissensions in France, her danger of external foes, and the opportunity which was thereby afforded to the ambition of this extraordinary leader, seems to have suddenly determined him to quit Egypt. He accordingly left the army to general Kleber, and sailed with all imaginable secrecy from Aboukir: his good fortune enabling him, and the few friends he took with him, to reach Frejus on the 7th of October, unobserved and unmolested. Finding that the people generally approved of the step he had taken, and that while the corruption and mismanagement of the directory had rendered them very unpopular, he was regarded as the good genius of France, he, in the true Cromwellian fashion, with the assistance of a strong party, dissolved the assembly of representatives, and usurped the government with the title of chief consul, which was at first conferred on him for ten years, but was afterwards confirmed for life.

In order to render his usurpation popular, Buonaparte began to make professions of a pacific character, and entered into a correspondence for a negotiation with the principal powers at war with the republic. In his communications with the allied sovereigns he departed from the forms sanctioned by the custom of nations, and personally addressed his letters to the monarchs. The substance of the note addressed to his Britannic majesty was conveyed in two questions, 'Whether the war which had for eight years ravaged the four quarters of the globe, was to be eternal?' and 'Whether there were no means by which France and England might come to a good understanding?' In answer to this letter, an official note was returned by Mr. Grenville, who dwelt much on the bad faith of revolutionary rulers, and the instability of France since the subversion of the ancient monarchy. The overture which was transmitted to the court of Vienna was of a similar nature, and experienced similar treatment; but the emperor of Russia, being disgusted with the conduct of Austria in the late campaign, withdrew from the confederacy.

A.D. 1800.—The often-discussed question of a legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland engaged the attention of politicians at this time, and gave rise to much angry feeling. Some serious difficulties had arisen from the existence of independent legislatures in England and Ireland, and there was reason to fear that while separate interests were made paramount to the general good, old grievances might again lead to disaffection, and the result be a dismemberment of the empire. To prevent such an evil the ministers of the day considered it their bounden duty; and though the measure at first met with great opposition, it was eventually carried by considerable majorities, and took effect on the 1st of January, 1801. By this arrangement the Irish were to have a share of all the commerce of Great Britain, except such parts of it as belong to chartered companies. The commons of Ireland to be represented in the imperial parliament by a hundred members; the spiritual and temporal peerage of that country, by four bishops and twenty-eight lay lords, holding their seats for life. Such peers of Ireland as are not elected into the house of lords, to be competent to sit in the house of commons as representatives of British towns and counties, on condition of their giving up all the privileges of the peerage during their continuance in the lower house. The former laws and courts of justice in Ireland to be retained, with its court of chancery, and the sovereign to be still represented by a lord-lieutenant.

During the past winter and the early part of spring the greatest distress was felt by the poorer classes on account of the scarcity and extraordinary high price of bread; in order to mitigate which, an act was passed prohibiting the sale of that great necessary of life until it had been baked twenty-four hours, from a notion that the consumption of stale bread would be much less than that of new.

On the 15th of May, as the king was reviewing a battalion of the guards in Hyde Park, a ball was fired by a soldier, which wounded a gentleman who was standing not many yards from his majesty; but whether it was from accident or design could not be discovered. And on the evening of the same day a much more alarming circumstance occurred at Drury-lane theatre. At the moment his majesty entered the royal box, a man stood up in the pit and discharged a pistol at the king: the ball providentially missed him, and the offender was immediately seized: when it appeared that his name was James Hatfield, formerly a private soldier, and that he was occasionally afflicted with mental derangement from a wound he had received in the head. He was accordingly 'provided for' as a lunatic. The consternation occasioned by these occurrences was succeeded by many signal proofs of affectionate loyalty, especially on the 4th of June, his majesty's birthday.

The campaign of 1800 was opened with great resolution on both sides. Independently of the other troops of France, an additional army of 60,000 men was assembled at Dijon, and it was publicly announced in the French papers, that it was intended as a reinforcement to the armies on the Rhine and in Italy, as circumstances might require. No one suspected that any important plan of military operations was concealed by the affected publicity of this arrangement, so no precaution was taken to obviate the consequences which might arise from its movements. The Austrians in Italy, under general Melas, attacked Mas

sena in the territory of the Genoese; and being successful in several obstinate conflicts, the surrender of Genoa with its garrison followed. Just at this time Buonaparte suddenly joined the army of reserve at Dijon, crossed the Alps over Mount St. Bernard, which before had been deemed impracticable, and descended into the Milanese without opposition. Having received some powerful reinforcements from the army in Switzerland, he placed himself in the rear of the Austrian army, and resolved on hazarding a battle. Their first encounter was the battle of Montobello, in which the French had the advantage; and it served as a prelude to the decisive battle of Marengo. The Austrians numbered 60,000; the French, 50,000; the former commencing the fight with unusual spirit and success. For a long time the defeat of the French seemed inevitable. But general Desaix having arrived with a reinforcement towards evening, a terrible carnage ensued, and the Austrians were totally routed. The loss on each side was terrific; the French stating theirs at 12,000, and the Austrians at 15,000. On the following day a cessation of hostilities was proposed by the allies, which was granted on condition of their abandoning Piedmont. Immediately after, Buonaparte reestablished the Cisalpine republic.

On the 3rd of December, the Austrian army, under the archduke John, was signally defeated at Hohenlinden, by general Moreau; their loss being 10,000 men and eighty pieces of cannon; the effect of which was, that the emperor was driven to the necessity of soliciting an armistice. This was followed by a treaty of peace, which was signed at Luneville on the 9th of February, 1801.

A.D. 1801.—On the 1st of January a royal proclamation announced the royal style and title as 'George the Third, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith;' the absurd titular assumption of king of France being now laid aside. On the 3rd his majesty's council took the oaths as privy councillors for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland: and the king presented the lord chancellor with a new great seal made for the union.

By the treaty of Luneville, Great Britain again became the only opponent of the French republic, and was placed in a situation that required more than common energy and prudence. Influenced by the capricious emperor Paul of Russia, the principal northern powers resolved on reviving the armed neutrality, and claimed a right of trading to the ports of France, without submitting to their vessels being searched. At this critical juncture the British ministry, on the 11th of February, resigned their offices. Various conjectures as to their motives for this sudden act were afloat, but the ostensible cause was a misunderstanding that had taken place relative to catholic emancipation. It was, in fact, understood, that Mr. Pitt had pledged himself, in case the union was not frustrated by the Irish legislature, to obtain emancipation to the catholics, by a repeal of the disabilities legally pending over that body; but the king's objections to the measure were too deeply rooted, and too conscientiously formed, (it being, as he believed, contrary to the obligation of his coronation oath,) for the minister to remove them; added to which, there was the well-known dislike entertained by the protestants of Ireland to encounter a catholic magistracy, and the fears of the clergy of the established church. Owing to the indisposition of his majesty, a new ministry was not formed till the middle of March, when Mr. Addington was chosen first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer; lord Eldon, lord high chancellor; the earl of St. Vincent, first lord of the admiralty; the lords Hawkesbury and Pelham, secretaries of state; and the hon. col. Yorke, secretary at war. There is little doubt that the new ministers were brought forward to do what their predecessors were unable or unwilling to accomplish, namely, the putting an end to the war, and evading the agitation of the catholic question. Mr. Addington, it is true, had given general satisfaction as speaker of the house of commons, and he had acquired the king's personal favours by his decorous manner and respectable character; but neither he nor his colleagues had any political reputation to entitle them to be trusted with the pilotage of the vessel of the state, especially when it was necessary to steer her amid the rocks and breakers of a tempestuous sea. In order to counteract the designs of the northern confederates, an armament was fitted out in the British ports, consisting of seventeen sail of the line, with frigates, bomb-vessels, &c., and intrusted to the command of admiral sir Hyde Parker and vice-admiral lord Nelson. The fleet embarked at Yarmouth on the 12th of March, and, having passed the Sound with very trifling opposition, appeared before Copenhagen on the 30th. Batteries of cannon and mortars were placed on every part of the shore where they might be used in annoying the English fleet: the mouth of the harbour being protected by a chain, and by a fort constructed on piles. An attack on this formidable crescent was intrusted, at his own request, to Nelson, with twelve ships of the line and all the smaller craft. It began at ten o'clock in the morning, and was kept up on both sides with great courage and prodigious slaughter for four hours: by which time seventeen sail of the enemy had been burnt, sunk, or taken; while three of the largest of the English ships, owing to the intricacies of the navigation, had grounded within reach of the enemy's land batteries. At this juncture Nelson proposed a truce, to which the prince of Denmark promptly acceded. The loss of the English in killed and wounded was 942; that of the Danes 1,800. The sudden death of Paul, emperor of Russia, who, it has been authentically said, was strangled in his palace, caused a change in foreign affairs. His eldest son, Alexander, ascended the throne, and renouncing the politics of his father, entered into a treaty of amity with England: the

northern confederacy was consequently dissolved.

At the time the expedition to Copenhagen was on the eve of departure, a considerable British force had been sent to Egypt, in order to effect the expulsion of the French from that country. This was under the command of sir Ralph Abercromby, who on the 8th of March effected a disembarkation, with great spirit, in the face of the enemy, at Aboukir, the fort of which surrendered on the 19th. General Kleber, who commanded the French troops in Egypt after the departure of Buonaparte, had been assassinated, and Menou was now the general-in-chief. On the 13th a severe action took place, in which the English had the advantage; but it was on the 21st that the celebrated battle of Alexandria was fought. The force on each side was about 12,000; and before daylight the French commenced the attack. A long, desperate, and often dubious engagement succeeded: but at length the assailants were completely defeated, and the famous corps of 'Invincibles' almost annihilated. The loss of the French in killed, wounded, and prisoners, was upwards of 3,500; that of the British 1,400; among whom was the gallant sir Ralph Abercromby, who nobly terminated a long career of military glory. He was wounded in the thigh, about the middle of the day; but that he might not damp the ardour of his troops, he concealed his anguish until the battle was won.

The command of the British troops devolved on general Hutchinson, an able officer, and the intimate friend of sir Ralph, who having made himself master of the ports of Rosetta, Cairo, and Alexandria, completed the conquest of Egypt about the middle of September; when the French capitulated, upon condition of being conveyed, with their arms, artillery, &c., to their own country. A large detachment of troops from the Indian army arrived, by the way of the Red Sea, under sir David Baird, just after the conclusion of the treaty.

The news of this important event reached England on the same day as the preliminaries of a peace with France were signed by M. Otto, on the part of the French republic, and lord Hawkesbury, on the part of his Britannic majesty. This negotiation had been carried on for some months with so much secrecy, that those persons alone who were engaged in it were acquainted with its progress. The definitive treaty was concluded at Amiens on the 27th of March, 1802; by which Great Britain consented to restore all her conquests except the island of Trinidad, and the Dutch possessions in Ceylon. The Cape of Good Hope was to remain a free port to all the contracting powers. Malta, with its dependencies, was to be evacuated by the British, and restored to the order of St. John of Jerusalem; while the island was to be placed under the protection and sovereignty of the king of Naples. Egypt was to be restored to the Sublime Porte, whose territories and possessions were to be reserved entire, as they existed previously to the war. The territories of the queen of Portugal were to remain entire; and the French agreed to evacuate Rome and Naples. The republic of the Seven Islands was recognised by France: and the fishery of Newfoundland was established on its former footing.

The restoration of peace was universally received with transports of joy, and was in itself a measure so necessary and desirable, that the terms on which it had been concluded were passed over in silence by the inhabitants of both countries. When the subject was alluded to in the house of commons, Mr. Sheridan observed, 'It is a peace of which every man is glad, but of which no man is proud.' Notwithstanding the brilliant exploits of their armies, and the superiority which they maintained over their enemies, the French nation felt in their victories all the distresses attending defeat, and sighed for the conclusion of hostilities. In Great Britain, too, the enormous weight of taxes, and high price of provisions, the total defeat of our continental allies, and the improbability of weakening the power of France, equally disposed the minds of the people to peace. Both nations seemed eager to unite in reciprocal habits of intimacy and friendship, and the interchange of visitors from the opposite sides of the Channel was a novel and cheering sight. But though this apparent tendency of the two nations to forget their mutual animosities seemed to prognosticate a long continuance of the blessings of peace, the happy prospect was soon interrupted by symptoms of jealousy which appeared between the respective governments.

Having in various ways gained the popular voice in his favour, Buonaparte was appointed consul for life, with the power of naming a successor. On this occasion he instituted a republican order of nobility—the legion of honour,—to be conferred on military men as a reward for skill and bravery, and on citizens who distinguished themselves by their talents or their strict administration of justice.

Before we enter upon a new chapter, we are bound to notice a treasonable conspiracy by certain obscure individuals, which, at the time, caused considerable alarm. Colonel Despard, an Irish gentleman of respectable family and connections, who had formerly given distinguished proofs of valour and good conduct, but had subsequently been confined in Cold-bath-fields prison for seditious practices, was apprehended at the Oakley-arms, Oakley-street, Lambeth, with thirty-six of his confederates, principally consisting of the labouring classes, and among them three soldiers of the guards. It appeared that on his liberation from prison, Despard induced a number of fellows, as mean and ignorant as they were violent, to believe that they were capable of subverting the present government, and establishing a democracy. In order to effect this measure, it was proposed to assassinate the king and royal family, to seize the Bank and Tower, and to imprison the members of parliament. Vast as these plans were, yet it appeared

that the time, mode, and place for their execution were arranged; though only fifty or sixty persons were concerned in it. Information having been conveyed to ministers of this bold conspiracy, its progress was narrowly watched, and at the moment when the designs of the traitors were ripe for execution, they were suddenly dragged from their rendezvous, and fully committed on a charge of treason. After a trial which lasted eighteen hours, the colonel was found guilty; and on the 21st of February, 1803, this misguided man, with six fellow-conspirators, was executed on the top of the new gaol in Southwark. Despard declined spiritual assistance, and met his fate without contrition, sorrow, or concern: the others suffered death with decency.

CHAPTER LXII.

The Reign of GEORGE III. (*continued*).

A.D. 1803.—THE treaty of Amiens proved delusive, and both combatants, jealous and watchful, stood ready to renew the conflict. The unbounded ambition of the French consul, and his implacable hatred to Great Britain, induced him to take every opportunity of insulting our ambassadors, in order to occasion a renewal of hostilities. Peace had hardly been concluded, when the whole fortresses of Piedmont were dismantled, and that country was annexed to France. The same measures were pursued with regard to Parma and Placentia; and a numerous army was sent against Switzerland, and that government was placed in the hands of the dependents of Buonaparte. Notwithstanding these and several other acts of tyranny, which were highly injurious to Great Britain, and shameful violations of the treaty of peace, his Britannic majesty earnestly endeavoured to avoid a recurrence to arms, and seemed willing to suffer the most unwarrantable aggressions rather than again involve Europe in the horrors of war. This was construed by the Corsican usurper into a dread of his ill-gotten power. Some official papers were afterwards presented to the British ministry, in which he required that the French emigrants who had found shelter in England should be banished; that the liberty of the press in Britain should be abridged, because some of the newspapers had drawn his character with a truthful pen: and it appeared, indeed, that nothing short of a species of dictation in the domestic affairs of Great Britain was likely to satisfy him. Such insolent pretensions could not be brooked; all ranks of men seemed to rouse from their lethargy, and the general wish was to uphold the country's honour by a renewed appeal to arms.

The extensive warlike preparations going forward about this time in the ports of France and Holland, excited the jealousy of the British ministry; though it was pretended that they were designed to reduce their revolted colonies to obedience. An explanation of the views of the French government was requested by lord Whitworth, the English ambassador: but he was openly insulted by the first consul, who had the indecency to intimate, in a tone of gasconade, that Great Britain was unable to contend single-handed with France. On the 12th of May lord Whitworth presented the ultimatum of the British government, which being rejected, war was announced on the 16th by a message from his majesty to parliament. Almost immediately upon this, Buonaparte issued a decree for the detention of all the English in France; in consequence of which infringement of international law, about 12,000 English subjects, of all ages, were committed to custody as prisoners of war.

This event was followed by the invasion of Hanover, by a republican army under general Mortier, thus openly violating the neutrality of the German empire, and breaking the peace which had been separately concluded with his majesty as elector of Hanover. His royal highness the duke of Cambridge, who was at that time in Hanover, and had the command of a small body of troops, was resolved to oppose the progress of the invaders; but being urged by the regency to retire from the command, he returned to England. In a short time the French made themselves masters of the electorate, and committed the most flagrant acts of cruelty on the unfortunate inhabitants. The Elbe and the Weser being now under the control of the French, these rivers were closed against English commerce, and Buonaparte also insisted that the ports of Denmark should be shut against the vessels of Great Britain. In retaliation the British government gave orders for blockading the French ports.

And now it appeared that all minor schemes of aggrandisement were to give place to the invasion and subjugation of Great Britain: for which purpose an immense number of transports were ordered to be built with the greatest expedition; and a flotilla was assembled at Boulogne, sufficient to carry any army which France might wish to employ. This flotilla was frequently attacked by the English, and whenever any of their number ventured beyond the range of the batteries erected for their protection, they were generally captured by cruisers stationed off the coast to watch their motions. These mighty preparations, and the menacing attitude which was not allowed to relax on the opposite side of the channel, gave a new and vigorous impetus to British patriotism, and proportionably strengthened the hands of the government. Exclusive of the regular and supplementary militia, an additional army of 50,000 men was levied, under the title of the army of reserve; and in a few months volunteer corps, amounting to 300,000 men, were armed in their country's defence.

While measures were being taken for defending the country against invasion, a new insurrection broke out in Ireland, which had for its object to form an independent Irish republic. It originated with Mr. Robert Emmet, brother to him who had been so deeply implicated in the rebellious transactions of 1798, and who had been expatriated. This rash attempt to disturb the public tranquillity was made on the

23rd of July, when Emmet, with a crowd of desperadoes armed with pikes and firearms, marched through the principal streets of Dublin, and meeting the carriage of lord Kilwarden, chief-justice of Ireland, who was accompanied by his nephew and daughter, the ruffians dragged them from the carriage, and butchered the venerable judge and Mr. Wolfe on the spot, but the young lady was allowed to escape. Being attacked in their turn by a small party of soldiers, some of the rioters were killed, and others seized. Emmet and several of the most active ringleaders afterwards suffered the extreme penalty of the law.—In the session of November, acts were passed to continue the suspension of the habeas corpus, and enforce martial law in Ireland.

In the West Indies the English captured St. Lucie, Demerara, and other islands. A British fleet also assisted the insurgent blacks of St. Domingo to wrest that island from the French; but it was not effected without a most sanguinary contest. It was then erected into an independent state, under its ancient Indian name of Hayti.

In the East Indies much greater triumphs were achieved; among these was the famous battle of Assaye (Sept. 23rd), where major-general Arthur Wellesley, with comparatively few troops, completely defeated the combined Mahratta forces commanded by Scindiah Holkar and the rajah of Berar.

A.D. 1804.—It was the opinion of men of all parties, that in the present crisis a stronger ministry than that which had been formed under the leadership of Mr. Addington was absolutely necessary to direct the councils of Great Britain; and the friends of Mr. Pitt became most anxious that he should return to the administration on the renewal of war. The minister accordingly sought the aid of that great statesman as an auxiliary; but adhering to his well-known maxim 'to accept of no subaltern situation,' Mr. Pitt plainly signified that the premiership must be his. 'Aut Cæsar, aut nullus.' Though many were disappointed to find that a powerful coalition, in which Mr. Fox and his most eminent colleagues were expected to be included, was not formed, yet the manifest necessity of a vigorous prosecution of the war excited a spirit of unanimity in the nation, and induced the parliament to second every motion of the ministry.

Great as was the power to which Buonaparte had by artful gradations advanced himself, it was not sufficient to satiate his ambition; and he resolved to secure to himself the title of emperor. In order to sound the inclinations of the people, a book had been published some time before, pointing out the propriety and expediency of creating him emperor of the Gauls; after which an overture, equally insolent and absurd, was made to Louis XVIII., offering him indemnities and a splendid establishment, if he would renounce his pretensions to the crown of France. This proposal being treated with the contempt it merited, Buonaparte resolved on taking away the life of the duke D'Enghein, eldest son of the Duke of Bourbon, on a surreptitious charge of having engaged in a conspiracy against the first consul, and of serving in the armies of the emigrants against France. But the fact was, that this young prince, whose courage and talents were equalled only by his generosity and humanity, had excited the enmity and apprehensions of the Corsican. He had fixed his residence at Ettenheim, in the neutral territory of the elector of Baden, where his chief occupation was study, and his principal recreation the culture of a small garden. From this rural retreat he was dragged on the 15th of March, by a body of French cavalry, under the command of general Caulincourt, and carried the same day to the citadel of Strasburgh, where he remained till the 18th. On the 20th the duke arrived at Paris under a guard of gendarmerie, and after waiting some hours at the barrier, was driven to Vincennes. A military commission appointed to try him met the same evening in the castle, and the foul atrocity was completed by his being sentenced to immediate execution; which having taken place, his body was placed in a coffin partly filled with lime, and buried in the castle garden.

Buonaparte having now nothing to apprehend either from his declared or concealed enemies, prevailed on the people to confer on himself and his heirs the imperial dignity. The ceremony of his coronation accordingly took place, with remarkable solemnity, on the 19th of November; and in the following February he addressed the king of Great Britain a letter soliciting the establishment of peace. The answer of his Britannic majesty acknowledged that no object would be dearer to him than such a peace as would be consistent with the security and interests of his dominions; but it added, that he declined entering into a particular discussion without consulting his allies.

A.D. 1805.—Enraged at the perseverance of Great Britain, and elated by the unparalleled success which had attended all his measures, the French emperor seemed now to consider himself as the disposer of kingdoms; and not only disregarded the rights of mankind, but set at defiance all principles of justice and moderation. In order to secure his own personal aggrandisement, he made an excursion to Italy, converted the Cisalpine republic into a kingdom, and assumed the title of king of Italy. He then united the Ligurian republic to France, and erected the republic of Lucca into a principality, in favour of his sister Eliza, who had married the senator Bacchiachi. After these unprecedented acts of aggression, he returned to France, and being once more resolved to effect the subjugation of the British Isles, he repaired to Boulogne and reviewed his troops there, which were ostentatiously named 'the army of England,' and amounted to considerably more than a hundred thousand men.

Spain having been compelled, in consequence of its dependence on France, to become a party in the war with Great Britain, Buonaparte determined, by uniting

the naval strength of both nations, to strike a blow in several parts of the world at the same time. The greatest activity accordingly prevailed in the French ports, where the fleets had hitherto remained inactive; and several squadrons having eluded the vigilance of the British cruisers, put to sea. A squadron of five ships arrived in the West Indies, and surprised the town of Rousseau in Dominica; but being gallantly opposed by general Prevost, the governor of the island, they levied a contribution of five thousand pounds, and precipitately re-embarked their troops. They next proceeded to St. Christopher's, where, having made great pecuniary exactions, they seized all the ships in the Basseterre road. These prizes were sent to Guadaloupe; and the French squadron, fearful of encountering the British fleet, returned to Europe.

In the meantime a formidable fleet of ten sail of the line, with 10,000 men on board, set sail from Toulon, under the command of Admiral Villeneuve; who, having proceeded to Cadiz, was there reinforced by the Spanish admiral, Gravina, and six large ships, and immediately embarked for the West Indies. When lord Nelson received information that the French and Spaniards had put to sea, he supposed that they were destined for an attempt on Alexandria, and accordingly set sail in that direction. He traversed the Mediterranean with the utmost celerity, having a squadron of ten ships with him; but finding that he was mistaken in his conjectures, he concluded that the enemy had sailed for the West Indies. He immediately directed his course towards that quarter, and by driving the combined squadrons from island to island, he prevented them from making an attack on any of the British possessions; nay, so universal was the dread of Nelson's name, that they had no sooner arrived than they consulted their safety in a precipitate and disgraceful flight, and hastily returned to Europe. When the brave Nelson was assured of the course of his adversaries, he despatched a messenger to England, and immediately set sail in hopes of overtaking the fugitives. He arrived at Gibraltar on the 20th of July, and having refitted his ships, he resumed his position off Cape St. Vincent, sixty-three days after his departure from it for the West Indies.

On the arrival in London of the information of the enemy's retreat, a squadron, consisting of fifteen sail of the line, was despatched under sir Robert Calder, in the hope of intercepting them. On the 22nd of July sir Robert descried the object of his mission off Ferrol; and, notwithstanding their great superiority, he did not hesitate a moment in bringing them to action. After an obstinate engagement, the unequal conflict terminated in the defeat of the enemy, who, having lost two large ships, proceeded in haste to Ferrol. Being reinforced by the admirals Grandallana and Gourdon, they weighed anchor and retired to the harbour of Cadiz; where they were blockaded by sir Robert Calder. Some dissatisfaction having been expressed in the public papers, relative to the conduct of the British admiral in the engagement off Ferrol, he, in order to meet the charges with manly boldness, and to obviate the effects of malicious reports, applied for a court-martial to enquire into the subject; when, to his great astonishment, and to the regret of the whole navy, he was found guilty of an error of judgement, and sentenced to be reprimanded—a reproach which he, who had passed forty-six years with honour in the service, felt deeply.

Subsequently to his arrival at Cape St. Vincent, admiral Nelson traversed the bay of Biscay in search of the enemy; but being oppressed with fatigues and disappointment, he resolved on returning to England. He arrived at Portsmouth on the 18th of August, and having reached London on the 20th, experienced a most cordial and affectionate reception from his grateful countrymen. He would not, however, allow himself to remain in inactivity, and being offered the command of an armament that was then preparing, he without hesitation embraced the opportunity of serving his country. Having hoisted his flag on board the Victory, on the following day he put to sea, and on his arrival at Cadiz he received from admiral Collingwood the command of the British fleet, which now consisted of twenty-seven sail of the line. On the 19th of October Nelson learned that the combined French and Spanish fleets, consisting of thirty-three sail of the line, had put to sea from Cadiz, under admirals Villeneuve and Gravina: and on the 21st he discovered them off Cape Trafalgar. He immediately ordered the fleet to bear up, in two columns, as directed by his previous plan of attack; and issued this admonitory signal—which has since become a national proverb—'England expects every man to do his duty.' The windward column of the English ships was led by lord Nelson in the Victory; the leeward by rear-admiral Collingwood, in the Royal Sovereign. About noon the awful contest commenced, by the leading ships of the columns piercing the enemy's line; the others breaking through in all parts, and engaging their adversaries at the muzzle of their guns. The enemy fought with intrepid spirit; but the superior skill which opposed them was resistless. The fury of the battle was sustained for three hours, when many ships of the combined fleet having struck, their line gave way: nineteen sail of the line, with Villeneuve and two other flag officers, were taken; the other ships, with admiral Gravina, escaped.

This splendid victory, so preeminent in the annals of Britain, was purchased with the life of her greatest naval commander. In the middle of the contest lord Nelson received in his left breast a musket-ball aimed at him from the ship with which he was engaged; and in about an hour afterwards he expired, displaying in his death the heroic firmness which had distinguished every action of his life. The loss of this gallant man damped the enthusiastic joy which the news of so important a victory would have excited; and it is difficult to

say whether the general grief that was felt for the hero's death, or the exultation for so signal a triumph, preponderated. Many there were, most assuredly, who would have relinquished the victory to have saved the victim. His remains were deposited in St. Paul's cathedral, and were accompanied by a procession more extensive and magnificent than England had, on any similar occasion, beheld.

Of that part of the Cadiz fleet which had escaped, four ships were afterwards captured by sir Richard Strachan, off Ferrol, and were conducted to a British port.—Thus the enemy's marine was virtually annihilated, and the navy of England held, undisputed, the mastery of the seas.

It was far otherwise, however, with her continental projects and alliances. An alliance offensive and defensive had long been ineffectually negotiating with Russia, Austria, and Sweden; but it was not till the French emperor had arbitrarily annexed Genoa and Parma to his dominions, that a treaty was concluded. The objects of this formidable coalition were the liberation of Holland, Sardinia, Switzerland, and Hanover from French tyranny; the restoration of tranquillity to the Italian states, and the reestablishment of safety and peace in all Europe. It was stipulated, that the three continental powers should furnish 500,000 men, exclusive of the British troops. The military force at the disposal of France was 650,000, besides a considerable number of auxiliaries. By one article of the confederacy it was agreed, that the continental powers should not withdraw their forces, nor Great Britain her subsidies, till a general pacification took place with the common consent of the contracting parties.

The dissatisfaction evinced against the French emperor in all the territories which he had seized, seemed only to raise his unprincipled ambition. To insure the subjugation of Germany, he, under the perfidious plea of moderation, endeavoured to separate Austria from the other imperial states. He issued a manifesto, reprobating the folly and injustice of the confederate powers, and declaring that if hostilities were commenced against any of his allies, particularly against Bavaria, he would instantly march his whole army to avenge the affront. He said that the war was created and maintained by the gold and hatred of Great Britain, and boasted that he would fight till he had secured the independence of the Germanic body, and would not make peace without a sufficient security for its continuance. The Austrians, disregarding these threats, entered Bavaria with 55,000 men, and were vigorously supported by the hereditary states. These forces, with those furnished by Russia and the Tyrol, seemed to promise success; but through the precipitancy of the Austrians, the tardiness of the Russians, and the vigorous measures of Buonaparte, the great objects of the coalition failed, and the most disastrous reverses were experienced.

The French reached the banks of the Rhine in September, and effected a passage over the river; engaged the Austrians before the Russians could join them, and defeated them with great loss at Wertingen and Gunsburgh. In the meantime general Bernadotte, by the order of Buonaparte, entered the neutral territories of Franconia, and was there joined by the Bavarian army of 20,000 cavalry and infantry, the Batavian division, and by the army of Holland, under Marmont. The losses sustained by the Austrians had hitherto been very inconsiderable; but on the 13th of October, Meningen, with its large garrison, surrendered to marshal Soult. On the 19th, the Austrians making a sortie from the city of Ulm, and attacking Dupont's division, were defeated, and 15,000 of their men taken. A few days afterwards the Austrian general Mack, who had shut himself up in Ulm, with 30,000 men, surrendered to the French under very suspicious circumstances, and his whole army were made prisoners of war.

The first Russian division, under generals Kutusoff and Merveldt, having at length effected a junction with the Austrians, the French army, 110,000 strong, hastily advanced to attack them. The allied troops were unwilling to engage a force so much more numerous than their own, and awaited the arrival of the second Russian army. That arrival was, however, delayed for a very considerable time, by the menacing and impolitic opposition of the Prussian armaments. Had the king of Prussia, by joining the confederates, avenged the insult offered to his Franconian territories, the French would soon have been compelled to return home; but the ill-fated policy he now adopted was the cause of all the disasters which Europe afterwards suffered. The first Russian army, unable to maintain its position against the superior power of the enemy, were under the necessity of falling back upon Moravia, and in their rout had no alternative but that of crossing the Danube, above Vienna. The imminent danger with which his capital was now threatened, induced the emperor of Austria to propose an armistice, in hopes of gaining time for the arrival of reinforcements. Count Gullay was accordingly despatched to the headquarters of Napoleon, with proposals for concluding a suspension of hostilities for a few weeks, as a preliminary step towards a negotiation for a general peace. Buonaparte expressed his readiness to accede to the armistice, on condition that the Austrian monarch would cause the allied army to return home, the Hungarian levy to be abandoned, and the duchy of Venice and the Tyrol to be occupied by the French.

The Russian armies, having at length effected a junction with those of Austria, marched towards Austerlitz, where the French were posted; but as the allied sovereigns were desirous of preventing the dreadful sacrifice of life, which was inevitable from the conflict of two such prodigious armies, the counts Stadion and Gullay were sent to Napoleon to propose an armistice. The French emperor, supposing that they merely wished to lull him into a false security, beguiled them with artful compliments, and solicited an interview

with the emperor Alexander. He had previously discovered that the allies were rashly advancing against him when the utmost caution was necessary; and, in order to take full advantage of the circumstance, he commanded his army to feign a retreat, that his enemy might be confirmed in the idea of his being unable to resist their forces. The Russian emperor declined in his own person the proposed interview, but sent his aide-de-camp as a proxy, who returned after a long conference, fully persuaded that the French were reduced to the last extremities.

The French having by cautious movements kept up the idea of their own weakness and alarm, were attacked on the 1st of December by the combined army; but when their artifices had been duly prolonged, Buonaparte brought up all his troops, and by the superiority of his numbers, gained a complete victory. This was the well-contested and memorable battle of Austerlitz, or, as it was often called, the battle of the 'Three Emperors.' The Austro-Russian armies, amounting to 80,000, were commanded by general Kutusoff and prince Lichtenstein; and nearly 30,000 in killed, wounded, and prisoners, with 100 pieces of cannon, attested the triumph of Napoleon. In consequence of this, an armistice was four days afterwards effected; and on the 26th of the same month, a pacific treaty was concluded at Presburg between France and Austria. By the terms agreed on, France retained possession of the Transalpine territories; Buonaparte was acknowledged king of Italy, but the crowns of France and Italy were to be for ever separated, instead of being united under one head; and the new-made king was invested with the power of appointing an acknowledged successor to the Italian throne. On the other hand, the French emperor guaranteed the integrity of the empire of Austria, in the state to which he had now reduced it, as well as the integrity of the possessions of the princes of the house of Austria, Russia, &c.

Prussia, which had insidiously held back, watching the progress of the campaign, determined for the present to preserve peace with France, and concluded a convention with that power, by which Prussia was to have the aid of France in occupying Hanover in exchange for Anspach, Cleves, and Neufchatel. It has always, indeed, appeared to us that the policy of Prussia was constantly directed to the diminution of the Austrian power, in the hope that the imperial crown might be transferred to the house of Brandenburg: a feeling which Buonaparte insidiously encouraged as long as it suited his own views of aggrandisement.

A.D. 1806.—The campaign of 1805 having thus fatally terminated, and the Russian armies having retreated across the Elbe, Napoleon resolved to take vengeance on the king of Naples, who had provoked his wrath by admitting some British and Russian troops into his dominions. On the morning after he had signed the peace of Presburg, the French emperor issued a proclamation from his headquarters at Vienna, declaring that the Neapolitan dynasty had ceased to reign, and denouncing vengeance on the royal family. Immediately after this threatening manifesto reached Naples, the Russian troops reembarked, and the British determined on retiring to Sicily, without waiting the arrival of the enemy. The crown of Naples was conferred on Joseph Buonaparte, who, being supported by a numerous French army, took possession of his kingdom on the 13th of February 1806. The late king took refuge at Palermo, where he was protected by the troops and fleet of Great Britain.

As that part of the Neapolitan territories called Calabria persisted in opposing the invaders, sir J. Stuart, commander of the British forces in Sicily, undertook an expedition for the purpose of restoring the legitimate sovereign. Having landed his troops, consisting of 4,800 men, he immediately advanced to attack the French general Regnier, who occupied a strong position near the plains of Maida, with an army of 7,000 men; but the British troops charged the enemy at the point of the bayonet, and obtained a glorious victory; the enemy's loss being 4,000 men, killed, wounded, and prisoners, while that of the English was only 45 killed and 282 wounded! The battle of Maida led to the expulsion of the French from Calabria in less than a month; but such considerable reinforcements were received by Joseph Buonaparte, that the authority of the new monarch was established at Naples; and the English being under the necessity of withdrawing their forces to the protection of Sicily, the Calabrians were obliged to submit.

Shortly after this Buonaparte erected Holland into a kingdom, which he bestowed on his brother Louis; whose mild administration, whilst it gained him the good-will and affection of his subjects, incensed his despotic brother. He next subverted the Germanic constitution, and established the *confederatum of the Rhine*; of which he declared that he had taken on himself the office of 'protector.'

These momentous transactions on the continent have necessarily interrupted our narration of those events which relate exclusively to Great Britain. An important acquisition was made by general Baird and sir Home Popham, who, after surmounting the most formidable obstacles, made themselves masters of the Cape of Good Hope, on the 10th of January, experiencing little resistance from the Dutch governor. This conquest was followed by the capture of three French ships of the line, part of a squadron that had escaped from the harbour of Brest, and which sir J. Duckworth fortunately met with in the West Indies.

But no event that took place, favourable or otherwise, was of equal importance to the death of Mr. Pitt, which happened on the 23rd of January. Excessive anxiety, application, and debility, added to the failure of his plan for delivering Europe from French tyranny, accelerated his death; and the last words which quivered on his lips were 'Oh, my country!' By a vote of

the commons, his remains were interred in Westminster abbey, with the greatest solemnity, and a monument was erected to him at the public expense. By the same vote, his debts were discharged by the public.*

Our limits and the plan of the work forbid us to trench upon the province of the biographer; but we may, perhaps, be excused for inserting a few additional lines, when recording the death of so eminent a statesman. Both in the commencement of the war, and in his internal policy, Mr. Pitt was controlled by circumstances. 'He perceived,' says bishop Tomline, 'the formidable cooperation of external and internal enemies; but the former could not be effectually resisted except by open war, nor the latter without coercive acts of the legislature; and he was persuaded that neither of these expedients, exclusive of his own earnest wish not to have recourse to them, would be approved till their necessity was obvious and incontestable.' It has been frequently objected to him, that he made his principles subordinate to his ambition, and that 'he lent himself to the corrupt agencies of a war-faction whom a long course of lavish expenditure raised into an almost irresistible influence.' Yet it is admitted that 'he was favourable to every species of domestic reform; there was no abuse in the church, nor in the revenue department, nor in the laws affecting the different religionists, nor even in parliamentary representation, to the removal of which he was not friendly.' He was rigidly just and strictly moral. Self-reliance, boldness, loftiness, and perseverance, were the qualities that marked the outset and progress of his career: the whole of his actions being particularly distinguished by constancy and steadiness, a pride of superiority arising from the consciousness of superior talents, and an unsullied integrity. His eloquence was always powerful, logical, and persuasive; he had a perfect command of language, and in the arrangement of his matter he was lucid and natural. This great man died in the 47th year of his age; at a period, too, when such a master-mind seemed to be more than ever needed to counteract the vast designs and universal despotism of the tyrant of the continent.

Soon after the decease of Mr. Pitt, his colleagues in office unanimously resigned their employments, and a new ministry was formed, the chief members of which were lord Grenville, first lord of the treasury; Mr. Fox, secretary of state for foreign affairs; and Mr. Erskine (created a peer), lord high chancellor. Negotiations for a treaty of peace were immediately opened, and from the cordiality with which the two governments commenced their proceedings, the most happy consequences were anticipated; but it soon appeared that the immoderate ambition of the French ruler excluded for the present all hopes of an accommodation.

* Pitt was, at the least, careless in the management of his private affairs. See Lord Stanhope's *Life of Pitt.*

A measure which will for ever reflect glory upon the British nation was brought about by the new administration: we mean, the abolition of the slave trade. The bill was introduced by Mr. Fox, and notwithstanding the opposition it encountered from those who were interested in its continuance, it passed through both houses with a great majority. This distinguished act of humanity was, in fact, one of his last measures. This celebrated and much-respected statesman died at Chiswick-house, in his 59th year, on the 13th of September. Like his great rival, the late premier, he gave early indications of superior capacity, and, like him, he was educated for political life. He was certainly one of the most eminent statesmen and distinguished assertors of public freedom that have ever appeared in England. As an orator, his powers were gigantic; his eloquence was forcible; the simplicity and variety of his language eminently fitting him for debate. He was less copious and less persuasive than Mr. Pitt; yet he captivated his hearers by his forcible arguments, his convincing appeals to their reason, and his imposing earnestness. In his faults, which were not a few, he had no mixture of pride, deceit, hypocrisy, or despotism. In his affections he was warm; in his temper, kind and humane; in his manners simple; and in his disposition easy and unsuspecting. It is rather remarkable, that notwithstanding the irreconcilable opposition between him and Mr. Pitt, he received similar honours from the representatives of the nation, and his remains were deposited in Westminster-abbey, within a few inches of his political opponent.

We have before spoken of the ill-feeling existing between Austria and Prussia, which had induced the latter to cultivate the friendship of France, to extend her influence and dominions in Germany, and to maintain a strict neutrality with the hostile powers. From this conduct, which for a certain time ensured the peace and entirety of Prussia, many advantages were expected to result; yet, at the same time, the military system of the nation declined, and its reputation had greatly decreased. After the battle of Austerlitz, so fatal to the liberties of Europe, the king of Prussia became entirely subservient to the arbitrary will of Buonaparte; and, being instigated by that powerful tyrant, he took possession of the electorate of Hanover, by which means he involved himself in a temporary war with Great Britain. A peace, however, was in a short time concluded; and as his Prussian majesty was unable any longer to submit to the indignities imposed upon him, he entered into a confederacy with Great Britain, Russia, and Sweden. An instantaneous change took place in the conduct of the Prussian cabinet, the precipitancy of whose present measures could only be equalled by their former tardiness. The armies of the contending parties took the field early in October, and after two engagements, in which the success was doubtful, a general battle took place at Jena on the 14th of that month. The French were posted along the Saale, their centre being at Jena. The

Prussians, under prince Ferdinand, duke of Brunswick, were ranged between Jena, Auerstadt, and Weimar. The armies were drawn up within musket-shot of each other; and at nine in the morning about 250,000 men, with 700 cannon, were employed in mutual destruction. Courage and discipline on each side were nearly equal, but the French evinced superior military science. When the day was far gone, Augereau arrived with seasonable reinforcements, and a brilliant charge of Murat's cuirassiers determined the issue in favour of the French. Napoleon, from the height where he stood, saw the Prussians fly in all directions. More than 20,000 were killed or wounded, and 30,000 taken prisoners, with 300 pieces of cannon. Prince Ferdinand died of his wounds. A panic seized the garrison; all the principal towns of Prussia, west of the Oder, surrendered soon after the battle; and the remains of their army were driven as far as the Vistula. Blucher was compelled to capitulate at Lubec. Buonaparte now entered Berlin; and while there, received a deputation from the French senate, complimenting him on his wonderful successes, but recommending peace.

On the approach of the French to the Vistula, the Russian armies advanced with great rapidity to check their course; a formidable body of Swedes was assembled in Pomerania; and the king of Prussia having assembled his scattered troops, and reinforced them with new levies, prepared to face the enemy. General Benigsen, who commanded the Russian forces, and was in daily expectation of a reinforcement, was attacked at Pultusk, on the 26th of December; the engagement was very severe, but he succeeded in driving the enemy from the field of battle. This concluded the campaign.

A.D. 1807.—It has been well remarked by the author of the 'Chronological History of England,' that at this period a prominent feature in the domestic state of the country was a growing distrust of the political factions which had hitherto divided the national suffrages. 'Both parties, the OUTS and the INS, as they now began to be familiarly called, had so uniformly embarrassed government when it was not in their own hands, and yet so uniformly taken the opportunity of deserting the cause they had professed to maintain, that the people at large lost all confidence in public men. The effect of this change of public sentiment was strikingly evinced in the general election of the current year. The representation of the city of Westminster had always been considered the appropriate function of one or the other faction; but the independent electors united and determined to rid themselves of the domination of both. Sir F. Burdett and lord Cochrane became popular by disclaiming all attachment to all parties, and declaring their wishes to overturn abuses and nothing but abuses; to look only to the measures of men, not to their persons and connections. Their election for Westminster was a complete triumph over aristocratic dictation and all factions whatever. It was the rise of a *third party* in the state, whose struggles continued for thirty years after, and have not yet terminated.'

At the beginning of the year the bill for the emancipation of the Roman catholics passed both houses of parliament, and was presented to the king to receive the royal assent. His majesty, conscientiously believing that he could not sign it without violating his coronation oath, and being desirous of testifying his attachment to the established religion, not only refused to sign the bill, but desired that his ministers would for ever abandon the measure. This they refused; and on the dismissal of lord Erskine and several of his colleagues, lord Eldon was chosen lord chancellor; and the right hon. Spencer Perceval, chancellor of the exchequer.

After the surrender of the Cape of Good Hope to the British arms, an expedition was undertaken against the Spanish settlements in South America. They proceeded up the Rio de la Plata, and having surmounted innumerable difficulties, landed their troops near Buenos Ayres, and on the 28th of June 1806, took possession of that town by capitulation. A general insurrection having been excited soon afterwards, the British troops were compelled to abandon it; and it was found expedient to send to the Cape for reinforcements. Buenos Ayres was again attacked on the 7th of July 1807, by rear admiral Murray and general Whitelock. The soldiers being ordered to enter the town with unloaded muskets, were received by a most destructive fire from the houses, and, after having lost 2,500 brave men, were forced to retire. A convention was then entered into with the Spanish commander, by which it was stipulated that a mutual restitution of prisoners should take place, and that the British troops should evacuate the country. For his unsoldierlike conduct in this fatal expedition, general Whitelock was tried by a court-martial on his return to England, and pronounced incapable of serving his majesty in future.

We now return to the military operations on the continent. The battle of Pultusk had left the contending parties in circumstances nearly equal. Buonaparte had retired into winter quarters, where he intended to have remained till the return of spring; but as the Russians were conscious of the advantages resulting to them from the rigorous climate, they were resolved to allow him no repose. The Russian general Markow accordingly attacked the French under Bernadotte, at Morungen, in East Prussia, when a very severe action ensued, which terminated in favour of the allies. Another very sanguinary encounter took place on the 8th of February, near the town of Eylau, when the fortunes of France and Russia seemed to be equally balanced, and each party claimed the victory. Immediately after this engagement Buonaparte despatched a messenger to the Russian commander-in-chief, with overtures of a pacific nature; but general Benigsen rejected his offers with disdain, and replied that 'he

nad been sent by his master not to negotiate, but to fight.' Notwithstanding this repulse, similar overtures were made by Buonaparte to the king of Prussia, and met with no better success. The weak state of the French army at this time seemed to promise the allies a speedy and fortunate termination of the contest; but the surrender of Dantzic totally changed the face of affairs, and by supplying the French with arms and ammunition, enabled them to maintain a superiority. On the 14th of June a general engagement ensued at Friedland, and the concentrated forces of the allies were repulsed with prodigious slaughter. On the 23rd of the same month an armistice was concluded; and on the 8th of July a treaty of peace was signed at Tilsit, between the emperors of France and Russia, to which his Prussian majesty acceded on the following day.

The first interview between Buonaparte and the emperor Alexander took place on the 25th of June, on a raft constructed for that purpose on the river Niemen, where two tents had been prepared for their reception. The two emperors landed from their boats at the same time, and embraced each other. A magnificent dinner was afterwards given by Napoleon's guard to those of Alexander and the king of Prussia; when they exchanged uniforms, and were to be seen in motley dresses, partly French, partly Russian, and partly Prussian. The articles by which peace was granted to Russia were, under all circumstances, remarkably favourable. Alexander agreed to acknowledge the kings of Buonaparte's creation, and the confederation of the Rhine. Napoleon undertook to mediate a peace between the Porte and Russia; Alexander having undertaken to be the mediator between France and England, or, in the event of his mediation being refused, to shut his ports against British commerce. The terms imposed on the king of Prussia were marked by characteristic severity. The city of Dantzic was declared independent; and all the Polish provinces, with Westphalia, were ceded by Prussia to the conqueror, by which means the king of Prussia was stripped of nearly half of his territories, and one third of his revenues. All his ports were likewise to be closed against England till a general peace.

The unexampled influence which Napoleon had now acquired over the nations of Europe, to say nothing of that spirit of domination which he everywhere exercised, rendered it extremely improbable that Denmark would long preserve her neutrality; nay, the English ministers had good reasons to believe that a ready acquiescence to the dictates of the French emperor would be found in the court of Copenhagen. As it was therefore feared that the Danish fleet would fall into the hands of the enemy, it was thought expedient to despatch a formidable armament to the Baltic, and to negotiate with the Danish government. The basis of the negotiation was a proposal to protect the neutrality of Denmark, on condition that its fleet should be deposited in the British ports till the termination of the war with France. As this proposal was rejected, and as the general conduct of the Danes betrayed their partiality for the French, the armament, which consisted of 27 sail of the line and 20,000 land forces, under the command of admiral Gambier and lord Cathcart, made preparations for investing the city. A tremendous cannonading then commenced. The cathedral, many public edifices, and private houses were destroyed, with the sacrifice of 2,000 lives. From the 2nd of September till the evening of the 5th, the conflagration was kept up in different places, when a considerable part of the city being consumed, and the remainder threatened with speedy destruction, the general commanding the garrison sent out a flag of truce, desiring an armistice, to afford time to treat for a capitulation. This being arranged, a mutual restitution of prisoners took place, and the Danish fleet, consisting of 18 sail of the line and 15 frigates, together with all the naval stores, surrendered to his Britannic majesty's forces. The Danish government, however, refused to ratify the capitulation, and issued a declaration of war against England. This unexpected enterprise against a neutral power served as an ostensible cause for Russia to commence hostilities against Great Britain; and a manifesto was published on the 31st of October, ordering the detention of all British ships and property.

The two grand objects to which the attention of Buonaparte was principally directed, were the annihilation of the trade of Great Britain, and the extension of his dominions. In order to attain the former of these objects, he, in November 1806, issued at Berlin a decree by which the British islands were declared to be in a state of blockade, and all neutral vessels that traded to them without his consent were subject to capture and confiscation. This new mode of warfare excited, at first, the apprehensions of the British merchants; but the cabinet were resolved to retaliate, and accordingly issued the celebrated *orders in council*, by which France and all the powers under her influence were declared to be in a state of blockade, and all neutral vessels that should trade between the hostile powers, without touching at some port of Great Britain, were liable to be seized. These unprecedented measures were extremely detrimental to all neutral powers, especially to the Americans, who were the general carriers of colonial produce. They, by way of retaliation, laid an embargo in all the ports of the United States, and, notwithstanding the extinction of their commerce, long persisted in the measure.

In the conduct pursued by Buonaparte with respect to Portugal, he resolved to act in such a manner as should either involve that nation in a war with England, or would furnish him with a pretence for invading it. He accordingly required the court of Lisbon, 1st, to shut their ports against Great Britain; 2dly, to detain all Englishmen residing in Portugal; and 3dly,

to confiscate all English property. In case these demands were refused, he declared that war would be declared against them, and, without waiting for an answer, he gave orders for detaining all merchant ships that were in the ports of France. As the prince regent could not comply with these imperious demands, without violating the treaties that existed between the two nations, he endeavoured to avoid the danger which threatened him, by agreeing to the first condition. The ports of Portugal were accordingly shut up; but this concession served only to inflame the resentment of Buonaparte, who immediately declared that the house of Braganza had ceased to reign; and sent an immense army into Portugal, under general Junot. In this critical situation the prince regent removed his troops to the seaports, and when Junot entered his dominions, he retired, with his family, to the Brazils.

The subversion of the government of Spain and the expulsion of the reigning family was the next step on the ladder of Napoleon's ambition; and this he thought might be accomplished by uniting treachery with force. In order to accomplish this perfidious act, it was his first care to foment discord in the royal family, which, by a complication of dissimulation, intrigue, and audacious villany, he was too successful in effecting. By encouraging the ambition of the heir apparent, he excited the resentment of the reigning monarch, Charles IV., rendered them mutual objects of mistrust, jealousy, and hatred, and plunged the nation into anarchy and confusion. In this perplexed state of affairs, he invented an excuse for introducing his armies into Spain, and compelled Charles to resign the crown to his son, who was invested with the sovereignty, with the title of Ferdinand VII. The new-made king, with his father and the whole royal family, were shortly afterwards prevailed on to take a journey to Bayonne, in France, where an interview took place with the French emperor. On the 5th of May the two kings were compelled by Buonaparte to sign a formal abdication, and the infants Don Antonio and Don Carlos renounced all claim to the succession. This measure was followed by an imperial decree, declaring the throne of Spain to be vacant, and conferring it on Joseph Buonaparte, who had abdicated the throne of Naples in favour of Joachim Murat.

As the French forces, amounting to about 100,000 men, occupied all the strongest and most commanding positions of Spain, and as another army of 20,000 men, under Junot, had arrived in Portugal, it was imagined that the new sovereign would take possession of the kingdom without opposition. But the wanton ambition and foul perfidy by which these events had been produced, inspired the Spaniards with becoming indignation and resentment. No sooner had the news of the treatment of the royal family reached Spain, than a general insurrection broke out; juntas were formed in the different provinces; patriotic armies were levied; and the assistance of England was implored. The supreme junta of Seville assumed the sovereign authority, in the name of Ferdinand VII., whom they proclaimed king; and declared war against France. Peace with Spain was proclaimed in London on the 5th of July; the Spanish prisoners were set free, clothed, and sent home; and everything that the Spaniards could desire, or the English afford, was liberally granted. The suddenness of the insurrection, the unanimity which prevailed, and the vigour with which it was conducted, amazed the surrounding nations, and called forth their exertions. The efforts of the loyal Spaniards were crowned with astonishing success; the usurper Joseph was driven from the capital, after having remained in it about a week; and the French, after losing about 50,000 men, were obliged to abandon the greatest part of the kingdom, and to retire to the north of the Ebro.

A.D. 1808.—Animated and encouraged by the successful resistance of the Spaniards, the Portuguese also displayed a spirit of patriotic loyalty, and a general insurrection took place in the northern parts of that kingdom. In the provinces from which the enemy had been expelled, the authority of the prince regent was reestablished, and provisional juntas, like those of Spain, were formed. The supreme junta of Oporto having taken effectual measures for raising an army, despatched ambassadors to England to solicit support and assistance. In consequence of this an army under sir Arthur Wellesley, consisting of 10,000 men, set sail from Cork on the 12th of July, and landed in Oporto, where, after a severe encounter, he compelled the French general La Borde to abandon a very strong position on the heights of Roriça. In the following night La Borde effected a junction with general Loison, and they retreated with their united forces towards Lisbon. The British army, having been reinforced by a body of troops under general Anstruther, proceeded towards the capital, in pursuit of the enemy. On the 21st of August, the French army under Junot, who had been created duke of Abrantes by Buonaparte, met the British troops at the village of Vimiera, when a very severe action ensued, and terminated in the total defeat of the French, whose loss in killed alone amounted to 3,500 men. Sir Hugh Dalrymple, who had been called from Gibraltar to take the command of the British forces, joined the army at Cintra on the day after this splendid victory, and concluded a treaty, which at the time was thought in England to be most disadvantageous, and it became the subject of a military enquiry; but as sir Arthur Wellesley gave his testimony generally in its favour, it may safely be inferred to have been wisely concluded; and such was the result of the investigation. It stipulated that the French should evacuate Portugal, with their arms, but leaving their magazines, and be transported to France in British ships without any restriction in regard to future service; having leave to dispose of their private property (viz. their plunder acquired by contributions), in Portugal. The Russian fleet in the Tagus

consisting of nine ships of the line and a frigate, was to be surrendered to the British government, but to be restored after the peace, and the Russian officers and men to be conveyed home in English transports.

The convention of Cintra being carried into effect, the British forces advanced to Lisbon, and having remained in that city about two months, proceeded in different divisions towards Salamanca, in Spain. In the meantime, an army of 13,000 men, under sir David Baird, having landed at Corunna, was marching through the northern part of Portugal towards the same point. Buonaparte having, with an immense army, entered Spain, in order to conduct the operations of the war, the patriot troops, under Belvidere, Blake, and Castanos, were successively defeated, and Napoleon entered Madrid in triumph. Sir John Moore, the commander-in-chief of the British army, being unable to keep the field in the presence of an enemy so much superior in numbers, while his own troops were suffering dreadfully from hunger and fatigue, retreated, in the midst of winter, through a desolate and mountainous country, made almost impassable by snow and rain; yet he effected his retreat with great rapidity and judgement, and arrived at Corunna Jan. 11, 1809. Soult took up a position above the town in readiness to make an attack as soon as the troops should begin to embark. On the 16th, the operation having begun, the enemy descended in four columns, when sir John Moore, in bringing up the guards where the fire was most destructive, received a mortal wound from a cannon-ball. General Baird being also disabled, the command devolved on sir John Hope, under whom the troops bravely continued the fight till nightfall, when the French retreated with the loss of 2,000 men, and offered no further molestation. The loss of the English in this battle was stated at between seven and eight hundred men; but their total loss in this arduous expedition was little less than 6,000, with their brave and noble commander, whose soldierly skill and general high qualities fully entitled him to the respect and admiration in which he was universally held.

A.D. 1809.—The most vigorous exertions were now made by the French for the complete subjugation of Spain. Having defeated and dispersed several bodies of the Spanish troops, the enemy sat down before Saragossa, and made themselves masters of it, after a desperate and sanguinary assault. The French army then entered Portugal, under marshal Soult, duke of Dalmatia, and took Oporto. On the arrival of another British armament, consisting of above 30,000 men, under generals Wellesley and Beresford, Soult was obliged to retire from Portugal with considerable loss. Sir Arthur Wellesley advanced with rapidity into Spain, and having united his troops with a Spanish army of 38,000 men, under general Cuesta, they marched on Madrid. On the 26th of July general Cuesta's advanced guard was attacked by a detachment of the enemy, and, as a general engagement was daily expected, sir Arthur Wellesley took a strong position at Talavera. On the following day a very obstinate engagement commenced, which was continued with various success till the evening of the 28th, when the enemy retreated, leaving behind them seventeen pieces of cannon. The battle was most severe, the English losing in killed, wounded, and missing, 6,000 men; while the loss on the part of the French was estimated at 10,000. For the great skill and bravery displayed in this action sir Arthur Wellesley was created a peer, with the title of viscount Wellington. The French army was commanded by Victor and Sebastiani; but soon afterwards, the junction of Soult, Ney, and Mortier, in the rear of the English, compelled them to fall back on Badajoz, and Cuesta remained in Spain to check the enemy's progress.

Austria, stimulated by what was passing in Spain, had once more attempted to assert her independence; and Buonaparte had left the peninsula soon after the battle of Corunna, in order to conduct in person the war which was thus renewed in Germany. Hostilities had been declared on the 6th of April, when the archduke Charles issued a spirited address to the army preparatory to his opening the campaign. The whole Austrian army consisted of nine corps, in each of which were from 30,000 to 40,000 men. Buonaparte, in addition to the French corps, now congregated under his standard Bavarians, Saxons, and Poles; and such was his celerity of movement, and the impetuosity of his troops, that in the short space of one month he crippled the forces of Austria, and took possession of Vienna on the 13th of May. On the 21st and 22nd of the same month the archduke Charles, who had taken his position on the left bank of the Danube, engaged Buonaparte between the villages of Asperne and Essling, and completely defeated him, compelling him to retire to Loban, an island on the Danube. The Austrians were, however, so much weakened by this battle, as to be unable to follow up their success; and both armies remained inactive till the 4th of July, when Buonaparte having been greatly reinforced, relinquished his situation, amidst a violent torrent of rain, and drew up his forces in order of battle on the extremity of the Austrian left wing. The allies were greatly disconcerted by this unexpected movement, and being obliged to abandon the strong position which they held, an engagement commenced near Wagram, under every disadvantage, when the French were victorious, and the Austrians retreated towards Bohemia. A suspension of hostilities was soon afterwards agreed on, which was followed by a treaty of peace, concluded at Schonbrun, on the 15th of October; by which the emperor of Austria was compelled to cede several of his most valuable provinces, to discontinue his intercourse with the court of London, and to close his ports against British vessels.

In the course of the summer was fitted out with great secrecy one of the most formidable armaments ever sent from the shores of England. It consisted of an army of 40,000 men, and a fleet of 39 sail of

the line, 36 frigates, and numerous gun-boats, &c. The command of the first was given to the earl of Chatham, of the last to sir R. Strachan. The chief objects of the enterprise were to get possession of Flushing and the island of Walcheren, with the French ships of war in the Scheldt; to destroy their arsenals and dock-yards, and to effect the reduction of the city of Antwerp. The preparations which had been made for this expedition, the numerous soldiers and sailors engaged in it, and the immense sums of money which had been expended on it, raised the expectations of the nation to the highest pitch; but it was planned without judgement, and conducted without skill, and therefore necessarily terminated in loss and disgrace. On the arrival of the armament in the Scheldt, the contest between Austria and France had been decided; the military state of the country was widely different from what had been represented; and Antwerp, instead of being defenceless, was completely fortified. The attack on the island of Walcheren succeeded, and Flushing surrendered after an obstinate resistance of twelve days; but as the country assumed a posture of defence that was totally unexpected, all idea of proceeding up the Scheldt was abandoned, and the troops remained at Walcheren, where an epidemic fever raged. Of the fine army that left Portsmouth a few months before, one half perished on the pestilential shores of Walcheren; and of the remainder who returned in December, many were afflicted with incurable chronic diseases.

The other events of the year may be briefly told. The French settlement at Cayenne surrendered to an English and Portuguese force, and the island of Martinique was soon afterwards captured by British arms. A French fleet, consisting of ten sail of the line, which lay in the Basque roads, under the protection of the forts of the island of Aix, was attacked by a squadron of gun-boats, fire-ships, and frigates, under lord Cochrane, who captured four ships, disabled several others, and drove the rest on shore. A gallant action was likewise performed by lord Collingwood, who on the 1st of October destroyed, in the bay of Rosas, three sail of the line, two frigates, and twenty transports. To these successes may be added, the reduction of some small islands in the West Indies, and the capture of a Russian flotilla and convoy in the Baltic, by sir James Saumarez.

In the early part of the year, public attention was engrossed with a parliamentary enquiry into the conduct of his royal highness the duke of York, commander-in-chief; against whom colonel Wardle, an officer of militia, had brought forward a series of charges, to the effect that Mrs. Mary Ann Clarke, a once favoured courtesan of the duke, had carried on a traffic in military commissions, with his knowledge and concurrence. During the progress of this investigation the house was in general fully attended, many of its members appearing highly edified by the equivocal replies and sprightly sallies of the fair frail one. But the duke, though blamed for great indiscretion, was acquitted of personal corruption by a vote of the house. He, however, thought proper to resign his employment. Various circumstances which afterwards transpired tended to throw considerable suspicion on the motives and characters of the parties who instituted the enquiry.

A.D. 1810.—The parliamentary session commenced with an enquiry into the late calamitous expedition to Walcheren; and after a long debate in the house of commons, the conduct of ministers, instead of being censured as was expected, was declared to be worthy of commendation. In the course of the discussion, Mr. Yorke, member for Cambridge, daily enforced the standing order of the house for the exclusion of strangers—a measure which, though sanctioned by a parliamentary regulation, was very unpopular, and became the subject of very severe animadversions in the London debating societies. John Gale Jones, the director of one of these societies called the 'British Forum,' having issued a placard, notifying that the following question had been discussed there:—'Which was a greater outrage on the public feeling, Mr. Yorke's enforcement of the standing order to exclude strangers from the house of commons, or Mr. Windham's attack on the press?' and that it had been unanimously carried against the former,—Mr. Yorke complained of it as a breach of privilege, and Jones was committed to Newgate. On the 12th of March, sir Francis Burdett, who had been absent when Mr. Jones was committed, brought forward a motion for his liberation, on the ground that his imprisonment by the house of commons was an infringement of the law of the land, and a subversion of the principles of the constitution. This motion being negatived, sir Francis published a letter to his constituents, the electors of Westminster, in which he stated his reasons for objecting to the imprisonment of Mr. Jones, and adverted in very pointed terms to the illegality of the measure. This letter was brought forward in the house by Mr. Lethbridge, who moved that it was a scandalous publication, and that sir Francis Burdett, having acknowledged himself the author of it, was guilty of a flagrant breach of privilege. After an adjournment of a week, these resolutions were carried; and a motion that sir Francis Burdett should be committed to the Tower, was likewise carried by a majority of thirty-seven members. A warrant was accordingly signed by the speaker of the house of commons, for the apprehension and commitment of the right honourable baronet, and was delivered to the serjeant-at-arms, to be carried into effect. Sir Francis urged the illegality of the speaker's warrant, and resisted the execution of it till the 9th of April, when the serjeant-at-arms, accompanied by messengers, police officers, and detachments of the military, forced open the baronet's house, arrested him, and conveyed him, by a circuitous route, to the Tower. The greatest indignation prevailed among the populace when they heard of the apprehension of their favourite; and

having assembled on Tower-hill, they attacked the military with stones and other missiles. For a considerable time the soldiers patiently submitted to the insults of the multitude; but finding that their audacity increased, they fired, and three of the rioters were killed. At the prorogation of parliament, on the 21st of June, sir Francis was liberated from the Tower, and great preparations were made by his partisans for conducting him home; but he prudently declined the honour, and returned to his house by water, to avoid the risk of popular tumult. As for Mr. Gale Jones, who claimed a right to a trial, he refused to leave Newgate, and was at last got out by stratagem, loudly complaining of the double grievance of being illegally imprisoned and as illegally discharged.

On the 31st of May an extraordinary attempt at assassination was made on the duke of Cumberland. At about half-past two o'clock in the morning his royal highness was roused from his sleep by several blows about the head, which were proved to have been given with a sabre; and jumping up to give an alarm, he was followed by the assassin, who cut him across the thighs. He then called his valet-in-waiting, who hastened to his master's assistance, and alarmed the house. Having closely inspected the room, to see if any one were concealed therein, they went to the porter's room to awaken Sellis, a Piedmontese valet; when, on forcing open the door, they found him stretched on the bed, with his throat cut. Subsequent circumstances made it evident that this wretch, after having failed in his attempt to assassinate the duke, had retired on the first alarm, and put an end to his existence. Next day a coroner's inquest was held on the body of Sellis, and after bestowing a patient attention to the evidence, the jury returned a verdict of *felo-de-se*. The assassin was believed to have been actuated by private resentment for some supposed injury, but nothing definite was elicited either at that time or subsequently.

On the retreat of lord Wellington at Talavera, the French armies advanced with astonishing rapidity, and having defeated and dispersed a Spanish army of 50,000 men, at the battle of Ocana, on the 19th of Nov., they carried their victorious arms into almost every province of Spain. They were, however, much annoyed, and sometimes repulsed, by the patriots, who, wandering from place to place, seized every opportunity of revenging themselves on their rapacious invaders. The French army in Portugal was greatly superior in numbers to the English, and was commanded by marshal Massena, prince of Essling, who employed every artifice to induce lord Wellington to quit the strong position which he held on the mountains. With this view he undertook, successively, the sieges of Cuidad Rodrigo and Almeida, both of which places, after a most spirited resistance, were compelled to surrender. All these stratagems of Massena could not induce the British general to hazard a battle under disadvantageous circumstances, and the cautious conduct of his lordship on this occasion was as laudable as his courage and resolution had formerly been. Massena at length began to suspect that his opponent was actuated by fear; and therefore determined to attack him in his entrenchments, on the summit of the mountain of Buzaco. An engagement accordingly took place on the 27th of September, when the combined armies of England and Portugal completely defeated the French, who lost on the occasion upwards of 2,000 men. A few days after this engagement, the British general, by an unexpected movement, retired towards Lisbon, and occupied an impregnable position on Torres Vedras; whither he was followed by marshal Massena, who encamped directly in his front.

While these events were taking place in Spain and Portugal, the successful termination of some distant naval expeditions served to confirm the gallantry of that branch of the service. The Dutch settlement of Amboyne, with its dependent islands, surrendered to a British force on the 17th of Feb. On the 8th of August, a party of 180 British seamen, under the command of captain Cole, attacked Banda, the principal of the Dutch spice islands, and obliged the garrison, consisting of 1,000 men, to surrender. The important islands of Bourbon and the Mauritius were likewise reduced, at the close of the year, by a British armament, under the command of admiral Bertie and major-general Abercromble.

Several events took place at this time on the continent of Europe, not less remarkable for their novelty than for their importance. Buonaparte, having divorced the empress Josephine, espoused on the 11th of March the archduchess Maria Louisa, daughter of the emperor of Austria. On the 1st of July, Louis Buonaparte, king of Holland, after having made a fruitless attempt to improve the condition of his unfortunate subjects, abdicated the throne in favour of his eldest son. That exhausted country was immediately seized by Napoleon, and annexed to the French empire. Charles XIII. of Sweden, being advanced in age and having no children, chose for his successor Charles Augustus, prince of Augustinberg; but as this prince died suddenly, it became necessary to nominate his successor. The candidates for this high office were the prince of Holstein, the king of Denmark, and the French marshal Bernadotte, prince of Ponte Corvo. The latter being favoured by Napoleon and by the king of Sweden, he was unanimously chosen crown prince, and his installation took place on the 1st of November, in the presence of the assembled diet. A few days afterwards war was declared against Great Britain; all intercourse was prohibited, and the importation of colonial produce interdicted.

CHAPTER LXIII.

The Reign of GEORGE III. (*the* REGENCY).

A.D. 1811.—ONE of the first legislative acts of this year was the appointment of the prince of Wales, under certain restrictions, as regent, in consequence of a return

of that mental malady with which the king had formerly been temporarily afflicted. The restrictions were to continue till after February 1, 1812. It was expected that a change of ministers would immediately take place, but the prince declined making any change in the administration, or to accept any grant for an establishment in virtue of his new functions.

The progress of events in the peninsula again claims our attention. Massena, who at the close of the preceding year, had posted himself at Santarem, met with such difficulties in procuring the necessary supply of provisions, that he was induced to abandon his position on the 5th of March, leaving behind him a considerable quantity of heavy artillery and ammunition. He continued his retreat through Portugal, closely pursued by lord Wellington and general Beresford. Numerous skirmishes took place between the outposts of the hostile armies; but on the 16th of May a more important action ensued at the river Albuera, between marshal Soult and general Beresford. The contest continued with great impetuosity for several hours, till at length victory declared in favour of the Anglo-Portuguese troops, and the enemy was compelled to retreat. The loss of the French was estimated at 9,000, among whom were five generals; the loss of the allies amounted to about half that number. After this victory general Beresford invested the important city of Badajos, but was obliged to raise the siege, in consequence of the junction of the French armies under Soult and Marmont.

The war was at the same time conducted with great spirit in different parts of Spain. In Catalonia the operations of the enemy were crowned with success; but in Andalusia the French were compelled to retire before the determined bravery of the allied forces. This army had landed at Algesiras, under general Graham, with the intention of attacking the French troops engaged in the siege of Cadiz. On the 5th of March they took a strong position on the heights of Barossa, where they were attacked on the 25th by a superior force of the enemy. After a remarkably severe engagement, the French retired in disorder, with the loss of 3,000 men; but the numerical inferiority of the allies precluded the hope of pursuing them with success. The subsequent events of the war in the peninsula, during this year, were neither numerous nor important. The French army, who had threatened to 'plant their eagles on the walls of Lisbon, and to drive the English into the sea,' were not only unable to carry their threat into execution, but were frequently defeated by troops which they were taught to despise.

While the military prowess of England was thus nobly displayed in combating the oppressors of mankind, the superiority of her navy was sufficiently manifested by the success which attended all its operations. A combined French and Italian squadron, consisting of five frigates and six smaller armed vessels, was encountered off the island of Lissa, in the gulf of Venice, by an English squadron composed of four frigates only; the contest was fierce and for a time doubtful, but at length British valour prevailed, and three of the enemy's frigates were taken. On the 21st of July a French flotilla, consisting of twenty-six vessels, was attacked off the coast of Calabria, by an English frigate and a sloop, and the whole of them were captured without the loss of a man. These and other gallant encounters, though on a small scale, redounded much to our naval credit.

From the year 1807, when the celebrated 'orders in council' were issued, a secret discontent, indicative of hostilities, had evinced itself in the United States of America. This misunderstanding was greatly increased in the present year, by an unfortunate encounter between the American frigate President, commanded by commodore Rodgers, and the British sloop of war Little Belt, captain Bingham. The particulars of this occurrence were explicitly and interestingly related by the captain of the Little Belt, who attributes the blame entirely to the American. At any rate, whether the encounter was through a mistake, or designed for the purpose of incensing the English government, the result was, that the American States prepared for war, and, notwithstanding remonstrances and concessions were made by the British ministry, war was soon afterwards declared.

During the months of November and December the internal tranquility of the country was disturbed by frequent riots in the manufacturing districts of Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, and Leicestershire. The principal cause of discontent was the introduction of a new description of frame for stocking-weaving. The rioters assumed the name of Luddites, and they became so dangerous, that the legislature deemed it necessary to use severe measures for their suppression.

A.D. 1812.—The restrictions which had been imposed upon the prince of Wales by the regency bill were now withdrawn, it being the unanimous opinion of the medical authorities that there was not the slightest prospect of his majesty's return to a state of perfect sanity. The prince therefore assumed the full powers belonging to the sovereignty of Britain; and, contrary to general expectation, very little change was made in the cabinet. On the 13th of February, the regent, in a letter to the duke of York, declared that he 'had no predilections to indulge, nor resentments to gratify;' intimating, however, a desire that his government might be strengthened by the cooperating of those with whom his early habits had been formed, and authorising the duke to communicate his sentiments to lords Grey and Grenville. To this overture these noblemen replied, by unreservedly expressing the impossibility of their uniting with the present government, owing to their differences of opinion being too many and too important to admit of such union. The measures proposed for repealing the penal laws against the papists were agitated in both houses of parliament

this session, but were negatived by a great majority.

The disturbances among the manufacturing classes, which began last year in Nottinghamshire, had extended into Lancashire, Cheshire, and the West Riding of Yorkshire. The property of individuals as well as the machinery was destroyed by nightly marauders; a system of military training was adopted, and secret oaths administered; in short, the number and daring spirit of the rioters, and the steadiness with which their plans were conducted, rendered them so formidable as to require the express interposition of the legislature. A large military force was accordingly stationed in the disturbed counties, and was, on several occasions, found necessary for the maintenance of public peace. By a rigid enforcement of the law, and by the adoption of remedial measures for the distresses of the labouring poor, tranquillity was at length restored.

While the public mind was thus agitated, an event occurred which was at once truly lamentable and important. On the 11th of May, as Mr. Perceval, chancellor of the exchequer, was entering the lobby in the house of commons, about five o'clock, a person named Bellingham presented a pistol to his breast, and shot him through the heart. The act was so sudden and astounding, that (in the words of a gentleman, well known in the literary world, who happened to be close to Mr. Perceval at the time) 'no one of the many individuals present precisely knew what had really happened; and it was only the fall of the victim that developed the nature of the atrocious deed. On receiving the wound, the unfortunate gentleman fell almost back towards his left, against the angle formed by the door and the wall, exclaiming very faintly, "O God!" the last words he ever uttered; for immediately, as if moved by an instinctive impulse to seek for safety in the house, he made an effort to rush forward, but merely staggered a few paces and dropped down on the spot.' Bellingham was taken, without resistance, a few minutes afterwards. It appeared that he was a Liverpool ship-broker, who having sustained some commercial losses in Russia, for which he thought the government was bound to procure redress, and his memorials on the subject being disregarded, he had worked up his gloomy mind to the monstrous conviction that he was justified in taking away the life of the prime minister. The gentleman whose words we have before quoted, thus graphically describes the appearance of the assassin: 'Bellingham, with his breast exposed, and now extremely perturbed, was in a state of great excitation when general Gascoyne appeared and recognised him as a man whom he knew from having seen him at Liverpool. No words, indeed, can picture his frightful agitation: large drops of agonizing sweat ran down his pallid face; and from the bottom of his chest to his gorge, rose and fell a spasmodic action, as if a body as large as the hand were choking him with every breath. Never on earth, I believe, was seen a more terrible example of over-wrought suffering: yet in language he was perfectly cool and collected. On his trial at the Old Bailey sessions, the plea of insanity was suggested by his counsel but overruled. In his defence he expatiated on the ill-treatment he had experienced, and attempted to justify his conduct. At his execution, his demeanour was remarkably firm and composed, and he persisted in refusing to express any contrition for his crime. The untimely death of Mr. Perceval drew forth a strong expression of sympathy; and his widow and family were liberally provided for by parliament. In the change of administration which took place in consequence of this melancholy circumstance, lord Sidmouth was appointed secretary of state; the earl of Harrowby, lord president of the council; and Mr. Vansittart chancellor of the exchequer.

At the commencement of the campaign in the Spanish peninsula, fortune seemed at first to favour the enemy, who, on the 9th of January, made themselves masters of the city of Valencia, which general Blake, after a feeble resistance, surrendered, with 16,000 men. The strong town of Peniscola, which, on account of its commanding situation, was of great importance to its possessors, was soon after surrendered to the French by the treachery of the governor. Serious as these misfortunes were to the allies, they were in a short time counterbalanced by the success which attended the exertions of the British commander. After a fortnight's siege, lord Wellington carried Ouidad Rodrigo by assault, on the 19th of January; and on the 16th of April the strong city of Badajos surrendered to him, after a long and most obstinate resistance. After the capture of this city the allied armies proceeded, without opposition, to Salamanca, where they were received by the inhabitants with benedictions and acclamations. As the hostile armies were now so situated as to render a battle almost inevitable, lord Wellington made his necessary dispositions; and as a favourable opportunity occurred on the 22d of July for attacking the enemy, he immediately took advantage of it. An action accordingly ensued, in which the French, after a determined and obstinate resistance, were obliged to give way to the superior bravery of the assailants, and to retreat in the utmost confusion. The darkness of the night was very favourable to the fugitives, yet upwards of 7,000 prisoners were taken, with eagles, colours, cannon, and ammunition.

After taking possession of the Spanish capital, lord Wellington advanced to Burgos; but being detained a long time in besieging it, the enemy had an opportunity of concentrating their force, and of reoccupying Madrid. This was one of the last military transactions which took place on the peninsula during the year. For his eminent services, which though generally appreciated were not over-rated, the Cortes bestowed on the British commander the title of duke of Cuidad Rodrigo, and constituted him generalissimo of the Spanish armies. The prince regent of Great Britain

also, who had previously conferred on him the title of earl, now raised him to the dignity of a marquis of the United Kingdom.

The foregoing outline of the military transactions in Spain will put the reader in possession of the principal features of the war in that quarter. We must now direct his attention to the events which were occurring in the north of Europe. The fondly-cherished scheme of Buonaparte for ruining the finances of Great Britain, by cutting off her commercial intercourse with the countries of Europe, was, through intrigue or intimidation, adopted by all the neutral powers. The consequent stagnation of trade on the continent, though it was submitted to by the respective sovereigns, was very distressing to their subjects, especially the Russians, who had been accustomed to consider England as their natural ally. At length, the emperor of Russia resolved to submit no longer to the arbitrary restrictions which the will of Napoleon had dictated to him; and a war between those great powers was the immediate and inevitable result. In this contest the most considerable states in Europe were involved. The allies of France were the German States, Italy, Prussia, Austria, and Poland; to whom were opposed the combined powers of Great Britain, Russia, Sweden, and Spain.

Napoleon placed himself at the head of an immense army, and now commenced the ever-memorable struggle. After passing through Dresden, and visiting in rapid succession Dantzic and Konigsberg, he reached the Niemen, the frontier river of Russia, on the 23rd of June. On the line of march were half a million of soldiers, in the highest state of equipment and discipline; to whom he issued a proclamation in his usual confident and laconic style: 'Russia,' said he 'is driven onwards by fatality; let her destinies be fulfilled, and an end put to the fatal influence which for the last fifty years she has had on the affairs of Europe. Let us cross the Niemen, and carry the war into her territories.' On the other side vast preparations had also been made; and the army, consisting of about 300,000 men, was under the immediate direction of the emperor Alexander and his sagacious minister, Barclay de Tolly. The plan of the Russians was to draw the invaders from their resources; to make a stand only in favourable situations; and to weary the enemy by endless marches over the dreary plains, till the inclemency of a Russian winter should lend its aid to stop their ambitious career. Various partial engagements took place as the French advanced, the circumstances of which were so differently related in the bulletins of the opposite parties, that nothing is certain but the general result. Considering the immense masses of men that were in motion, the French proceeded with great rapidity, notwithstanding the checks they occasionally experienced, till the 7th of September, when the Russians determined to make a vigorout effort against their farther advance. The two armies met between the villages of Moskwa and Borodino, when a most sanguinary battle took place. On this occasion each of the hostile armies numbered 125,000 men; and when 'night's sable curtain' closed the horrid scene, the bodies of 40,000, either dead or mortally wounded, were stretched on the field of battle! Both parties claimed the victory, though the advantage was evidently on the side of the French, as they proceeded without farther opposition to Moscow, where they expected to rest from their toils in peace and good winter quarters. About mid-day on the 14th the turrets of Moscow, glittering in the sun, were descried. The troops entered; but the city was deserted, and all was still. The capital of ancient Russia was not destined to be the abiding place of its present occupants. A dense smoke began to issue from numerous buildings at the same instant. By order of the governor, count Rostopchin, bands of incendiaries had been employed to do the work of destruction. Public edifices and private houses suddenly burst into flames; and every moment explosions of gunpowder mingled with the sound of the crackling timbers: while frantic men and women were seen running to and fro, with flambeaux in their hands, spreading the work of destruction.

Paralysed, as it were, by the awful scene, and by the extreme danger which he could no longer fail to apprehend, Napoleon lingered five weeks among the reeking ruins of Moscow. Around him the Russians were daily increasing in strength, especially in cavalry; and it was not till Murat had been defeated, and the first snow had fallen, that he determined on his retreat. At length, after making several ineffectual attempts at negotiation, he quitted the city of the czars on the 19th of October, taking with him all the plunder that could be saved from the fire; having at the time 100,000 effective men, 50,000 horses, 550 field-pieces, and 2,000 artillery waggons, exclusive of a motley host of followers, amounting to 40,000. He had no choice left. To subdue the whole Russian army, and by that means to secure to himself an honourable peace, appeared to be beyond the verge of possibility; to return with all possible expedition was therefore the only course he could pursue; and he accordingly directed the march of his army towards Smolensko, where he arrived with his imperial guard on the 9th of November. Alternate frost, sleet, and snow made the weather insupportable. Overcome by cold, hunger, and fatigue, the soldiers and their horses perished by thousands; while he, whose mad ambition had led them to their pitiable fate, was travelling in his carriage and wrapped up in furs. At length, after taking leave of his marshals at Smorgony, Dec. 5. Napoleon privately withdrew from the army, and reached Paris on the 19th. The Russians never relaxed in the pursuit till they reached the Vistula, and not a day passed in which some of the fugitives did not fall into their hands. By christmas-day they estimated their captures at 41 generals, 1,298 officers, 167,510 privates, and

1,131 pieces of cannon: the grand army was, in fact, annihilated.

During the absence of Buonaparte in this disastrous expedition, an attempt was made to subvert his power at home, which, had it not been speedily suppressed, would probably have occasioned another revolution. The conductors of the conspiracy were the ex-generals Mallet, Lahorie, and Guidal, who having framed a fictitious *senatus consultum*, went to the barrack of the first division of the national guards, and read a proclamation, stating that the emperor had been killed, and commanding the troops to follow them. The soldiers, little suspecting any forgery, obeyed, and suffered themselves to be led to different posts, where they relieved the guards. The conspirators then arrested the ministers of police, and having assassinated general Hullin, who had marched into the city with some troops, they attempted to seize the chief of the état-major of Paris; but being arrested, they were committed to prison, and tried before a military commission; when the three generals and eleven others received sentence of death; which being put into execution, tranquillity was restored to Paris.

A.D. 1813.—The attempts which had been made by ministers to arrange the differences between Great Britain and the United States were unsuccessful, the influence of Mr. Madison, the president, being exerted in the rejection of all pacificatory proposals. The conquest of Canada was resolved on, and troops were despatched into that country; but the vigilance of the British commanders baffled all their schemes, and obilged them to desist from the enterprise. The Americans, however, were successful at sea, and captured several British frigates and other vessels.

After the retreat of Buonaparte from Russia, the emperor Alexander pursued the remaining French forces as far as Posen, a city in Poland. He was here joined by the king of Prussia, who, considering the present an advantageous opportunity for restoring the equilibrium of Europe, renounced his alliance with France, and concluded a treaty with Great Britain and her allies. In the meantime Buonaparte was using all his efforts to revive the spirit, and call forth the resources, of his empire; and having appointed the empress regent during his absence, he joined his army, now consisting of 350,000 new troops. On the 7th of May the hostile armies engaged at Lutzen, in Upper Saxony, where the French were commanded by Buonaparte, and the allies by general Winzingerode. The conflict was long and bloody, and both parties claimed the victory. On the 19th, 20th, 21st, and 22nd of the same month severe actions took place, and not less than 40,000 were killed or wounded. On the 1st of June, at the suggestion of the emperor of Austria, Napoleon made proposals to the emperor Alexander for a suspension of hostilities: in consequence of which an armistice was concluded, which was to terminate on the 20th of July.

It now became necessary for Buonaparte to withdraw about 20,000 of his best troops from Spain to reinforce his grand army in the north of Europe. This diminution of the enemy's force in the peninsula could not fail to gratify the Anglo-Spanish army; yet a concurrence of unavoidable circumstances prevented the marquis of Wellington from opening the campaign till about the middle of May. Having obliged the enemy to evacuate Salamanca, he pursued them with as much haste as possible, and having passed the Ebro, he came up with them at Vittoria, a town in the province of Biscay, where, on the 21st of June, a battle was fought between the allied troops under lord Wellington, and the French, commanded by Joseph Buonaparte and marshal Jourdain. Admirable bravery and perseverance were displayed by the allies, who completely vanquished the enemy, and took 150 cannon and 415 waggons of ammunition. On the side of the allies there were 700 killed and 4,000 wounded; and it was well known that the loss of the French was much greater. Being hotly pursued, the enemy retreated across the Bidassoa into France. The baton of marshal Jourdain being taken, was sent to the prince regent, who, in return, created the marquis of Wellington field-marshal of the allied armies of Great Britain, Spain, and Portugal. The Spanish government acknowledged their obligations to the British hero by conferring on him the dignity of prince of Vittoria.

While the cause of rational freedom was so nobly sustained by lord Wellington in this part of Spain, sir John Murray had landed his troops at Torragano in order to invest that place. After he had made himself master of fort St. Philippe, on being informed of the approach of marshal Suchet, he, without waiting for information of the enemy's strength, disembarked his troops, leaving behind him his artillery. For this precipitation sir John was severely censured by some political writers; and being tried at Winchester, in February, 1815, he was found guilty of 'having unnecessarily abandoned a quantity of artillery and stores, which he might have embarked in safety; and was adjudged to be admonished in such a manner as his royal highness the commander in chief may think proper.' His royal highness approved and confirmed the sentence of the court, but as the conduct of sir John Murray was attributed merely to an error of judgement, the case did not appear to him to call for any further observation.

After the battle of Vittoria the French army retreated with great precipitation into France, pursued by the light troops of the allies; and the marquis of Wellington caused the forts of Pampeluna and St. Sebastian to be immediately invested. When Buonaparte received intelligence of these successes of the British army, he despatched marshal Soult with some forces to check their progress. On the 13th of July the French marshal joined the army, and on the 24th he made a vigorous attack on the right wing of the allies at Roncesvalles, commanded by general Byng. From

that day till the 2nd of August the hostile armies were continually engaged; the passes of the mountains were bravely disputed by the enemy, but the British were irresistible, and the French again retreated beyond the Pyrenees. The fortresses of St. Sebastian and Pampeluna surrendered to the British arms afterwards; and on the 7th of October lord Wellington entered the French territory at the head of his army.

While in the south of Europe these transactions were taking place, a great crisis was at hand in the north. During the armistice, which had extended to the 11th of August, several attempts were made by the allies to obtain such a peace as would effect and confirm the safety and tranquillity of the continental states. These endeavours were, however, rendered abortive by the insolent pretensions of the French ruler, which induced the emperor of Austria to relinquish his cause, and to join in the alliance against him. Hostilities were resumed on the 17th of August, when Buonaparte immediately prepared to attack the city of Prague; but being informed that his Silesian army was exposed to imminent danger from the threatening posture of the allies, he was obliged to change his plan of operations. He accordingly quitted Bohemia, and made an attack on the allied army under the Prussian general Blucher, who was compelled to make a retrograde movement. The further progress of the French in this quarter was arrested by the advance of the grand army of the allies towards Dresden, which made the immediate return of Napoleon necessary. He accordingly advanced by forced marches to the protection of that city; and having thrown into it an army of 130,000 men, he awaited the attack of his enemies. The grand assault was made on the 26th of August, but as there was no prospect of taking Dresden by escalade, the allies abandoned the attempt, and took a very extended position on the heights surrounding the city, where they were attacked by the French on the following day, and obliged to retire with considerable loss. It was in this engagement that general Moreau, who had left his retreat in America to assist in restoring liberty to Europe, was mortally wounded, while conversing with the emperor Alexander. A cannon-ball, which passed through his horse, carried off one of his legs and shattered the other. He had both legs amputated, but survived his disaster only a few days, dying from exhaustion.

In the following month several well-contested battles took place, in which victory was uniformly in favour of those who contended against tyranny and usurpation. But as Leipsic was the point to which the efforts of the confederates were principally directed, Buonaparte left Dresden, and concentrated his forces at Rochlitz.

At this period an important accession was made to the allied cause, by a treaty with Bavaria, who agreed to furnish an army of 55,000 men. The hostile armies were now both in the vicinity of Leipsic: the French estimated at about 200,000 men, the allies at 250,000. On the night of the 15th rockets were seen ascending, announcing the approach of Blucher and the crown prince of Sweden. At daybreak, on the 16th, the French were assailed along their southern front with the greatest fury, but as they failed to make an impression, Napoleon assumed the offensive. Throughout the day, by turns each party had the advantage; but at night-fall the French found it necessary to contract their position, by drawing nearer the walls of Leipsic. The following day was principally spent in making preparations for a renewal of the contest; and on the 18th another general engagement took place. The loss of the victors, during a battle which raged from dawn of day till night, was severe; but that of the vanquished was infinitely more so. Above 40,000 of the enemy were either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners; seventeen battalions of Saxons, with their artillery, joined the ranks of the allies, who took also sixty-five pieces of cannon. The immediate fruits of this splendid victory were, the capture of Leipsic and of the Saxon king, of 30,000 prisoners, and of all the baggage and ammunition of the flying foe.

The allies did not fail to follow up the advantages which had been gained; and their close pursuit of the French army rendered its retreat to the Rhine in some respects as calamitous as their recent flight from Russia. The troops under Blucher and Schwartzenburg, who had greatly distinguished themselves during the late encounters, entered the French territories on New-year's day, 1814. All the minor states of Germany now joined the grand alliance the confederation of the Rhine was dissolved; and the continental system established by Buonaparte was broken up.

The spirit which had attended the march of the allied armies communicated itself to the United Provinces, and occasioned a complete revolution in that part of Europe. The arbitrary annexation of that country was very detrimental to their commercial interests; and, at length, on the approach of the allies to the Dutch frontier, the people of Amsterdam rose in a body, and with the rallying cry of 'Orange Boven,' universally displayed the orange colours, and proclaimed the sovereignty of that illustrious house. The example of Amsterdam was followed by the other towns; the bonds of French tyranny were immediately broken, the independence of Holland was asserted, and a deputation was sent to London to announce the revolution, and to invite the prince of Orange to place himself at the head of his countrymen. The Dutch patriots were assisted with all the succours that England could conveniently furnish; and the prince of Orange went and assumed the reins of government, not under the ancient title of stadtholder, but as king of the Netherlands. Denmark, the only remaining ally of Buonaparte, was compelled, by the crown prince of Sweden to accept such terms as the allied sovereigns pleased to prescribe.

On the 1st of December the allied sovereigns issued from Frankfort a declaration explanatory of their views. 'Victory,' they said, 'had conducted them to the banks of the Rhine, and the first use which they made of it was to offer peace. They desired that France might be great and powerful; because in a state of greatness and strength, she constituted one of the foundations of the social edifice of Europe. They offered to confirm to the French empire an extent of territory which France, under her kings, never knew. Desiring peace themselves, they wished such an equilibrium of power to be established, that Europe might be preserved from the calamities which for the last twenty years had overwhelmed her.' This declaration was based on moderation and justice; and in their conduct to France, the allies acted up to their professions.

A.D. 1814.—After his hasty retreat to Paris, the fugitive emperor assembled the senate, and neglected no means that were likely to rouse the spirit of the French to resist their invaders. Very little effect was, however, produced by his appeals to the people, and he was under the necessity of appointing twenty-five commissioners, each invested with absolute power, to accelerate the levy of new forces. Having confided the regency to the empress, he left Paris on the 25th of January, and placed himself at the head of such troops as he could muster. His dominions were at this time threatened on one side by the British troops, under lord Wellington, and on the other by the allied forces commanded by their respective sovereigns and generals.

The army under the marquis of Wellington attacked Soult's on the 27th of February, and, after an obstinate, battle, drove the enemy from a strong position near Orthes; and on the 12th of March, a division under marshal Beresford advanced to the important city of Bordeaux, and entered it amid the acclamations of the inhabitants.

After the entry of the northern allies into France, several sanguinary contests took place: when Buonaparte, finding that it was impracticable to prevail by force, attempted to relieve his affairs by negotiations. Plenipotentiaries appointed by the belligerent powers accordingly assembled at Chatillon; and the allies, whose moderation had on every occasion been particularly conspicuous, offered to sign preliminaries of peace, which would have secured to Buonaparte very important advantages. But these offers were rejected by Napoleon, who required that his family should be placed on foreign thrones, and insisted on terms totally incompatible with the liberties of Europe. The conferences were consequently discontinued; and the allied sovereigns, indignant at the conduct of one who displayed such an unconquerable aversion to a just and equal peace, resolved on vigorously prosecuting the war. In all the engagements which ensued, the superiority of the allies was sufficiently manifested. Napoleon now adopted the singular resolution of getting to the rear of his enemies, and by this ill judged movement left open the road to Paris.

As soon as the Prussian and Austrian commanders could form a junction, they advanced, at the head of 200,000 combatants, towards the capital of France; and having gained a complete victory over the army commanded by Marmont and Mortier, under Joseph Buonaparte, they entered the city by capitulation on the 31st of March. The enthusiasm and exultation exhibited on this occasion surpassed the most sanguine expectations of the conquerors. The whole city seemed to rise *en masse*, and to hail the allies as the liberators of Europe and the avengers of tyranny. The white cockade was generally worn, the air resounded with shouts of *Vive le Roi, Louis XVIII.! Vivent les Bourbons!* and the conquerors were welcomed with the acclamations of *Vive l'empereur Alexandre! Vive le roi de Prussie! Vivent nos libérateurs!*

The French senate now assembled and appointed a provisional government, at the head of which was the celebrated Talleyrand, prince of Benevento. At a subsequent meeting they declared that Napoleon Buonaparte and his family had forfeited all claim to the throne, and that the army and nation were consequently absolved from the oaths of allegiance to him. The senate then directed their attention to the choice of a sovereign; and after a long consultation, in which there was considerable difference of opinion, they determined to recall the Bourbons. Marshal Marmont, after obtaining a promise that the life of the emperor should be spared, and that his troops might pass into Normandy, joined the allies at the head of 12,000 men.

Buonaparte, who had retired to Fontainbleau, finding that he had been deposed by the senate, and that the allies were fully determined not to treat with him as the ruler of France, now offered to abdicate in favour of his infant son; but this was peremptorily rejected, and he solemnly abdicated his usurped crown on the 6th of April; on which day a new constitution was given to France, and Louis XVIII. was recalled to the throne of his ancestors. As soon as the emperor Alexander was informed of this event, he proposed, in the name of the allied sovereigns, that Napoleon Buonaparte should choose a place of retreat for himself and family. By a mistaken sense of generosity, the small island of Elba, situated in the Mediterranean, between Corsica and the Tuscan coast, was given to him, in full sovereignty, with an annual revenue of two millions of francs, to be paid by the French government; and what was a still more extravagant stretch of misplaced liberality, a further allowance of two millions five hundred thousand francs was to be allowed to the different branches of his family; who, as well as Napoleon, were to be suffered to retain their usurped titles! The principality of Parma was also settled on Maria Louisa, his wife, in which she was to be succeeded by her son.

Louis, who had for several years resided

at Hartwell in Buckinghamshire, having accepted the basis of the constitution, made a public entry into London, and was accompanied to Dover by the prince regent, from whence his majesty embarked for Calais, being convoyed to that port by the duke of Clarence. He entered Paris on the 3rd of May, where he was favourably received by the inhabitants, but the soldiery were far from appearing satisfied with the change which had been so suddenly wrought. On the same day, Buonaparte, after a variety of adventures, in which he had several narrow escapes from the violence of an infuriated populace, arrived at his abode in Elba.

Owing to some unaccountable delay in the transmission of the treaty concluded at Paris, or (as was thought at the time) to the envious malignity of marshal Soult, who hoped to defeat his opponent and retrieve his lost honour, a sanguinary battle was fought near Toulouse, on the 10th of April, between his army and that of the marquis of Wellington. But this useless and deplorable effusion of blood only added fresh trophies to those already gained by the British commander. The last action of the peninsular war was fought at Bayonne, in which general sir John Hope was wounded and taken prisoner, and general Andrew Hay was killed.

Among the minor transactions of this period, we must not omit, that at the close of the preceding year Hanover was recovered by the crown prince of Sweden; who also reduced Holstein and Westphalia. — The king of Denmark joined the grand alliance; and Dantzic surrendered after a long siege. The British, however, were repulsed, with considerable loss, in the attempt to take the strong fortress of Bergen-op-Zoom.

A treaty of peace and amity was, on the 30th of May, concluded at Paris, between his Britannic majesty and his Most Christian Majesty, by which it was stipulated that the kingdom of France should retain its limits entire, as it existed previously to the revolution; that Malta should be ceded to Great Britain; and that, with the exception of Tobago, St. Lucie, and the Mauritius, all other possessions held by the French in January, 1792, should be restored. These and a few minor conditions being arranged at the time, it was agreed that all other subjects should be settled at a congress, to be held at Vienna by the high contracting parties, at some future period. The return of peace was celebrated by illuminations, feastings, and every joyful demonstration that so happy an event could inspire.

The first act of the heroic and fortunate victors, now that the treaty had been ratified by the respective governments, was to pay a congratulatory visit to the prince regent of England. Accordingly, the emperor of Russia, accompanied by his sister the duchess of Oldenburg; the king of Prussia, with his two sons; together with prince Metternich, generals Blucher, Barclay de Tolly, Bulow, hetman of the Cossacks, &c., landed at Dover on the 6th of June, and arrived in London the next day. The metropolis was illuminated, and became a general scene of gaiety during the three weeks' stay of the royal visitors.

It is difficult to describe the eager curiosity and the unbounded demonstrations of joy with which they were received wherever they appeared; nor is it less so to do justice to that affability and condescension with which they uniformly endeavoured to gratify all who approached them. The homage of affectionate respect which the emperor Alexander, in particular, received in England, was not the flattery of sycophants; it was a testimony of the attachment of a free people, who honoured him as a man rather than as a monarch; and his discerning mind doubtless felt the tribute as one of the most grateful rewards to which his eminent services entitled him.

It is necessary that we now revert to the war that was still being carried on, though with no great vigour on either side, between Great Britain and the United States of America. Many indecisive conflicts took place betweeen the rival flotillas on the lakes; and as the Americans had frequently succeeded in capturing such British vessels as were inferior to those with which they had come in contact, the honour of the British flag seemed for awhile to droop; but it rose again triumphant under captain Broke, of the Shannon, who in the short space of fifteen minutes captured the Chesapeake, off the port of Boston, and in sight of the people who lined its shores to witness the action. During the months of June, July, and August, the squadron under rear-admiral Cockburn was constantly engaged in harassing the enemy in every assailable position, till the arrival of sir Alexander Cochrane, the commander-in-chief of the British troops in that quarter. Being joined by rear-admiral Malcolm, with some reinforcements from Bermuda, an attack upon the American flotilla in the Patuxent was formed, and the fleet sailed up the river. The American vessels being destroyed before the fleet arrived, the British commanders resolved to make an attempt on Washington, the seat of the American government. In pursuance of this design they advanced to the village of Bladensburg, about five miles from the capital, and having defeated a superior American force, they proceeded, without further opposition, to Washington. On the approach of the British armament the enemy set fire to the navy-yard and arsenals, which, with the stores and a fort, were totally consumed. The senate-house, the house of representation, the treasury, the war-office, the president's palace, and all the public buildings, were burned the same night; 206 pieces of cannon and a large quantity of ammunition in the city and arsenal destroyed. The object of this expedition being thus fully accomplished, the British troops reembarked. After this event the hostile operations in America were neither important nor interesting; the vigorous measures lately pursued by the British legislature convinced the president, Mr Madison, that his country could derive no

advantages from prolonging the contest, and induced him to accelerate the conclusion of peace. The treaty was consequently signed at Ghent, Dec. 24.

A.D. 1815.—We now resume our brief narrative of the events which were occurring on the other side of the English channel. Louis XVIII. devoted his attention to the reestablishment of order in the government, and endeavoured, by every kind and conciliatory act, to soothe the animosities that still rankled in the bosoms of the royalists, republicans, and Buonapartists. The new constitution, which was modelled upon that of England, was readily accepted by the senate and legislative body. The conscription was abolished; the unsold property of the emigrants was restored to them; the shops, which, during the republic and the reign of Buonaparte, had always remained open on Sundays, were now ordered to be closed: and the liberty of the press was restricted within proper limits.

A congress of the allied powers was now held at Vienna for the purpose of making such political and territorial regulations as should effectually restore the equilibrium of power, and afford a more certain prospect of permanent tranquillity. But a state of tranquillity was not so near as their sanguine wishes contemplated. An event happened before their deliberations were brought to a conclusion, which made it necessary for them to lay by their pen, and once more take up the sword. The restless and intriguing spirit of Napoleon was not to be confined to the island of Elba; and the allied armies were no sooner withdrawn from France than he meditated a descent on its coast. He accordingly took advantage of the first opportunity that offered of quitting the island, attended by the officers and troops who had followed him thither, with many Corsicans and Elbese, and landed at Cannes, in Provence, on the 1st of March.

The news of his landing was instantly conveyed to Paris, and large bodies of troops were sent to arrest his progress, and make him prisoner: but Louis was surrounded by traitors; the army regretted the loss of their chief who had so often led them to victory; they forgot his base desertion of their comrades in the moment of peril; and doubted not that his return would efface their late disgrace, and restore them to that proud preeminence from which they had fallen. At his approach, the armies that had been sent to oppose him openly declared in his favour; and he pursued his journey to Paris, augmenting his numbers at every step, till all resistance on the part of the king was deemed useless. On reaching the capital, he was received by the inconstant multitude with acclamations as loud as those which so recently had greeted the arrival of Louis. Such is the instability of what is termed popular favour! The unfortunate king retired first to Lisle, and then to Ghent.

When the allied sovereigns were informed that Napoleon had broken his engagements, and saw that his bad faith was fully equal to his ambition, they published a declaration, to the effect that Buonaparte, having violated the convention, had forfeited every claim to public favour, and would henceforth be considered only as an outlaw. In answer to this, he published a counter-declaration, asserting that he was recalled to the throne by the unanimous voice of the nation, and that he was resolved to devote the remainder of his life in cultivating the arts of peace.

In the meantime, preparations for war were made by all the allied powers. The English, whose army, under the command of the Duke of Wellington, was at this time in the Netherlands, resolved not to leave the man they had once conquered in quiet possession of the throne of France, and every engine was put in motion to reassemble the troops. Buonaparte, likewise, actively prepared for the contest that was to decide his fate. He collected together all the disposable forces of France, and led them towards the Netherlands, hoping to arrive before fresh troops could come to the aid of the English and Prussians, and thus defeat them and get possession of Brussels.

The army under the immediate direction of the French emperor, including the corps of Grouchy, amounted to upwards of 150,000 men, with 350 pieces of cannon. In an order of the day, issued the 14th of June, he said, 'the moment has arrived for every Frenchman who has a heart, to conquer or perish.' The allied troops in Flanders were yet quiet in their cantonments. The Prusso-Saxon army formed the left, the Anglo-Belgian army the right. The former was 115,000 strong, commanded by the veteran Blucher; the latter about 80,000, commanded by the duke of Wellington, whose headquarters were at Brussels; those of Blucher were at Namur, about sixteen leagues distant.

On the 15th of June the memorable campaign of 1815 was begun, by Napoleon driving in the advanced posts of the Prussians on the river Sambre; whilst marshal Ney crossed the river at Marchiennes, repulsed the Prussians, and drove back a Belgian brigade to Quatre-Bras. In the evening, at eleven o'clock, the duke of Wellington (who together with the duke of Brunswick, and the principal officers then in Brussels, were participating in the festivities of a ball given by the duchess of Richmond,) received a despatch from marshal Blucher, informing him that Buonaparte was on his march to Brussels, at the head of 150,000 men. Orders were immediately issued for assembling the troops. On the 16th was fought the battle of Ligny, in which Blucher was defeated, and forced to retreat to Wavre, having narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. On the same day the duke of Wellington had directed his whole army to advance on Quatre-Bras, with the intention of succouring Blucher, but was himself attacked by a large body of cavalry and infantry, before his own cavalry had joined. In the meantime the English, under sir Thomas Picton, with the Belgians, under

the duke of Brunswick, had to sustain the impetuous attacks of the French, commanded by marshal Ney, who was eventually repulsed, though with considerable loss. In this action fell the gallant duke of Brunswick, who was universally and deservedly lamented.—The whole of the 17th was employed in preparations for the eventful battle that ensued.

The retreat of Blucher's army to Wavre rendered it necessary for Wellington to make a corresponding retrograde movement, in order to keep up a communication with the Prussians, and to occupy a position in front of the village of Waterloo. Confronting the position of the allies was a chain of heights, separated by a ravine, half a mile in breadth. Here Napoleon arrayed his forces; and having rode through the lines and given his last orders, he placed himself on the heights of Rossome, whence he had a complete view of the two armies.

About a quarter before eleven o'clock the battle began by a fierce attack on the British division posted at Hougoumont: it was taken and retaken several times, the English guards bravely defending and eventually remaining in possession of it. At the same time the French kept an incessant cannonade against the whole line, and made repeated charges with heavy masses of cuirassiers, supported by close columns of infantry; which, except in one instance, when the farm of La Haye Sainte was forced, were uniformly repulsed. Charges and countercharges of cavalry and infantry followed with astonishing pertinacity. The brave sir Thomas Picton was shot at the head of his division: a grand charge of British cavalry then ensued, which for a moment swept everything before it; but, assailed in its turn by masses of cuirassiers and Polish lancers, it was forced back, and in the desperate encounter sir William Ponsonby and other gallant officers were slain. Soon after this, it is said, the duke felt himself so hard pressed, that he was heard to say, 'Would to God night or Blucher would come!' As the shades of evening approached, it appeared almost doubtful whether the troops could much longer sustain the unequal conflict; but at this critical moment the Prussian cannon was heard on the left. Buonaparte immediately despatched a force to hold them in check; while he brought forward the imperial guards, sustained by the best regiments of horse and foot, amid shouts of *Vive l'empereur*, and flourishes of martial music. At this moment, the duke of Wellington brought forward his whole line of infantry supported by the cavalry and artillery, and promptly ordered his men to 'charge!' This was so unexpected by the enemy, and so admirably performed by the British troops, that the French fled as though the whole army were panic-stricken. Napoleon, perceiving the recoil of his columns on all sides, exclaimed, 'It is all over,' and retreated with all possible speed. The French left the field in the utmost confusion and dismay, abandoning above one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon. They were pursued by the victors till long after dark, when the British, exhausted by fatigue, halted; the Prussians, therefore, continued the pursuit, and nothing could be more complete than the discomfiture of the routed army: not more than 40,000 men, partly without arms, and carrying with them only twenty-seven pieces out of their numerous artillery, made their retreat through Charleroi. The loss of the allies was great; that of the British and Hanoverians alone amounted to 13,000. Two generals and four colonels were among the killed; nine generals and five colonels were wounded: among them was lord Uxbridge, who had fought gallantly, and was wounded by almost the last shot that was fired by the enemy. Such is the general, though necessarily meagre, outline of the ever-memorable battle of Waterloo; evincing one of the noblest proofs upon record of British valour, and of the talents of a great national commander.

Buonaparte returned to Paris, in the gloominess of despair, and admitted that his army was no more. The partisans of Louis looked forward to the restoration of the Bourbons; another party desired a republic; while the Buonapartists showed their anxiety to receive Napoleon's abdication, and to make Maria Louisa empress-regent during her son's minority. Meanwhile the representatives of the nation declared their sittings permanent; and some of the members having boldly asserted, that the unconditional abdication of Buonaparte could alone save the state, the declaration was received with applause, and the fallen emperor was persuaded once more to descend from his usurped throne.

A commission was appointed to repair to the allied armies with proposals of peace, but the victors had formed a resolution not to treat but under the walls of Paris. The duke of Wellington then addressed a proclamation to the French people, stating that he had entered the country not as an enemy, except to the usurper, with whom there could be neither peace nor truce, but to enable them to throw off the yoke by which they were oppressed Wellington and Blucher continued their march to Paris with little opposition, and on the 30th it was invested. The heights about the city were strongly fortified, and it was defended by 50,000 troops of the line, besides national guards and volunteers. On the 3rd of July, marshal Davoust, the French commander, concluded a convention with the generals-in-chief of the allied armies, who stipulated that Paris should be evacuated in three days by the French troops; all the fortified posts and barriers given up; and no individual prosecuted for his political opinion or conduct. The provisional government now retired; and on the 6th Louis made his public entry into Paris, where he was hailed by his fickle subjects with cries of *Vive le roi!* The military, however, though beaten into submission, were still stubborn; and it required some time and address to make them acknowledge the sovereignty of the Bourbons.

Buonaparte in the meantime had reached the port of Rochefort in safety, from whence he anxiously hoped to escape to America; but finding it impossible to elude the British cruisers, he went on board the Bellerophon, one of the vessels blockading the coast, and surrendered himself to captain Maitland. Prior to this, he had sought to stipulate for a free passage, or to surrender on condition of being allowed to reside in England, in honourable exile; but neither proposal could be listened to: the allied powers, aware of his restless and intriguing disposition, had determined upon the island of St. Helena as his future residence, and that there he should be kept under the strictest guard. The Bellerophon proceeded to Torbay: Napoleon was transferred to the Northumberland, commanded by admiral sir G. Cockburn, and, attended by some of his most attached friends and domestics, he in due course reached his ultimate destination; but not without violently protesting against the injustice of his banishment, after having thrown himself upon the hospitality of the British nation.

Murat, the brother-in-law of Napoleon, having joined the allies when he found the career of his friend and patron growing to a close, rejoined him again on his return from Elba; but having been driven from the throne of Naples, he joined a band of desperadoes, and landed in Calabria; where, being speedily overcome and taken, he was instantly shot. Marshal Ney (who had promised Louis to bring Napoleon, 'like a wild beast in a cage to Paris') and colonel Labedoyere, suffered for their treachery; but Lavalette, who was sentenced to the same fate, escaped from prison, disguised in his wife's clothes; and by the assistance of sir Robert Wilson, Mr. Hutchinson, and Mr. Bruce, got out of the country undiscovered.

A congress was held at Vienna, and several treaties between the allied powers and France were finally adjusted (Nov. 20). The additions made to the French territory by the treaty of 1814 were now rescinded; seventeen of the frontier fortified towns and cities of France were to be garrisoned by the allies for five years; 150,000 troops, as an army of occupation, under the duke of Wellington, were to be maintained for the same space of time; and a sum of 900,000,000 francs was to be paid as an indemnity to the allies. It was further agreed, that all the works of art which had been plundered by the French from other countries should be restored. Thus the master-pieces of art deposited in the gallery of the Louvre (the Venus de Medicis, the Apollo Belvidere, &c. &c.) were reclaimed by their respective owners—an act of stern justice, but one which excited the utmost indignation among the Parisians.

In order to secure the peace of Germany, an act of confederation was concluded between its respective rulers; every member of which was free to form what alliances he pleased, provided they were such as could not prove injurious to the general safety; and in case of one prince being attacked, all the rest were bound to arm in his defence. Thus ended this long and sanguinary warfare; the events of which were so rapid and appalling, and their consequences so mighty and unlooked-for, that future ages will be tempted to doubt the evidence of facts, and to believe that the history of the nineteenth century is interwoven with and embellished by the splendour of fiction.

A.D. 1816.—It has been justly observed, that it was only after the storm had subsided that England became sensible of the wounds received in her late tremendous struggle. One of the first results of peace was an enormous diminution in the war expenditure of the government. During the last five years of the war, the public expenditure averaged 108,720,000*l*. During the first five years of peace it averaged 64,660,000*l*. Peace thus caused an immediate reduction of nearly fifty millions in the amount of money expended by government in the support of domestic industry. Transitions, whether from peace to war or war to peace, invariably produce derangements, if not aggregate loss, in the economical relations of the community. In the first, there is the abandonment of various projects of improvement, as roads, canals, bridges, and buildings; and of undertakings in commerce, agriculture, and manufactures, that depend on a low rate of interest, and moderate price of labour: in the last, are the derangements just referred to, of soldiers and seamen discharged, foreign colonies relinquished, manufactures, suited to a state of war, suspended, workmen and capital put out of employment, and the public loaded with enormous debts, and the maintenance of reduced placemen, and naval and military supernumeraries. In times of industrial prosperity the masses take little interest in public affairs; their differences are with their employers. Encouraged by the demand for labour, they seek by combination to extort higher wages. The struggle continues till high prices and overstocked markets produce a mercantile revulsion; then workmen are discharged, wages lowered, and masters recover their ascendency. It is in this stage of depression that workmen begin to listen to representations of public grievances. While the popular excitement lasts the property-classes keep aloof, having no wish to countenance opinions incompatible with their present immunities; and the aristocratic politicians of all parties either combine against the common enemy, or suspend the agitation of their mutual differences. This was the state of the country in 1816: in the metropolis and in the northern counties there were vast assemblages of people in the open air, but they were unattended by the rich and influential. Working men called the meetings, drew up resolutions, and made speeches, setting forth the evils of non-representation, of long wars, of the pressure of taxes levied on the industrious, to be squandered in extravagant salaries, sinecures, and unmerited pensions—for all which the remedy prescribed was a RADICAL REFORM of the house of com

mons, on the basis of universal suffrage, annual parliaments, and vote by ballot.'

At the commencement of the session ministers were defeated in attempting to continue the property tax for one year longer; and chagrined at this result, they abandoned the war duty on malt, thereby relinquishing a tax that would have produced 2,000,000*l*. The Bank restriction bill was extended for two years longer: and another ineffectual attempt was made in favour of the Roman catholic claims.

The house was now informed, by a message from the prince regent, that a matrimonial alliance was about to take place between his daughter and prince Leopold of Saxe Cobourg: upon which parliament voted an annual provision of 60,000*l*. for supporting a suitable establishment; and in the event of the decease of the princess, 50,000*l*. per annum was secured to his royal highness for life. The nuptials were solemnised with becoming splendour on the 2nd of May, at Carlton-house.

The event that next demands notice was one which placed the glory of the British nation in a conspicuous light. The Algerines and their neighbours, the Tunisians, had long been in the habit of committing the vilest atrocities on the subjects of every Christian power that happened to fall into their hands. Repeated remonstrances had been made, without procuring any redress; and it was now determined on, that this horde of pirates should either accede to certain proposals, or suffer for so long and so barbarously defying the laws of civilised nations. Accordingly in the spring, lord Exmouth was sent with a fleet to the states of Barbary, to conclude a treaty of peace between them and the kings of Naples and Sardinia; to abolish Christian slavery; and to obtain from them a promise to respect the flag of the Ionian islands, which had lately become an independent country. The beys of Tunis and Tripoli acceded to all these demands; but the dey of Algiers demurred, as far as regarded the abolition of slavery. Shortly after, notwithstanding this treaty, a considerable number of unarmed Christians, who had landed at Bona, having been massacred by the Mahometans, lord Exmouth returned, and commenced a furious bombardment of the city of Algiers, which lasted six hours; the contest was severe: eight hundred of the assailants fell in the action, and the British ships suffered considerably; but the gallant admiral had the satisfaction of demolishing the Algerine batteries, and destroying their shipping, arsenal, and magazine: while the dey was forced to agree to the abolition of Christian slavery, and to the release of all Christian slaves within his dominions.

The distresses of both the labouring and manufacturing classes, from the causes already mentioned, and the high price of provisions, at length produced serious disturbances in various parts of England. The malcontents in the eastern counties broke out into open violence, and were not suppressed without the assistance of the military. In London similar attempts were made. Mr. Hunt, a popular demagogue, had on the 15th of November convened a public meeting in Spa-fields, to draw up a petition to the regent. On the 2nd of December another meeting was called to receive the answer to their petition. While this meeting was awaiting the arrival of Mr. Hunt, a band of desperadoes appeared on the ground with a tri-coloured flag and other banners, headed by a young man named Watson, who, after using violent language from a waggon, proceeded towards the city, accompanied by a vast crowd of the assembled populace. On arriving at Snow-hill, they plundered the shop of Mr. Beckwith, a gunsmith, and a person of the name of Platt, who remonstrated against the outrageous proceeding, was shot at and severely wounded by young Watson. They then hurried on towards the Royal-exchange, where they were met by a large body of the police, headed by the lord-mayor Wood, who ordered the gates to be shut, and seized several who had arms. The mob plundered some more gun-smiths' shops in the Minories; but the military coming to the aid of the civil power, several of the rioters were apprehended, and the remainder dispersed. One, named Cashman, suffered capital punishment, but the ringleader (Watson) contrived to effect his escape to America, although a large reward was offered for his apprehension.

A.D. 1817.—Public meetings, convened, attended, and conducted almost exclusively by the working classes, marked the close of the previous year, and ushered in the present. Men who appeared in the garb of poverty addressed large assemblies of the people on political subjects which were probably ill understood by them. In consequence of these appearances of disaffection, bills were passed for suspending the habeas corpus act, and for preventing seditious meetings; spies were encouraged, the popular discontent aggravated, and the ignorant sometimes seduced into the commission of crimes, the nature of which they scarcely understood, though the penalty was banishment or death.

In the regent's speech at the opening of parliament, reference was made to the popular discontents, which he ascribed to the efforts of designing persons to mislead the people. On his return through St. James's-park an immense mob had assembled, who saluted him with groans and hisses; and as he passed the back of Carlton-house, the glass of the royal carriage was perforated either by a stone, or the ball from an air-gun. To meet the public exigencies, his royal highness soon after surrendered 50,000*l*. per annum of his income. This example was followed by the marquis Camden, who patriotically gave up the fees of the tellership of the exchequer, valued at 13,000*l* per annum, reserving only the salary of 2,700*l*. He had no imitators; but though his generous example was not followed, the deed shall not be wholly obliterated from his country's annals.

A melancholy event now occurred which diffused a gloom over the whole nation. The princess Charlotte, daughter of the regent and consort of Prince Leopold,

expired on the 5th of November, after having given birth to a dead child. The untimely fate of this amiable and well-beloved princess caused a regret as intensely felt as it was universally expressed.

There is little else of a domestic nature to record this year, if we except the three days' trials of William Hone, the parodist, who was arraigned upon a criminal information, as a profane libeller of parts of the liturgy. He was tried by lord Ellenborough and Mr. Justice Abbott, and having conducted his defence with unusual ingenuity and perseverance, he not only came off victor, but actually pocketed the sum of 3,000*l.*, the amount of a public subscription, raised to remunerate him for having undergone the perils of a government prosecution, or as a reward for the *laudable* intention of bringing into contempt both church and state!

A.D. 1818.—The parliamentary session was opened by commission. The habeas corpus act was restored, and a bill of indemnity passed to screen ministers and others from the legal penalties they might have incurred through the abuse of their power during the time of its suspension. At the same time meetings were held in nearly every populous town throughout the country, for the purpose of petitioning for parliamentary reform. When the sessions closed on the 10th of June, the parliament was dissolved, and writs issued for new elections. All the ministerial candidates in the city of London were thrown out; and sir Samuel Romilly and sir Francis Burdett were returned for Westminster: but in the country the elections passed off quietly, and little change was produced in the parliamentary majority of ministers.

Queen Charlotte, who had been some time indisposed, expired at Kew, in the 75th year of her age, and the 58th of her marriage with the king. She possessed no exterior graces, neither was she noted for liberality of sentiment; but it is no small thing to say that, owing to her exemplary conduct, the court of England was preeminent for its strict decorum.

The year 1818 was fertile in royal marriages; the princess Elizabeth was married to the prince of Hesse Homberg; the duke of Clarence to the princess of Meinengen: the duke of Kent to the princess dowager Leinengen, sister to prince Leopold; and the duke of Cambridge to the princess of Hesse Cassel.

The British army returned from France, which they had lately occupied, according to the stipulations of the treaty at the restoration of Louis XVIII. Towards the close of the year, the expedition which had been sent out to explore the arctic regions also returned to England, but without accomplishing their object, the progress of the vessels having been impeded by the ice.

A.D. 1819.—The country was still pregnant with disaffection; and the doctrine of annual parliaments and universal suffrage was advocated by the demagogues of the day, as the only remedy for all the evils arising from what they termed the venality of government, and a corrupt state of the representation. At length, the numerous meetings of the populace in the open air assumed a very serious aspect; one of which, from its being attended with fatal consequences, and having given rise to much subsequent discussion, it is necessary to describe. This was the 'Manchester Reform Meeting.' It was originally convened for the choice of a parliamentary representative, and had been fixed to take place on the 9th of August; but, in consequence of a spirited notice put forth by the magistrates, declaring that the intended meeting was illegal, it was postponed, and hopes were entertained that it would ultimately have been abandoned. However, new placards were issued for the 16th, and 'parliamentary reform' was substituted for the original object. A piece of ground called St. Peter's-field was the spot chosen for this memorable exhibition; and hither large bodies of men, arrayed in regular order, continued to march during the whole of the morning, the neighbouring towns and villages pouring out their multitudes for the purpose of combination in this focus of radical discontent. Each party had its banner, with some motto thereon inscribed, characteristic of the grand object they had in view—mottoes which have since become familiar even to ears polite—such as 'No Corn Laws,' 'Annual Parliaments,' 'Vote by Ballot,' 'Liberty or Death,' &c. Nay, such was the enthusiasm of the hour, that among them were seen two clubs of 'female reformers,' their white flags floating in the breeze. At the time Mr. Hunt took the chair, not less than 50,000 persons—men, women, and children—had assembled; and while he was addressing the crowd, a body of the Manchester yeomanry-cavalry came in sight, and directly galloping up to the hustings, seized the orator, together with his companions and their banners. A dreadful scene of terror and confusion ensued, numbers being trampled under the horses' feet, or cut down. Six persons were killed, and about a hundred were said to be wounded; but the accounts which were published of this unfortunate transaction differed so materially that we are unable to state the exact number with any degree of certainty. Coroners' inquests were held on the dead bodies; but the verdicts of the juries led to no judicial proceeding; true bills, however, were found against Hunt, Moorhouse, Johnson, and seven others, for a conspiracy to overturn the government, but at the same time they were admitted to bail.

Public meetings were now held in all the principal towns in the kingdom, and addresses were presented to the regent and the parliament, condemnatory of the civil and military authorities at Manchester; which were met by counter-addresses, calling for the repression of sedition, &c. At the opening of parliament in November, the subject underwent a thorough discussion; and amendments to the address were moved in both houses, characterising the Manchester proceedings as illegal and unconstitutional: they were, however, negatived by overwhelming majorities. At the same

time strong measures were resorted to for preventing the occurrence of similar disorders, by passing certain preventive and prohibitory acts of parliament, afterwards familiarly known as the 'six acts.' These, though decidedly coercive, seemed called for by the state of the country, and received the ready sanction of the legislature.

On the 23rd of January, 1820, died at Sidmouth, in his 53rd year, prince Edward, duke of Kent; leaving a widow, and one child, the princess Victoria, then only eight months old. Scarcely had the news of the duke's decease reached the more distant parts of Great Britain, before the death-knell of his venerable father, George III., was heard. The bodily health of his majesty had of late been fast declining, and on the 29th of January he expired. Some lucid intervals, though they were few and evanescent, had occasionally been noticed during the time he laboured under his distressing malady; but he had long been totally blind, and latterly deafness was added to his other afflictions. The king was in the 82nd year of his age, and the 60th of his reign; leaving six sons and four daughters living at the time of his decease. His remains were interred in the royal vault at Windsor; but he had long been, as it were, dead to the world. He left a name unsullied by any particular vice; and his memory will be honoured by posterity for the goodness of his heart, for his piety, clemency, and fortitude.

CHAPTER LXIV.

The Reign of GEORGE IV.

A. D. 1820.—GEORGE THE FOURTH, eldest son of the late venerable monarch, who had exercised sovereign power as regent during his royal father's mental incapacity, was immediately proclaimed king; and the new reign commenced without any expectation of official changes. At the very moment of his accession, and for some time before, a most atrocious conspiracy existed, having for its object the assassination of the whole of his majesty's ministers. The sanguinary intentions of the conspirators, though their plans were crude and their means despicable, render a detail of their plans necessary.

Several wretched persons, headed by Arthur Thistlewood—a man who had formerly been a lieutenant in the army, but who had subsequently suffered fine and imprisonment for challenging lord Sidmouth to fight a duel, and was now reduced to indigence—hired a stable in Cato-street, Edgware-road, for the express purpose of assembling there and consulting on the best plan of putting the design into execution. The time chosen for the commission of the bloody deed was on the occasion of a cabinet dinner at lord Harrowby's, in Grosvenor-square; when they intended to proceed in a body to his lordship's house armed, and, having gained admission by stratagem, to murder all the company present. Acting on previous information from one of the conspirators, who had associated with them for the purpose of their betrayal, Mr. Birnie, a Bow-street magistrate, with twelve of the patrol, went to Cato-street, and there, in a hay-loft, they found the conspirators assembled. The entrance was by a ladder, which some of the police officers ascended, and on the door being opened, twenty-five or thirty men appeared armed. A desperate struggle ensued in the dark, the lights having been extinguished, and Smithers, one of the police, was run through the body by Thistlewood: meantime, a company of the foot guards, commanded by captain Fitzclarence, arrived at the place of rendezvous, which they surrounded, and succeeded in capturing nine of the desperadoes. Thistlewood and the rest escaped; but he was afterwards taken in an obscure lodging at Finsbury, while in bed. They were all found guilty; and five of them, namely, Thistlewood, Ings, Brunt, Tidd, and Davidson, were hanged and then decapitated at the Old Bailey; the other five had their sentences commuted for transportation. —About the same time the trial of Henry Hunt and others took place at York, for their conduct at Manchester on the 16th of August; when Hunt was sentenced to be imprisoned in Ilchester gaol for two years and six months, and Healy, Johnson, and Bamford to one year's imprisonment in Lincoln gaol.

The country had been in a very unsettled state in consequence of the foregoing proceedings; but they were either lost sight of, or treated as matters of little importance, when compared with the extraordinary scene that speedily followed: we mean the trial of queen Caroline. Her majesty had been six years absent from England, and for the last twenty-three years she had been separated from her husband. She had been charged with connubial infidelity, and a rigid investigation into her conduct had taken place; but though the charge of criminality was not established, she was visited with a persecution that rendered her life a burden. Neglected and insulted, she sought for recreation and repose in foreign travel; and during her absence rumour was busy at home in attributing to her illicit amours of the most degrading kind. To elicit evidence and investigate the truth of these reports, a commission had been appointed, under the direction of sir John Leach, who proceeded for that purpose to the continent; and the result of his enquiries was, that the English ministers abroad were not to give the princess, in their official character, any public recognition, or pay her the respect due to her exalted station.

On the death of George III. the first step taken to degrade her was the omission of her name in the liturgy; but she was now queen of England; and notwithstanding an annuity of 50,000*l.* per annum was offered on condition of her permanently residing abroad, and not assuming, in the event of the demise of the crown, the title of queen, she indignantly rejected the proposal, challenged the fullest enquiry into her conduct, and returned to England on the 6th of June, with a full determination to face her enemies.

The charges against the queen being resolutely persisted in by her accusers, and her guilt as pertinaciously denied by her defenders, all attempts at reconciliation failed; and a secret committee of the house of Lords proceeded to examine the inculpatory documents contained in the 'green bag.' On the 5th of July lord Liverpool presented a bill of pains and penalties against the queen, on the ground of her adulterous intercourse with Bergami, and providing that her majesty be degraded from her rank and title, and her marriage with the king dissolved. The queen protested against these proceedings at every step, and was occasionally present during the examination of witnesses. Meanwhile the excitement throughout the country was of the most intense description. Guilty or not guilty, the public sympathised with her as a woman who had been subject to a systematic persecution for a quarter of a century, carried on by a man who was as relentless as he was licentious. During all this time, addresses and processions in honour of the queen kept the metropolis in such a ferment that its mechanics and artisans appeared as if engaged in a national saturnalia. Sir Robert Gifford the attorney-general, assisted by the solicitor-general, conducted the prosecution; Mr. Brougham, Mr. Denman, and Dr. Lushington, the defence. The judicial part of the proceedings having at length been brought to a close, the lords met on the 2nd of November, to discuss the second reading of the bill of degradation. Some declared their conviction of the queen's guilt; others as confidently asserted her innocence; while several denied both the justice and expediency of the bill, and would not consent to brand with everlasting infamy a member of the house of Brunswick. Upon a division for a second reading there was a majority of 28. Some were in favour of degradation, but not divorce. Upon the third reading of the bill, on the 10th, the ministerial majority was reduced to 9; when lord Liverpool immediately announced the intention of government to abandon the further prosecution of this extraordinary proceeding. On the 23rd the parliament was suddenly prorogued; and on the 29th, the queen, attended by a cavalcade of gentlemen on horseback, went in state to St. Paul's to return thanks for her happy deliverance.

A.D. 1821.—On opening the parliamentary session, his majesty mentioned the queen by name, and recommended to the house of commons a provision for her maintenance. At first she declined to accept any pecuniary allowance until her name was inserted in the liturgy: but she subsequently altered her determination, and an annuity of 50,000*l.* was settled upon her.

During this session the subject of parliamentary reform excited much interest; the borough of Grampound was disfranchised for its corruption; and the necessity of economy and retrenchment in all the departments of government was repeatedly brought forward and urged by Mr. Hume, whose persevering exposition of the large sums that were uselessly swallowed up in salaries and sinecures made a great impression on the public; and though none of his motions were carried, the attention of ministers was thereby directed to the gradual diminution of the enormous expense incurred in the different public offices, wherever it could be done without detriment to the public service.

The anticipated coronation was now the all-absorbing topic. The queen having, by memorial to the king, claimed a right to be crowned, her counsel were heard in support of her claim, and the attorney and solicitor-general against it. The lords of the council, having given the subject a long deliberation, decided that queens-consort were not *entitled* to the honour—a decision which *the king was pleased to approve.* The 19th of July was the day appointed for the ceremony, preparations for which had long been making; and nothing more magnificent can be imagined than the appearance of Westminster-abbey and Westminster-hall. It had been currently reported that the queen would be present as a spectator of the scene; and so it proved: but no preparation had been made for her reception, and, not having an admission-ticket, she had to bear the indignity of a refusal, and was obliged to retire! The king arrived at ten, and the procession immediately moved from the hall towards the abbey, his majesty walking under a canopy of cloth of gold supported by the barons of the cinque-ports, among whom was Mr. Brougham, the queen's legal adviser and leading counsel! The ancient solemnity of the coronation in Westminster-abbey occupied about five hours; and when the king reentered the hall, with the crown on his head, he was received with enthusiastic cheers. The expenses of the coronation amounted to 238,000*l.*

The queen died August the 7th, aged 52; leaving the world, as she herself declared, without regret. Her body lay in state at Brandenburg-house, her villa near Hammersmith; and, on the 19th, it was conveyed through London, on its way to Harwich, the port of embarkation for its final resting place at Brunswick. But, as though indignities and tumults were to follow her to the grave, a fracas took place between the populace and the military who formed the escort. Countless multitudes had assembled to join in the procession: and when it was discovered that a circuitous route had been prescribed for the funeral train, in order to avoid passing through the streets of the metropolis, the indignation of the people knew no bounds, and in an affray with the guards two lives were lost. By obstructing and barricading the streets, however, the people at length succeeded in forcing the procession through the city, and the royal corpse was hurried with indecent haste to the place of embarkation. on the 24th of August the remains of the queen reached Brunswick, and were deposited in the family vault of her ancestors.

At the time of the queen's death, his majesty was making a visit to Ireland, whither he had gone with the laudable but

fallacious hope that his presence would allay the factious spirit of his Irish subjects. On returning from Ireland, his majesty expressed his intention of visiting Hanover. Having appointed lords-justices to administer the government during his absence, he embarked at Ramsgate and landed at Calais, September the 24th; entered his German dominions October the 5th; and on the 11th made his public entrance into the capital, drawn by eight milk-white horses. Public rejoicings and festivals attended his sojourn; and, having laid aside the title of elector for that of king, he gratified his loyal subjects with the sight of another coronation, though on a less superb scale. On the 8th of the following month his majesty was again domiciled in Carlton-palace.

We shall now turn for a moment to notice some events of importance, though not connected with the domestic history of Great Britain. The first is the death of Napoleon Buonaparte, who died of cancer in the stomach, aged 51. The disease was constitutional, but it had probably been accelerated by mental agitation and the tropical climate of St. Helena. Those who wish to know the character of this extraordinary man must read it in his actions, under the various and varying aspects of his fortune. His aim was to astonish and aggrandise: to uphold or trample upon right and justice, as best suited the object he had in view. Before his love of universal domination every other passion and principle was made to give way; religion, honour, truth—all were sacrificed to personal ambition. In his will he expressed a wish that 'his ashes might repose on the banks of the Seine, in the midst of the French people, whom he loved so well.' That wish has since been gratified by a Bourbon!

In Spain, Portugal, and Naples, a sort of revolutionary crisis had commenced. Encouraged by the discontents of the middle ranks, the troops, under the influence of Riegot and other gallant officers, succeeded in making Ferdinand swear fidelity to the constitution of 1812. Similar conduct was pursued by the people of Portugal, whose declared objects were the establishment of a constitutional monarchy. And in Naples the popular mind took the same direction, and effected the same object.

A.D. 1822.—The year 1822, though not marked by any great event, foreign or domestic, was one of much interest as regarded the number of important questions discussed in parliament. Among the leading subjects of debate were agricultural distress in England, arising from a superabundant supply and consequent low prices, and the scarcity and distress in Ireland, which, from the prevalence of agrarian outrage and other causes, amounted to positive famine. Some changes during January took place in the cabinet; ministers having strengthened themselves by a union with the Grenville party; and lord Sidmouth retired from his office of home secretary, to make room for Mr. Peel.

On the 5th of February the king opened parliament, and took the occasion to express his regret that his visit to Ireland had failed to produce tranquillity. He also admitted that agriculture had to contend with unexpected difficulties, but congratulated the house on the prosperity which attended the manufactures and commerce of the country.

The state of Ireland did indeed demand the most serious attention of the legislature. On one hand, coercive measures were necessary to repress the wild disorder that reigned throughout the island; for owing to the daring nocturnal bands of Whiteboys, &c., neither life nor property was safe. On the other hand, so universal was the failure of the potato crop, that the price was quadrupled, and the peasantry of the south were in a state of actual starvation. To meet the former evil, it was found necessary to suspend the habeas corpus act, and to renew the insurrection act. To alleviate the latter, a committee was formed in London, and corresponding committees in different parts of the country. British sympathy was no sooner appealed to than it was answered with zealous alacrity; and such was the benevolence of individuals, that large funds were speedily at their disposal; so that before the close of the year the subscriptions raised in Great Britain for the relief of the distressed Irish amounted to 350,000*l.*; parliament made a grant of 300,000*l.* more; and in Ireland the local subscriptions amounted to 150,000*l.*; making altogether a grand total of 800,000*l.*

From the beginning of the year to the end of the session in August, the houses of parliament were almost incessantly occupied on questions of the highest importance; agricultural distress, for which various remedial measures were proposed; lord John Russell's plan for a parliamentary reform; Mr. Vansittart's scheme for relieving the immediate pressure of what was called the 'dead weight;' the currency question, which referred to the increased value of money caused by Mr. Peel's act of 1819, for the resumption of cash-payments; the improvement of the navigation laws, &c.

Parliament was prorogued on the 6th of August; and on the 10th the king embarked at Greenwich for Scotland. On the 15th he landed at Leith, and on the 19th held a levee in the ancient palace of Holyrood, where he appeared in the Highland costume. Having enjoyed the festivities which his loyal subjects of Edinburgh provided for the occasion, he reembarked on the 27th, and in three days was again with his lieges in London.

During his majesty's absence the unwelcome intelligence was brought to him of the death of the marquis of Londonderry, secretary of state for the foreign department. This nobleman, who for some years had been the leading member of government, was in his 54th year; and in a temporary fit of insanity committed suicide, by cutting the carotid artery. In consequence of his tory principles and the share he took in effecting the union with Ireland, he was the most unpopular member of the administration; but he was highly respected

in private life, and enjoyed the personal esteem of his sovereign.

Little else of domestic interest occurred this year; but a few words relative to foreign affairs are perhaps requisite. The congress at Verona terminated in December: the allied sovereigns were disposed to reestablish the despotism of Ferdinand in Spain, in opposition to the cortes; but to this policy England objected, denying the right of foreign powers to interfere in the affairs of the peninsula. The 'sanitary cordon,' established on the frontiers of France for the avowed purpose of preventing the fever which raged at Barcelona from spreading to that country, changed its name to an 'army of observation,' while the designs of the French government to check the progress of revolutionary principles in Spain were developed, and, indeed, soon afterwards openly expressed.

A.D. 1823.—On the death of lord Londonderry, Mr. Canning, who was about to set out to India as governor-general, relinquished that employment, and accepted the vacant secretaryship, as one more congenial to his taste, and for the duties of which he was supposed to be perfectly efficient.

The new year presented more cheering prospects than any which had for a long time preceded it; the foreign demand for goods of English manufacture kept the cotton, silk, and woollen factories at work, and greatly benefited others, particularly the hardware and cutlery businesses. Those engaged in the shipping interest, also, participated in the general improvement. But it was not so with regard to the agriculturists; and during the month of January no less than sixteen county meetings were called to take into consideration the causes of their distresses. The usual topics—parliamentary reform, remission of taxes, a commutation of tithe, a depreciation of the currency, &c.—were generally suggested; and in some instances, where Mr. Cobbett and his supporters had sufficient influence, resolutions of a more ultra-radical kind were carried. These were pretty much of the same staple commodity as are still hawked about on similar occasions: namely, an appropriation of part of the church property; the extinction of tithes; the sale of the crown lands; the abolition of sinecures and pensions; a reduction of the standing army; the repeal of a variety of taxes; and an equitable adjustment of contracts.

Some popular changes now took place in the ministry. Mr. Vansittart, chancellor of the exchequer, resigned in favour of Mr. Robinson, and accepted the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancashire, with a seat in the upper house and the title of lord Bexley; and Mr. Huskisson was made president of the board of trade, in the room of Mr. Arbuthnot. Parliament was prorogued by commission on the 19th of July; a great mass of business having occupied the attention of the members, and much altercation having taken place between Mr. Canning and his political opponents, who plainly convinced him that he was not 'reposing on a bed of roses.' But he had the satisfaction, at the close of the session, of dwelling on the flourishing condition of all branches of commerce and manufactures, and a considerable abatement of the difficulties felt by the agriculturists at its commencement.

In April, the French army of observation crossed the Pyrenees; and the duke of Angoulême, its commander, published an address to the Spaniards, declaratory of the objects of this interposition in their affairs: defining it to be, the suppression of the revolutionary faction which held the king captive, that excited troubles in France, and produced an insurrection in Naples and Piedmont. They then marched onward, and, without meeting any resistance of consequence, occupied the principal towns and fortresses. In October the city of Cadiz surrendered; and French interference terminated with the liberation of Ferdinand from the cortes, who in all their movements had carried the unwilling king with them. The French then retraced their steps, leaving, however, 40,000 troops in possession of the fortresses, to maintain the authority of the Spanish king in case of a reaction.

A.D. 1824.—Favourable as the political aspect of Great Britain appeared at the commencement of 1823, there was now an evident improvement in almost every branch of commercial industry; while the cultivators of the soil found their condition materially assisted by natural causes, without the aid of legislatorial interference. It was therefore a pleasing task for Mr. Robinson, when he brought forward his budget, to describe in glowing terms the general prosperity of the country, and declare his intention of effecting an annual saving of 375,000*l.* by reducing the interest of the four per cent. stock to three and a half. In short, it was evident that there were too many symptoms of a return to a healthful state for the most sceptical cavillers to contradict. But a course of prosperity in England, like true love's course, 'never did run smooth' for any length of time. There was now an abundance of capital, and money was accordingly to be had at low rates of interest. Safe investments were difficult to be found at home: hence foreign loans were encouraged, till there was scarcely a state in the Old or New World which had not the benefit of English capital. It was a rare era too for the gambling speculations of a host of needy adventurers; and under pretext of having discovered advantageous modes of employing money, the most absurd schemes were daily set afloat to entrap the avaricious and unwary. Many of these devices, however, were so obviously dishonest, that the legislature at length interfered to guard the public against a species of robbery in which the dupes were almost as much to blame as their plunderers. A resolution passed the house of lords declaring that no bill for the purpose of incorporating any joint-stock company would be read a second time till two-thirds of the proposed capital of the company had been subscribed. This bill certainly checked such operations

for a time; but the evil had been allowed to proceed too far, as further experience proved.

A convention between Great Britain and Austria was laid on the table of the house of commons, by which the former agreed to accept 2,500,000*l.* as a final compensation for claims on the latter power, amounting to 30,000,000*l.*—a composition of one shilling and eight-pence in the pound!

A.D. 1825.—One of the first steps in legislation this year was an act to suppress the Catholic Association of Ireland. Daniel O'Connell assumed to be the representative and protector of the catholic population in that country, and continued to levy large sums from the people, under the absurd and hypocritical pretence of obtaining 'justice for Ireland.' Subsequently a committee of the lords sat to enquire into the general state of that country; and in the evidence that came before them, it clearly appeared that the wretched state of existence to which the peasantry were reduced by landlords and sub-letters was greatly aggravated by their abject bondage to their own priests, and by the vicious mode in which tithes were collected; but that while the arch-agitator and his satellites were allowed to inflame the passions of the people, and delude them into a belief that they were oppressed by their connection with Great Britain, no remedy within the power of the legislature presented itself. We may here observe, by the way, that in the petitions that were presented to parliament in the preceding year, the catholics no longer placed emancipation in the front of their grievances, but demanded a reform in the temporalities of the protestant church, a better regulation of juries, and the disfranchisment of municipal corporations.

The catholic relief bill passed in the house of commons, but was rejected in the lords by a majority of 178 against 130.

We have seen what astonishing impulse had been given to speculations of all kinds last year by the abundance of unemployed capital and the reduction of interest in funded property. The mania for joint-stock companies was now become almost universal. During the space of little more than a twelvemonth, 276 companies had been projected, of which the pretended capital was 174,114,050*l.* Though many of these were of an absurd character, and nearly all held out prospects that no sane man could expect to see realised, yet the shares of several rose to enormous premiums, especially the mining adventures in South America. But a fearful reaction was at hand.

Several country banks stopped payment in December, and among them the great Yorkshire bank of Wentworth and Co. A panic in the money market followed; and in a few days several London bankers were unable to meet the calls upon them. On the 12th of December the banking-house of sir Peter Pole and Co. stopped payment. This caused great dismay in the city, it being understood that forty-seven country banks were connected with it. During the three following days five other London banking firms were compelled to close; and in a very short space of time, in addition to the London houses, sixty-seven country banks failed or suspended their payments. The abstraction of capital in mining and other speculations was now felt more severely than had been expected, even by those who had endeavoured to oppose their progress. It was impossible to calculate when or where the evil would stop; but that thousands of families must in the end be ruined was inevitable. The principal merchants of the city of London, at the head of whom was Mr. Baring, feeling that something was necessary to be done to support credit and restore confidence, assembled at the mansion-house, and published a resolution to the effect that 'the unprecedented embarrassments were to be mainly attributed to an unfounded panic: that they had the fullest reliance on the banking establishments of the capital and country, and therefore determined to support them, and public credit, to the utmost of their power.'

In two days after this declaration, the Bank of England began to reissue one and two-pound notes for the convenience of the country circulation. For one week 150,000 sovereigns per day were coined at the Mint; and post-chaises were hourly despatched into the country to support the credit, and prevent the failure, of the provincial firms, which still maintained their ground.

A.D. 1826.—The effects of the panic were long and most severely felt; but it must be admitted that the Bank of England made strenuous efforts to mitigate pecuniary distress, and the course pursued by government was steady and judicious. The main ingredient in producing the mischief had been the great facility of creating fictitious money; the ministers, therefore, prohibited the circulation of one-pound notes; while incorporated companies were allowed to carry on the business of banking. Beyond this they could scarcely go; it was next to impossible that they could afford an effective guarantee against future panics, overtrading, or the insolvency of bankers.

On the 2nd of February parliament was opened by commission. The royal speech adverted to the existing pecuniary distress, and showed that it was totally unconnected with political causes. It also alluded to measures in contemplation for the improvement of Ireland. After sitting till the end of May, the parliament was dissolved, and active preparations were made for a general election.

Certain leading questions, which had been frequently discussed in parliament of late years, had now got such possession of the public mind, that, at most of the elections, tests were offered and pledges required from the several candidates. The most important of these were catholic emancipation, the corn laws, and the slave trade; and out of the members returned for England and Wales, 133 had never before sat in parliament. It was observed that now, for the first time, the catholic priests of Ireland openly began not only to take an

active part in elections, but to inculcate the doctrine, that opposition to an anti-catholic candidate was a christian duty. The English radicals were also extremely noisy and active in their endeavours to return Cobbett, Hunt, and others of that clique; but for the present they were unsuccessful.

The new parliament met on the 14th of November, and the session was opened by the king in person. No business of any great importance was brought before the house; but an exposure of the numerous joint-stock companies that had been established was made by alderman Waithman. He observed that 600 had been formed, most of them for dishonest purposes; the directors forcing up or depressing the market as they pleased, and pocketing the difference between the selling and buying prices. As certain members of the house, whom he named, were known to be directors of some of these bubble companies, he moved for a committee of enquiry with reference to the part taken by members of parliament in the joint-stock mania of 1824-5-6. The enquiry, on the suggestion of Mr. Canning, was restricted to the Ariguna mining company, of which Mr. Brogden had been a director.

A few foreign occurrences claim our notice. The death of Alexander, emperor of Russia, a powerful ally of England, and a noble and benevolent prince, who sincerely desired the good of his people. It was his wish that his brother Nicholas should succeed him; and, in compliance with that wish, the grand duke Constantine, who was next heir to the throne, publicly renounced his right to the succession in favour of his younger brother.—Also the death of John VI., king of Portugal and titular emperor of Brazil; whither he had retired, with his court, on the invasion of Portugal by Buonaparte.—Missolonghi, the last asylum of the Greeks, taken by storm, by the combined Egyptian and Turkish forces, who, rendered furious by the bravery of the besieged, put all the males to the sword, and carried the women and children into slavery.—The destruction of the Janissaries by Sultan Mahmoud, followed by an entire remodelling of the Turkish army and the introduction of European military discipline.—Remarkable coincidence in the deaths of two ex-presidents of the United States of America: Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson not only expiring on the same day, but that day (July 4), being the fiftieth anniversary of the declaration of American independence.

A.D. 1827.—We closed our last brief annual record with a notice of the deaths of two distinguished men on transatlantic ground; we are compelled to commence the present year with an account of the decease of an illustrious personage at home. His royal highness Augustus Frederick duke of York, presumptive heir to the throne, and commander-in-chief of the army, (at the head of which he had been thirty-two years, and under whose administration it had won imperishable laurels,) died on the 5th of January, in the 64th year of his age. In person he was noble and soldierlike; in disposition, frank, amiable, and sincere; in the discharge of his official duties, impartial and exact; and in attention to the comforts of the soldier, he was equalled by few, surpassed by none.

The first topic of domestic interest was the change of ministry which took place in consequence of lord Liverpool, the premier, being suddenly disabled by a stroke of apoplexy, which, though he survived the attack nearly two years, terminated his public life. His lordship was free from intrigue and partisanship, and his official experience enabled him to take the lead in conducting the ordinary affairs of the government: but his oratory was commonplace, and he was incapable of vigorously handling the great questions which during his premiership agitated the country.

Nearly two months elapsed before the vacancy occasioned by lord Liverpool's illness was filled. The king then empowered Mr. Canning to form a new ministry, of which he was to be the head; and he accordingly began to make his arrangements. But he met with almost insuperable difficulties; for within forty-eight hours after he had received his majesty's commands, seven leading members of the cabinet—his former colleagues—refused to serve under him, and sent in their resignations. In this perplexity he waited on the king, who suspected that there was not only a confederacy against Mr. Canning, but also a disposition to coerce the royal will. The king was not, however, likely to withdraw his support from the minister of his choice; and ultimately a mixed administration (but chiefly tory), entered on the duties of office. Mr. Canning, premier; earl of Harrowby, president; duke of Portland, privy seal; viscount Dudley, foreign secretary; Mr. Sturges Bourne, home secretary; Mr. Huskisson, board of trade; Mr. C. Wynn, board of control; viscount Palmerston, secretary at war; lord Bexley, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster; lord Lyndhurst, lord chancellor.

Parliament met after the Easter recess; and on the 1st of June Mr. Canning brought forward the budget. The session was of short duration, and the greater part of the time was occupied by charges of political tergiversation which were bandied about, and the explanations which such charges necessarily elicited. The corn laws came in for a share of discussion; as did also the law between debtor and creditor, the state of the court of chancery, and the game laws; while Mr. Peel continued his exertions towards a consolidation of the criminal statutes. On the 2nd of July parliament was prorogued.

A treaty which had for its object the pacification of Greece, by putting an end to the sanguinary contest between the Porte and its Grecian subjects, was signed at London, on the 6th of July, by the ministers of Great Britain, France, and Russia.

From the hour that Mr. Canning undertook the office of premier he had been suffering under a degree of nervous excitement which made visible inroads on his constitution; but it was expected that a little repose during the parliamentary recess

would reinvigorate him. Not so, however; for on the 8th of August he expired, the immediate cause of his death being an inflammation of the kidneys. This highly gifted statesman, who was in the 57th year of his age, was not less remarkable for scholastic acquirements than for brilliant oratory and pungent wit; weapons which he often used with success in demolishing the more solid arguments of his opponents. In politics he was a tory possessing the good sense to avow and act upon liberal principles, upon such points as were manifestly for the good of the country, and in accordance with true progressive enlightenment. He was long the efficient representative of Liverpool; and his constituents were justly proud of one who, while he shone in the senate, combined the graces of scholarship with elegant manners and amiability of temper.

On the death of Mr. Canning there were but few changes in the ministry. Lord Goderich became the new premier, as first lord of the treasury, Mr. Huskisson succeeded to the office of colonial secretary, and Mr. Herries was made chancellor of the exchequer. A few other changes took place; and the duke of Wellington resumed the command of the army, but without a seat in the cabinet.

The treaty mentioned as having been signed on the 6th of July, for attempting the pacification of Greece, not being palatable to the sultan, he declined the mediation of the allied powers, and recommenced the war furiously against the Greeks. To put a stop to this course of desolation, the combined fleets of England, France, and Russia proceeded to the bay of Navarino, with a determination to capture or destroy the Turkish fleet which lay there, if Ibrahim Pacha refused to listen to pacific overtures. No satisfaction being obtained, admiral Codrington, followed by the French ships, under De Rigny, and the Russian squadron, entered the bay; and after four hours from the commencement of the conflict, which had been carried on with great fury, the enemy's fleet was wholly destroyed, and the bay strewed with the fragments of his ships.

A.D. 1828.—It was seen from the first formation of the Goderich ministry that it did not possess the necessary ingredients for a lasting union. Differences between some of the leading members of the cabinet rendered his lordship's position untenable, and he resigned his seals of office. Upon this the king sent for the duke of Wellington, and commissioned him to form a new cabinet with himself at the head: the result was, that his grace immediately entered into communication with Mr. Peel, and other members of lord Liverpool's ministry, who had seceded on the elevation of Mr. Canning; and, with very few exceptions, the same parties once more came into power. The duke, on becoming the first lord of the treasury, resigned the office of commander-in-chief.

The royal speech, delivered at the opening of parliament, chiefly referred to the late 'untoward event' at Navarino, but defended it on the ground that the rights of neutral nations were violated by the revolting excesses of the Turks.

Mr. Brougham having made one of the most elaborate expositions of the abuses and imperfections of the law ever delivered in the house of commons, two commissions were appointed, one to enquire into the state of the common law, the other into the laws of real property.

On the 8th of May the catholic claims were again brought forward, when sir Francis Burdett moved for a committee of the whole house on this subject, with a view to a conciliatory adjustment. After a three nights' debate, this was carried by a majority of six. A conference with the lords was then requested, and held; after which there was a two nights' debate in the lords, when the duke of Wellington opposed the resolution, chiefly on the ground that the church government of Ireland was unconnected with the civil government of the empire. But it was remarked, that although the resolution was lost by a majority of fifty-four, the moderate tone of his grace augured favourably for it on a further trial.

In Ireland during the Canning and Goderich ministries all was comparatively still; but this year the excitement of the people, led on by the popular demagogues, was greatly increased by the formation of a Wellington and Peel administration. The Catholic Association was again in full activity; Mr. O'Connell was returned for Clare, in defiance of almost all the landed gentry of the country; the priests seconded the efforts of the itinerant politicians; and, in the inflated rhetoric of Mr. Shiel, 'every altar became a tribune at which the wrongs of Ireland were proclaimed.' Meanwhile, ministers looked supinely on, till the smouldering embers burst into a flame, which nothing within their power could extinguish. How could it, indeed, be otherwise, when the marquis of Anglesea, the king's representative, wrote a letter to Dr. Curtis, the titular Catholic primate of Ireland, to the effect that the settlement of the catholic question was unavoidable, and recommending the catholics to 'agitate, but refrain from violence, and trust to the legislature.' The marquis was forthwith recalled from the government of Ireland for writing this letter.

The repairs and improvements of Windsor castle, which had been for a long time in hand under the direction of Mr. Jeffrey Wyatville (subsequently knighted), were this year completed; and the king took possession of his apartments on the 9th of December. A parliamentary grant of 450,000*l.* had been devoted to this truly national edifice, and great ability was shown in retaining the principal features of the original building, while studying the conveniences of modern civilisation.

At the latter end of the year, owing to the discovery of a systematic plan of murder having been pursued by some wretches at Edinburgh, an indescribable feeling of horror and disgust pervaded the whole country.

It appeared on the trial of William Burke and Helen M'Dougal, who lodged in a house kept by a man named Hare, that Burke and Hare had been in the habit of decoying persons into the house, where they first made them intoxicated, and then suffocated them. The bodies were then sold to Dr. Knox for anatomical purposes, and, no marks of violence appearing upon the bodies, no questions were asked nor suspicion created respecting the horrid mode in which they had been procured. The number of their victims it was difficult to ascertain, though Burke confessed to upwards of a dozen. This wretch, who was an Irish catholic, was executed, amidst the exultations and execrations of an immense concourse of spectators; and the system of strangulation which he had practised was afterwards known by the expressive term of *burking*.

The foreign events of this year, though important in themselves, bear too little on English history to render necessary more than a bare mention of them.—In April Russia declared war against Turkey. The destruction of the Turkish fleet at Navarino left the former power masters of the Black-sea; and on land 115,000 Russians were assembled to open the campaign on the Danube. Several great battles were fought, the Turks offering a much more effectual resistance to their invaders than was anticipated; at length the Russians retired from the contest, but did not return to St. Petersburgh till October.—The affairs of Greece had gone on more favourably, in consequence of the war between Turkey and Russia; and, assisted by France and England, that country, which had so long groaned under the oppressor's yoke, was emancipated from foreign control, and restored to the rank of an independent nation.

A.D. 1829.—Soon after the opening of parliament, ministers declared their intention to bring forward and support the long-agitated question of catholic emancipation in order to put an end for ever, if possible, to a grievance which, among the Irish in particular, had 'grown with their growth, and strengthened with their strength.' In Ireland the catholic population was at that time estimated at five millions and a half, whereas not more than one million and three quarters were protestants; but in England, Scotland, and Wales, the number of catholics fell short of a million. It was well known that the duke of Wellington's repugnance to the measure had been gradually abating; that he thought the security of the empire depended on its being carried; and that he had laboured hard to overcome the king's scruples. These being at length removed, Mr. Peel, in a long, cautious, and elaborate speech, introduced the 'catholic relief bill' into the house of commons on the 6th of March. Its general objects were to render catholics eligible to seats in both houses of parliament, to vote at the election of members, and generally to enjoy all civil franchises and offices, upon their taking an oath not to use their privileges to 'weaken or disturb the protestant establishment.' As it was a course of policy which the whigs advocated, it had their support; the chief opposition coming from that section of the tory party who felt it to be a measure replete with danger to the protestant institutions of the country. The majority in favour of the bill, however, at the third reading, was 320 to 142. In the upper house a more resolute stand was made against it; the lords Eldon, Winchelsea, Tenterden, and others, backed by the archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the bishops of London, Durham, and Salisbury, in the most solemn manner denouncing it as a measure pregnant with the most imminent peril to church and state as by law established; and powerfully appealing to their fellow peers to uphold the protestant faith at all hazards, and not sacrifice their principles at the shrine of expediency. It was, however, carried on the 10th of April, and received the royal assent on the 13th.

A few official changes followed. Sir Charles Wetherell, attorney-general, was dismissed for his anti-catholic opposition to the ministers, and sir James Scarlett appointed. Chief-justice Best was elevated to the peerage by the title of lord Wynford; and was succeeded in the common-pleas by sir Nicholas Tindal, the solicitor-general; whose office was given to Mr. Sugden.

If we except the 'metropolis police bill,' which owes its origin to Mr. Peel, and from which such great advantages have arisen, there was nothing of moment submitted to the legislature after the passing of the catholic relief bill. The creation of this new police force was one of the wisest measures that had ever been resorted to for the protection of property and the peace of the metropolitan districts: the old parochial watch, as corrupt as they were feeble, had become an absolute street nuisance; and, so far from being 'a terror to evil doers,' their well-known inefficiency enabled the midnight burglar and the daring footpad to pursue their criminal vocations with impunity.

During the summer months an unusual depression in every branch of trade was felt, and the wages of the artisan had greatly fallen. This gave rise to combinations and the destruction of property, particularly among the silk-weavers of Spitalfields. It was also the case in the manufacturing districts of the northern and inland counties; where, owing to the introduction of power-looms, the workmen were almost destitute of employment, and their families in a state of abject penury.

The year 1830 commenced without any circumstance occurring in or out of parliament worth relating. The position of ministers was a difficult one, but it was what they had a right to expect. By conceding catholic emancipation they had lost the support of their most influential old friends, and they were now compelled to accept as auxiliaries those hybrid whigs, whose cooperation, to be permanent, must be rewarded by a share in the government. But the stern unbending character of 'the duke' would not allow him to share ever

the glory of a conquest with allies whom he could not depend on; and therefore, as the tories were divided, it was clear that their rule was fast drawing to a close.

An event, by no means unexpected, now took place. For a considerable time past the king had been indisposed, and he was rarely seen beyond the limits of his royal domain at Windsor. But gout and dropsy had made sad havoc on his health. His illness gradually increased from that time to the 26th of June, the day on which he died.

The character of this monarch is not to be summed up in a brief sentence or two; to form a just opinion of it, his conduct under many varying aspects must be impartially considered. This we endeavoured to do in our memoir of George IV. in the Biographical Treasury, and to that we beg to refer.

CHAPTER LXV.

The Reign of WILLIAM IV.

A.D. 1830, *June* 26.—WILLIAM HENRY, duke of Clarence, third son of George III., succeeded to the throne as William IV., being at the time of his accession in the 65th year of his age. This monarch was brought up to the navy, having entered the service as a midshipman in 1779, on board the Royal George, a 98-gun-ship, commanded by captain Digby; and, by regular gradations, he became rear-admiral of the blue in 1790. From that time he saw no more active service afloat, although he wished to share in his country's naval glories; and nothing was heard of him in his professional capacity, till Mr. Canning, in 1827, revived the office of lord-high-admiral, which for more than a century had been in commission. He, however, resigned it in the following year, the duke of Wellington, as prime minister, disapproving of the expense to which the lord-high-admiral put the nation, by an over-zealous professional liberality.

On the 23rd of July parliament was prorogued by the king in person, the royal speech being congratulatory as to the general tranquillity of Europe, the repeal of taxes, and certain reforms introduced into the judicial establishment of the country.

It was, notwithstanding, a period pregnant with events of surpassing interest, but as they chiefly belong to the history of France, the bare mention of them is all that is here necessary. An expedition on a large scale was fitted out by the French, with the ostensible view of chastising the Algerines for their piratical insults; but it ended in their capturing the city, and in taking measures to secure Algeria as a French colony. Then came the revolutionary struggle on the appointment of the Polignac ministry, which ended in the expulsion of Charles X. from the throne of France, and the elevation of Louis Philippe, duke of Orleans, as 'king of the French,' who swore fidelity to the constitutional charter.

This great change in the French monarchy was effected with less bloodshed, and in far less time, than could have been anticipated by its most sanguine promoters; for from the date of the despotic ordinances issued by the ministers of Charles X. to the moment that the duke of Orleans accepted the office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, preparatory to his being elected king, only four days elapsed, during two of which there were some sharply contested battles between the citizens and the royal troops under Marmont. Of the citizens 390 were killed on the spot; and of 2,500 wounded, 306 died. Of the royal guard, 375 were killed and wounded; and of gendarmes 202.

A similar revolution in Belgium followed. When that country was joined to Holland in 1815, to form the kingdom of the Netherlands, and thereby raise a powerful bulwark on the frontier of France, it was avowedly a mere union of political convenience, in which neither the national character, the institutions, nor the religion of the inhabitants was consulted. No sooner did the outbreak in Paris become known, than Brussels, Liége, Namur, Ghent, Antwerp, and other cities, showed an inveterate spirit of hostility to their Dutch rulers; and insurrections, which soon amounted to a state of civil war, were general throughout Belgium. The kingdom of the Netherlands having been created by Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, Russia, and France, these powers assumed a right of mediation between the belligerents; and on the 4th of November a protocol was signed at London, declaring that hostilities should cease, and that the troops of the contending parties should retire within the limits which formerly separated Belgium from Holland.

The effect of these successful popular commotions abroad was not lost upon the people of England; and 'parliamentary reform' became the watchword of all who wished to harass the tory ministry. The duke of Wellington was charged, though most unjustly, of having given his support, or at least been privy to, the arbitrary measures of the Polignac ministry; and a clamour was raised against him and his colleagues which was beyond their power to control.

So strong and general, indeed, was the feeling against ministers, that the elections throughout the country had gone decidedly against them. At length, on the 2nd of November the houses met, and his majesty's speech referred, among other topics, to the before-mentioned events, concluding with expressions of reliance on the wisdom and firmness of his parliament. Earl Grey took occasion to urge the necessity of an immediate reform of the representative system, which elicited from the duke of Wellington a declaration of his determination to oppose any measure which might be brought forward for that purpose, he being convinced that the legislature could not be improved. This useless avowal of his opposition to all reform excited a strong feeling against the duke, which was greatly augmented by the ingenious commentaries and violent denunciations of the whig press. Another less honourable mode

had also been resorted to for the purpose of inflaming the public mind—the posting of placards in the streets of London, severely commenting on the royal speech, the anti-reform declaration of the duke, and the new metropolitan police.

The great civic festival of lord-mayor's day was nigh, at which the king and his ministers intended to be present; but owing to several letters having been received by the duke of Wellington, stating that a riot was to be apprehended if he made his appearance in the city,—one of which was from Mr. John Key, the lord-mayor elect, suggesting that he should come 'strongly and sufficiently guarded,'—his grace advised that the king's visit should be postponed. Considerable discussion took place in both houses on the abandonment of his majesty's visit to the civic banquet; earl Grey and other peers arguing that it had excited needless alarm, and produced an extraordinary depression of the funds. But the duke had been forewarned that a riot, and perhaps bloodshed, would have ensued; and no better argument is needed to show the soundness of his policy than his own words, as they are recorded in the memoirs of the late sir W. Knighton. 'If firing had begun,' said the duke to sir William, 'who could tell where it would end? I know what street firing is; one guilty person would fall, and ten innocent be destroyed. Would this have been wise or humane, for a little bravado, or that the country might not have been alarmed for a day or two?'

But, admitting the correctness and humane motives of the duke's conduct in this instance, the popular feeling was hourly increasing against his administration. By degrees the small ministerial majority dwindled away, and in less than a fortnight from the assembling of parliament, the tories found themselves in a minority of 29, on a motion for the settlement of the civil list. This was a signal for the Wellington ministry to resign, and their seals of office were respectfully tendered to the king on the following day, Nov. 16.

The celebrated 'reform ministry' immediately succeeded; at the head of which was lord Grey, as first lord of the treasury. The other members of the cabinet were the marquis of Lansdowne, lord president; lord Brougham, lord chancellor; viscount Althorp, chancellor of the exchequer; viscount Melbourne, home secretary; viscount Palmerston, foreign secretary; viscount Goderich, colonial secretary; lord Durham, lord privy seal; lord Auckland, president of the board of trade; sir James Graham, first lord of the admiralty; lord Holland, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster; hon. Charles Grant, president of the India board; and the earl of Carlisle, without any official appointment. Among the ministers who had no seats in the cabinet, were lord John Russell, paymaster-general; the duke of Richmond, postmaster-general; the duke of Devonshire, lord chamberlain; marquis Wellesley, lord steward; sir T. Denman, attorney-general; and sir W. Horne, solicitor-general. The marquis of Anglesea was invested with the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland, and lord Plunkett was its lord-chancellor.

During the autumn of this year a novel and most destructive species of outrage prevailed in the agricultural districts of the south of England, arising from the distressed condition of the labouring population. Night after night incendiary fires kept the country in a constant state of alarm, and farming stock of every description was consumed. There was no open rioting, no mobs; nor did it appear that it was connected with any political object. In the counties of Kent, Hants, Wilts, Bucks, and Sussex, these disorders arose to a fearful height; threatening letters often preceding the conflagrations, which soon after nightfall would simultaneously burst out, and spread over the country havoc and dismay. Large rewards were offered for the discovery of the offenders, the military force was increased, and special commissions were appointed to try the incendiaries. Altogether upwards of 800 offenders were tried, the greater part of whom were acquitted; and among those convicted, four were executed, and the remainder sentenced to different terms of transportation and imprisonment.

In referring to foreign affairs, we have to notice,—1. The trial of the French ministers Polignac, Peyronnet, Chantelauze, and Ranville, on a charge of high treason for the part they took in enforcing the 'ordinances' of Charles X. which led to the memorable revolution of July.—2. The Polish insurrection. This arose from the grand duke Constantine of Russia having severely punished some of the young military students at Warsaw for toasting the memory of Kosciusko. The inhabitants, assisted by the Polish regiments, after a sanguinary contest in the streets, compelled the Russians to retire to the other side of the Vistula. However, dreading the resentment of their tyrannical masters, they afterwards endeavoured to effect an amicable settlement; but the emperor Nicholas refused to listen to their representations, and threatened them with condign punishment. Meanwhile, the Poles prepared to meet the approaching conflict, and general Joseph Clopicki was invested with the office of 'dictator.'—3. The death of Simon Bolivar, the magnanimous 'liberator' of Columbia, who expired, a voluntary exile, at San Pedro, Dec. 17, in the 48th year of his age.

A.D. 1831.—On the 3rd of February parliament reassembled, and it was announced that a plan of reform would speedily be introduced by lord John Russell. In the meantime lord Althorp brought forward the budget, by which it appeared that the taxes on tobacco, newspapers, and advertisements were to be reduced; and those on coals, candles, printed cottons, and some other articles, abolished.

The subject of parliamentary reform continued to absorb all other political considerations, and was looked forward to with in

tense interest. In announcing his scheme, lord John Russell proposed the total disfranchisement of 60 boroughs, in which the population did not amount to 2,000; and the partial disfranchisement of 47, where the population was only 4,000. By this means the number of members would be reduced 168; but which would be supplied by increasing the number of county members, and by giving representatives to certain large towns heretofore unrepresented. He then went into a variety of other details, not necessary to be here enumerated; when the bill, after a spirited discussion of seven days, was read a first time. The second reading was carried on the 22nd of March, by a majority of *one*; the numbers being 302 to 301. And on general Gascoyne's motion for the commitment of the bill, there was a majority against ministers of 8. Three days afterwards, on a question of adjournment, by which the voting of supplies was postponed, this majority had increased to 22; whereupon the ministers tendered their resignations to the king. These he declined to accept, but adopted the advice of earl Grey, who recommended a dissolution of parliament, which took place on the 22nd of April.

And now arose the cry of 'the bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill.' Out of the 82 county members for England, nearly all were pledged to the bill; as were all the four members for the city of London. On the 14th of June the new parliament met, and was opened by the king in person. On the 24th lord John Russell made his second attempt. The debate lasted three nights, and on a division there was a majority of 136 in favour of the bill. It then underwent a long, patient, and severe scrutiny in committee; every clause was carefully discussed as it arose; many of its crudities were corrected, and many imperfections remedied. These occupied the house almost uninterruptedly till the 19th of September, when, after another eloquent debate of three nights, the bill, as amended, was carried by a majority of 109 in the commons, and taken up to the lords by upwards of 100 members.

Early in October, earl Grey, in an elaborate speech, again brought before the consideration of the lords the important measure of parliamentary reform, to bring about which, he said, had been the great object of his political life; but if it could be proved to have the revolutionary tendency some imputed to it, he would be the last man to defend it: and he concluded by declaring that by this measure ministers were prepared to stand or fall. Lord Wharncliffe moved as an amendment, 'that it be read this day six months;' which having been seconded and put from the woolsack, one of the most memorable discussions in parliamentary history followed. For one entire week the debate was continued; during which time all that historical, constitutional, and scholastic illustration could furnish; all that skill, force, and variety of argument could supply; all that conscious rectitude of intention, pure patriotism, and noble independence were capable of commanding, were brought to bear upon this great question; and when the house divided, a majority of 41 appeared against the bill.

On the 20th of October parliament was prorogued, and was not again called together till the 6th of December. The year, however, did not close till the great measure was again before the legislature. On the 12th the *third* reform bill was introduced into the commons by lord John Russell, who pointed out various alterations that had been made in it; the effect of which was to lessen the number of the boroughs to be disfranchised, and to maintain the full complement of 658 members. These concessions were regarded as improvements by the opposition, and on the second reading the majority in its favour was two to one; the numbers being 324 for, and 162 against it. The house then adjourned till after Christmas.

That we may not interrupt the thread of our narrative by taking the other events of the year in their chronological order, we pass on to April 14, 1832; when, after a four nights' debate in the house of lords, this popular bill was carried by a majority of *nine*. After this, parliament adjourned to May 7, for the Easter holidays. On that day lord Lyndhurst moved that the disfranchising clause should be postponed, and the enfranchising clause first considered; which was carried against ministers, by a majority of 151 to 116. As this was considered the first of a series of obstructions, dexterously contrived to delay and mutilate the reform bill, the ministers announced their intention to resign, unless his majesty would consent to a new creation of peers. To that expedient the king declined to resort, and the ministers sent in their resignations accordingly. A week of terrific agitation followed; all the hate and rancour of party feeling were centred in one object; and while men of moderate views and principles trembled for the safety of the monarchy, crafty and designing demagogues stirred up the passions of the people in the hope of profiting by a popular convulsion. His majesty was desirous of having ministers who would carry an 'extensive measure of reform;' and on sending for lord Lyndhurst, whom he desired to communicate with the duke of Wellington and sir Robert Peel, he expressed himself distinctly to that effect. The duke, in loyal obedience to the commands of his sovereign, was disposed to lend himself to the royal emergency, notwithstanding his former anti-reform declaration. Not so, however, sir Robert; he saw no hope of modifying the reform bill to his satisfaction; and he declined, though tempted with the premiership, to cooperate in the design. The idea of a new administration was therefore abandoned; and the duke of Wellington recommended the king to recall his former servants. This was done; and as it was evident that the wishes of the king were more in accordance with the determination of the people as a body than with the aristocracy, the peers, in obedience to the royal wish, absented them-

selves from the house, and the reform bill was silently carried through its remaining stages; the majority on its third reading being 106 to 22.

We shall now briefly refer to a few occurrences, foreign and domestic, which we have hitherto necessarily omitted.—The Russians sustained a severe defeat at Wawz, after a battle of two days, their loss being 14,000 men; their opponents, the Poles, suffered comparatively little. But on the 30th, a Polish corps, under Dwernicki, being hard pressed by the Russians, retreated into Austrian Gallicia, and, surrendering to the Austrian authorities, were treated as prisoners, and sent into Hungary. In short, after bravely encountering their foes, and struggling against superior numbers, Warsaw capitulated, and the idea of Polish independence was farther removed than ever.—In June, prince Leopold was elected king of Belgium by the congress at Brussels; his territory to consist of the kingdom of the Netherlands, as settled in 1815.

On the 21st of October, the London Gazette contained precautions to be adopted by his majesty's subjects against the spread of the Asiatic cholera, that dreadful pestilence having lately extended from Moscow to Hamburgh. It was ordered that a board of health should be established in every town, to correspond with the board in London, and to consist of magistrates, clergy, and members of the medical profession; while the most effectual modes of insuring cleanliness, free ventilation, &c., were pointed out. These precautionary measures were doubtless of great use, and worthy of the paternal attention of the humane government; but owing, as was supposed, to the quarantine laws having been evaded by some persons who came over from Hamburgh and landed at Sunderland, the much-dreaded infection visited many parts of Great Britain, and in the following year produced indescribable alarm among all ranks of people.

One other event, but of so disgraceful a character, that we would fain omit it altogether, remains to be mentioned among the domestic occurrences of the year.

On the 29th of October the city of Bristol became the scene of dreadful riots, which were continued during the two following days, and were not overcome till that large commercial town appeared to be on the verge of total destruction. The mansion-house, custom-house, excise-office, and bishop's palace, were plundered and set on fire; the prisons were burst open, and their inmates set at liberty; and during one entire day (Sunday), the mob were the unresisted masters of the city. On Monday morning, when the fury of the rioters had partly spent itself in beastly orgies, and many had become the victims of excessive drinking in the rifled cellars and warehouses, the civil magistrates appeared to awake from their stupor; and, with the assistance of the military, this 'ebullition of popular feeling,' as it was delicately termed by some who had unconsciously fanned the flame, was arrested. The loss of property was estimated at half a million. The number of rioters killed, wounded, or injured, was about 110; but, of these, far more suffered from intemperance, and from being unable to escape from the flames which they had themselves kindled, than from the sabres of the soldiery or the truncheons of constabulary protectors. One hundred and eighty were taken into custody, and tried by a special commission; when four were executed and twenty-two transported. Their trials took place on the 2nd of January, 1832. Not many days afterwards, lieutenant-colonel Brereton, who had the command of the troops, committed suicide pending an enquiry into his conduct by a court-martial. He was charged with not having displayed the firmness and decision necessary for quelling a tumult of such magnitude. That more energy and decision ought to have been shown at the commencement by the civil power is evident; how far the colonel was in error is very questionable.

A.D. 1832.—Having in our previous notice stated the result of the long-continued contest respecting parliamentary reform, we have now only to describe the changes effected in the representative system when the bills came into operation. As soon as the royal assent was given to the English reform bill (June the 7th), congratulatory addresses and other peaceful demonstrations of public joy were very generally indulged in; but if we may judge by the triumphant chuckle of the victors and the lofty scorn of the vanquished, the angry invectives of the late political disputants were neither forgotten nor forgiven. Yet though the war of words had not wholly passed away, it was now as a mere feather in the balance—the reform bill had become the law of the land. The decayed boroughs were disfranchised, and in their stead the right of parliamentary representation was given to large and populous towns: while an entire new constituency of 10*l.* householders was created in cities and boroughs. The county constituency was also greatly extended. Heretofore it had been restricted to 40*s.* freeholders; now copyholders of 10*l.* per annum; leaseholders of 10*l.* if for not less than sixty years, or of 50*l.* if not less than twenty years: and tenants-at-will, if occupying at a yearly rent of not less than 50*l.*, were entitled to the franchise. The county representation was likewise modelled anew: To Yorkshire six members were given, two for each riding. Devon, Kent, Lancashire, and twenty-three other large counties were divided, and two knights given to each division: seven English counties were to return three instead of two members each; and three Welsh counties, two instead of one. The reform bill for Scotland received the royal assent July 17th; that of Ireland, August 7th. Eighteen members had been deducted from the entire representation of England, but an addition of eight to Scotland, five to Ireland, and five to Wales, made the total for Great Britain and Ireland 658, as before. The Scotch and Irish reform bills

possessed the grand features of the English bill, by extending the franchise; but some peculiarities adapted to the state of property, &c. in both countries, were necessary to be observed.

During the months of February, March, and April, the cholera became very prevalent, not only in the country towns and villages of the North of England, where it first appeared, but also in the metropolis, and all the horrors of the great plague of London, depicted with such fearful power by Defoe, were present to the imagination. Every possible attention was paid to the subject by government: parochial and district boards were forthwith organised; temporary hospitals got ready for the reception of the sick; and every measure that humanity and prudence could suggest was resorted to, to check the progress of the malady where it appeared, and to prevent contagion where it had not. The virulence of the disease abated during the three succeeding months, but at the end of the summer it appeared again as malignant as ever. In the whole year, the deaths from cholera, within the limits of the bills of mortality, amounted to 3,200; and the total number of deaths, as reported by the central board, exclusive of London, was 24,180; the amount of cases being 68,855. In Paris, 1,000 deaths occurred during the first week of its appearance there; nay, so fatal was it, that out of 45,675 deaths which took place in the French capital in 1832, the enormous number of 19,000 was occasioned by cholera. This frightful epidemic next appeared in the Canadas and United States. It thus made the tour of the globe; beginning, as it was supposed, in Hindostan; then devastating Moscow and the northern parts of Europe; visiting Great Britain and France; and lastly, crossing the Atlantic.

In this year's obituary are the names of several men of eminence. From among them we select—sir James Mackintosh, an eloquent writer and statesman.—Jeremy Bentham, celebrated as a jurist and law reformer; a man who had his own specifics for every disease of the body politic, but who never had the happiness to see one of them effect a cure.—Sir Walter Scott, an excellent romance writer, and a poet of acknowledged merit, who for a long period enjoyed a popularity unknown to any of his contemporaries.

A.D. 1833.—On the 29th of January the first reform parliament was opened by commission, and on the 5th of February the king delivered his speech in person. Among other topics of interest, he emphatically dwelt upon the increasing spirit of insubordination and violence in Ireland, and of the necessity which existed for intrusting the crown with additional powers for punishing the disturbers of the public peace, and for strengthening the legislative union of the two kingdoms. This led to the passing of the insurrection acts in the following month; empowering the lord-lieutenant to prohibit public meetings of a dangerous tendency; suspending the writ of habeas corpus; authorising domiciliary visits by magistrates, &c.

During this session of parliament, which was unusually protracted and laborious, many other subjects of great national importance were legislated upon; foremost among which were the abolition of colonial slavery, and the renewal of the charters of the Bank of England and East India Company.

Great Britain had in 1807 abolished the 'slave trade,' but *slavery itself* was now to become extinct in the West Indies. By the act for the 'abolition of colonial slavery,' all children under six years of age, or born after Aug. 1, 1834, were declared free; all registered slaves above six years became, from the same date, apprenticed labourers, with weekly pay, either in money or by board and lodging; possessing, at the same time, all the rights and immunities of freemen. In effecting so great a change, it was necessary that the owners of slaves should receive some adequate compensation. To meet this object, ministers at first proposed advancing a loan of fifteen millions to the West India proprietors; but the idea of a *loan* was soon converted into a *gift*, and of a still higher amount; the sum of 20,000,000*l.* being finally voted to the slave-owners as a liberal compensation for the losses they might sustain by this humane measure. An end was thus put to a question that had agitated the religious portion of the community from the day that Mr. Wilberforce first stood forward as the champion of African emancipation.

Many questions of magnitude present themselves in legislating for our extensive empire in the East, where the interests of a population of 100 millions are to be consulted; yet, vitally important as the subject is to the commercial prosperity and political influence of Great Britain, it never seems to have met with the consideration to which it is manifestly entitled, either in the British senate, or among the British community. It now, however, engaged the attention of parliament somewhat more than on former occasions. Three new statutes were passed; the first applied to the renewal of the charter of the East India Company, and the future government of India; the second regulated the trade to China and India; and the third referred to the collection and management of the duties on tea. The charter of the company was renewed for the term of twenty years, from April 30, 1834, under certain restrictions. And several subordinate provisions were made of a judicial, municipal, commercial, and ecclesiastical character; one being for the mitigation and gradual abolition of slavery in the East.

With regard to renewing the charter of the Bank of England, there were three questions on which the legislature were divided upon some material points; the majority, however, insisting on the expediency of continuing the exclusive privileges of the Bank, so that it should remain the principal and governing monetary association of the empire. One important concession obtained from the Bank was r

roduction, to the amount of 120,000*l*., in a charge of about 280,000*l*. which the directors annually made for the management of the public debt, &c. It also obtained one important privilege: the paper of the Bank of England being made a legal tender for all sums above 5*l*., except by the Bank itself or its branches. There was another enactment, of general interest, but of very questionable policy, namely, that by which bills of exchange drawn at a certain limited date were exempt from the usury laws; an enactment the ruinous and demoralising effects of which, in times of commercial distress, are incalculable. The charter, though renewed till August, 1855, had this reservation—it might be put an end to, should parliament choose, in 1845, by a year's previous notice being given.

Besides the settlement of the foregoing great legislative measures, various taxes were repealed or reduced; many official situations were abolished or reformed; several judicial processes amended; and a great variety of private bills passed.

A.D. 1834.—The desire to move onward in legislating for and removing everything that seemed to obstruct the progress of 'liberal' principles, was the natural consequence of the reform bill; and at the very commencement of the year the 'pressure from without' was felt by ministers to be a most inconvenient appendage to their popularity. They had effected one mighty object; and to enter upon more, much caution and patient deliberation were requisite. They knew that popular clamour had been kept up long enough, and they accordingly endeavoured to separate themselves from the noisy and irregular auxiliaries who had joined their ranks in the hour of need, but who were now become troublesome hangers-on. This state of things could not long remain; and on Mr. Ward bringing forward a motion in the house of commons for appropriating the surplus revenues of the Irish church to the purposes of government, it appeared that there existed a difference of opinion in the cabinet as to the mode in which the motion should be met. The majority was in its favour; but the appropriation of church property to other than ecclesiastical uses was incompatible with the notions of Mr. Stanley, sir James Graham, the earl of Ripon, and the duke of Richmond; and they accordingly resigned their places in the ministry.

This rupture with the ministers abovenamed was speedily followed by another, which ended in the resignation of earl Grey, the premier. In the communications which had from time to time been made by ministers to Mr. O'Connell on Irish affairs, it had been confidentially stated to him that when the Irish coercion bill was renewed, the clauses prohibitory of meetings would not be pressed: nevertheless, the obnoxious clauses appeared in the bill; and Mr. O'Connell declared that he considered it dissolved the obligation of secrecy, under which the communication had been made. Lord Althorp, finding himself unable to carry the coercion bill through the commons, with the clauses against public meetings, sent in his resignation; and as earl Grey considered himself unable, without the assistance of lord Althorp, as ministerial leader in the house of commons, to carry on the government, he also resigned. Parliamentary reform, the great object of his public exertions had been accomplished; and as he was now upwards of seventy, and in an infirm state of health, he seemed glad to seize the first opportunity of closing his official labours.

An arrangement was, however, soon effected to form another reform ministry, lord Althorp consenting to resume the chancellorship of the exchequer, under the premiership of viscount Melbourne. The new cabinet then stood thus:—viscount Melbourne, first lord of the treasury; lord Brougham, lord chancellor; viscount Althorp, chancellor of the exchequer: marquis of Lansdowne, president of the council; earl of Mulgrave, privy seal; viscount Duncannon, home secretary; viscount Palmerston, foreign secretary; Spring Rice, colonial secretary; lord Auckland, first lord of the admiralty; Charles Grant, president of the India board: marquis of Conyngham, postmaster-general; lord Holland, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster; lord John Russell, paymaster of the forces; and E. J. Littleton, secretary for Ireland.

The king in person prorogued parliament on the 15th of August. Notwithstanding the time lost in ministerial disagreements and changes, a great mass of business had been despatched. The two principal measures were the 'central criminal court act,' and the 'poor-law amendment act.' The former extends the jurisdiction of the Old Bailey court over a population of about 1,700,000; not only in Middlesex, but in parts of Surrey, Kent, and Essex; leaving to the Middlesex sessions, at Clerkenwell, the trial of offences punishable with not more than seven years' transportation. The Old Bailey sessions to be held at least twelve times a year.

But by far the most important of these measures was the poor-law amendment act: a measure which has scarcely satisfied the expectations formed with regard to it. In saying this, we by no means would infer that a continuance of the former poor-law system, with its incompetent officers, private jobbing, expensive litigation, and all the numerous errors and inconsistencies that had been engrafted on the original act of Elizabeth, would have been desirable; far from it. But the present 'amended' system, which was chiefly intended to reduce the burdensome amount of the poor-rates, might have been easily carried out without those obnoxious clauses which enforce the separation of married men from their wives, and mothers from their pauper children; withholding out-door relief, &c. Moreover, however desirable the centralisation of poor-law power may be, and however able the commissioners who form the board at Somerset-house, local interests must often be left to local management; or a mode of generalising may become so habitual to those who superintend the administration

of the poor-laws, as to frustrate all endeavours to obtain individual justice.

Several popular measures were carried during the session; namely, the repeal of the house-tax; the abolition of the duty on almanacks; the abolition of sinecure offices in the house of commons; facilities at the post-office for the transmission of foreign newspapers; grants for building schools in England and Scotland, &c.

This year was remarkable for the systematic organisation of 'trades' unions' in London and other large towns of England, and for repeated 'strikes' among tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, bricklayers, weavers, spinners, and other 'operatives.' But the different crafts all returned to their employments, without any very serious injury to trade or to themselves. At Paris, Lyons, and Brussels similar combinations of workmen took place, and were attended with serious consequences, particularly at Lyons, where no less than 5,000 persons (of whom 1,700 were troops) were killed before the insurrection, which had been caused by the trades' unionists' interference with the trials of some of their members, was quelled.

On the evening of the 16th of October a fire broke out in one of the offices at the lower end of the house of lords, which continued to rage throughout the night, and was not completely extinguished for several days. Great anxiety was felt for the safety of that ancient edifice, Westminster-hall; and even the venerable and magnificent Gothic pile opposite, Westminster-abbey, was at one period thought to be in great danger; but nothing that skill or intrepidity could achieve was neglected in arresting the progress of the flames; and though the two houses of parliament were destroyed, neither the hall nor the abbey sustained material damage; and the libraries and state papers in the lords and commons were preserved. The fire, as it appeared on strict enquiry, was caused by negligence, in burning the exchequer-tallies in a building adjoining the house of lords. Temporary chambers for the accommodation of the legislature were afterwards erected on the site of the old buildings.

Just one month after the destruction of the houses of parliament the Melbourne ministry was summarily and unexpectedly dismissed. On the 14th of November lord Melbourne waited on his Majesty at Brighton to take his commands on the appointment of a chancellor of the exchequer, in the room of lord Althorp, removed, by the death of his father, earl Spencer, to the house of peers. The king, it is said, objected to the proposed reconstruction of the cabinet, and made his lordship the bearer of a letter to the duke of Wellington, who waited upon his majesty on the 16th, and advised him to place sir Robert Peel at the head of the government. Sir Robert was at the time in Italy, whither a courier was despatched, and the baronet arrived in London Dec. 9, saw the king, and accepted the situation of premier; the duke of Wellington having in the interim provisionally filled the chief offices of the government. Thus again, though for a brief space, the tory party, or conservatives, as they were now called, were in the ascendant.

A.D. 1835.—The Melbourne cabinet had been for some time looked upon as the mere dregs of the Grey ministry; and the losses it had sustained by the withdrawal of the earl of Durham, the Stanley section, and the noble premier himself, had not been supplied by men of suitable talents. The public therefore had no great reason for regret, however much they may have been surprised, when the king so suddenly dispensed with their services. Yet when the same men were intrusted with the reins of government who had been the strenuous opposers of reform, an instantaneous outcry burst forth, and the advent of toryism was regarded by the populace with feelings of distrust and dread. Sir Robert Peel, however, explicitly declared, that he considered the reform bill as a final and irrevocable settlement; and he appealed to several important measures that had formerly emanated from himself as proofs that he was not opposed to the redress of real grievances, and the removal of all recognised abuses. Upon these grounds sir Robert solicited the confidence of the country; and he brought forward his leading measures with great despatch and ability. The ministerial plans for affording relief to dissenters relative to the marriage ceremony, and also the settlement of tithes, met with general favour and concurrence. But when, on the 30th of March, lord John Russell brought forward his resolution—'that the house should resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider of the temporalities of the church of Ireland,' the motion was met by sir E. Knatchbull with a direct negative, and after a long and stormy debate, ministers found themselves in a minority of 33. The Irish church bill was then discussed in committee; and after three nights' debate on the question of appropriating the surplus funds of the church to the 'general education of all classes of Christians,' which was opposed by the ministers and their friends, there was still a majority against them of 27. Finding that neither concessions nor professions of liberality were of any avail, the duke of Wellington in the upper house and sir Robert Peel in the lower, announced their resignations; the latter at the same time declaring, that, though thwarted by the commons, he parted with them on friendly terms.

Once more, then, we see lord Melbourne as the premier; with lord John Russell, home secretary; lord Palmerston, foreign secretary; right hon. Spring Rice, chancellor of the exchequer; the marquis of Lansdowne, president of the council; and the other official appointments filled nearly as they were when the 'liberals' were lately in power, except that the great seal was for the present put in commission.

The first great question that engaged the attention of the commons, and one which had been looked forward to by the community with much impatience, was that of

municipal reform.' For more than two centuries the abuses existing in corporate bodies, particularly the misapplication of municipal funds, had been a matter of constant complaint. It was naturally expected that a reform in the representative system in boroughs having been effected, a reform in the election of their own local authorities would follow. A commission to enquire into the state of municipal corporations, their modes of administering justice, their revenues and funds, and the privileges of freemen, &c., had already been instituted, and the result of the enquiry induced the commissioners to report to his majesty, that 'the perversion of municipal institutions to political ends has occasioned the sacrifice of local interest to party purposes, which have been frequently pursued through the corruption and demoralisation of electoral bodies.' Then, after pointing out the various inefficient and corrupt modes in which municipal interests were attended to, and the great and general dissatisfaction which prevailed on the subject, the commissioners declared it to be their duty 'to represent to his majesty that the existing municipal corporations of England and Wales neither possess nor deserve the confidence or respect of his majesty's subjects, and that a thorough reform must be effected before they can become useful and efficient instruments of local government.' Upon this report, which was supported by a voluminous mass of details, lord John Russell brought in his bill, which, having been severely scrutinised in the lords, passed into a law. The grand feature of this bill is, that it vests the local government of a town in the rated and permanently resident inhabitants. In the council is vested the entire deliberative functions of the corporation. They appoint the town-clerk and treasurer, and from them the mayor and aldermen are chosen. They have the control of the police, watching, and lighting. If there be a surplus in the burgess fund, they may apply it to local improvements or any object beneficial to the inhabitants; or if insufficient, they may order a rate to be levied. All the existing rights of freedom, or citizenship, or burgess-ship, in the old corporations, are preserved to the present possessors; but all exclusive privileges of trading, or of exercising any calling or handicraft, in corporate towns, are abolished.

Many other measures of practical utility were discussed and passed this session. Among them were several acts framed by sir James Graham for improving the naval code and thereby increasing the naval power of Great Britain; first, by an act for amending and consolidating the laws relative to merchant-seamen; and secondly by an act, the object of which is to encourage the voluntary enlistment of seamen into the royal navy, by limiting the period of service to five years. Lord Brougham also brought forward a very useful bill for removing some of the more obvious and glaring defects in the old patent law; not the least of which was that the patent often expired just about the time the difficulties attending its first introduction had been surmounted, and, consequently, before the patentee had benefited by his invention. By the new law a power is vested in the crown of extending, on the recommendation of the privy council, the term of a patent from fourteen to twenty-one years.

We shall close our sketch of this year's occurrences by briefly noticing the deaths of two persons, who, in their career for popular applause, attained a more than ordinary share of notoriety. The one was Henry Hunt, late M.P. for Preston, who had long figured as a leader among the radicals, and whose zeal for 'the people' at the too memorable meeting at Manchester had been rewarded by a long imprisonment in Ilchester gaol. His more distinguished cotemporary and coadjutor, though sometimes powerful rival, was William Cobbett, M.P. for Oldham; a man remarkable for persevering industry, and of unquestionable talents, who, from following his father's plough, and afterwards serving with credit as a British soldier in America, passed the greater part of his life in the unceasing strife of politics, and was able, by the force of his extraordinary and versatile powers as a writer, to keep a strong hold on public opinion for nearly half a century. He died in June, not three months after his quondam friend, Mr. Henry Hunt. [A memoir of Mr. Cobbett is given, at considerable length, in the 'Biographical Treasury.']

A.D. 1836.—The year opened auspiciously, both with regard to its commercial prospects and its political aspect. The whole manufacturing districts were in a state of activity; money was abundant wherever tolerable security was offered; and though an immense absorption of capital was taking place in extensive public undertakings, such as railways, some of which were already highly successful, there was very little of that wild spirit of adventure which ten years before had nearly brought the country to the brink of ruin. Mercantile confidence rested upon a better basis than it had done for a long time past; the ports bore ample evidence of the prosperity of British commerce: and though there were still just complaints of agricultural distress, they were partial rather than general.

When the king opened parliament in February these facts furnished congratulatory topics for the royal speech, and suggestions were also thrown out relative to certain improvements, contemplated by the legislature, and in the administration of justice, especially in the court of chancery; an equitable settlement of tithes in Ireland; municipal reform in that country, &c.

The first question of importance that occupied the attention of the house was brought forward by the chancellor of the exchequer, who announced the intention of government to reduce materially the stamp duty on newspapers. It was proposed, he said, to reduce it from its present amount of 4*d.* with the discount, to 1*d.* without discount, which would be a reduction of nearly 2½*d.* on all newspapers sold for 7*d.* or less. To this remission parliament assented, by which the circulation of

unstamped newspapers—an illicit trade that had long been followed by certain London newsvendors—was abandoned as profitless.

Notwithstanding several useful measures of legislation had been carried during the session, considerable disappointment was felt at its close in consequence of the loss or abandonment of certain bills which had been brought forward by ministers with some parade and apparent confidence of success: as, for example, the Irish tithe and municipal bills; the bill for governing charitable trusts in England by popular election; bills for amending the English municipal act, for improving the court of chancery, for removing the civil disabilities of the Jews, &c. But if the value depended on the amount of legislation, there was no cause of complaint; the number of general acts passed in 1836 being 117; and of railway bills alone, 33. By the act for the 'commutation of tithes in England and Wales,' provision was made for the final extinction within two years of the vexatious right of exacting tithes in kind, and for commuting them into a corn rent charge, payable in money. By the 'established church' act for effecting a new distribution of episcopal dioceses and incomes, the income of the archbishop of Canterbury was to be reduced to 15,000*l.*; the archbishop of York to 10,000*l.*; the bishop of London to 10,000*l.*; the bishop of Durham to 8,000*l.*; Winchester, 9,000*l.*; Ely, 5,500*l.*; St. Asaph and Bangor, 5,200*l.*; Worcester, 5,000*l.*; and the other bishops to have incomes varying from 4,000*l.* to 5,000*l.* The bishopries of Bristol and Gloucester to be united; also St. Asaph with Bangor, and Sodor and Man with that of Chester; and two new bishopries to be erected, one at Manchester, the other at Ripon. Several other economical regulations in the church were at the same time effected by this bill. Two acts were also passed which were in some degree connected with church reform, namely, the 'marriage act,' and the act for 'registering births, deaths, and marriages.' Formerly, in order to be legally married, it was necessary to comply with the ritual of the established church; but by the new act a marriage may be simply a civil contract or a religious ceremony, according to the wish of the parties; it will be equally legal whether contracted in any registered place of religious worship, or in the office of the registrar. The new mode of registering births, deaths, and marriages is valuable also as a statistical document and an authentic record of facts.

In the obituary for this year are several distinguished names. Lord Stowell, aged 90, an eminent civilian; many years judge of the high court of admiralty, and brother of lord-chancellor Eldon.—Charles X., ex-king of France, who died an exile in Illyria, in the 80th year of his age.—And the abbé Sieyes, who under all the phases of the French revolution maintained an elevated station, and on the fall of the republic became a count and peer of the empire.

A.D. 1837.—It was remarked at the commencement of the previous year that symptoms of prosperity appeared in all the leading branches of commercial industry, and that no lack of capital was known for any undertakings, however vast, provided they held out a prospect for safe investments. But over-trading, led on and encouraged by over-banking, produced evils which, if not equal, were very similar in their effects to those disasters which overwhelmed the country during the memorable commercial panic of 1823. During the year 1836 no less than forty-five joint-stock banks had been established. It was therefore natural that one of the subjects recommended to the attention of parliament in the opening speech, should be 'a renewal of the enquiry into the operation of joint-stock banks.' But the more important measures which had formed the leading subjects of debate, and which were regarded by ministers as necessary to the stability of their tenure in office, underwent certain alterations, and were again brought forward for discussion. Little progress, however, was made, when an event occurred which for a time absorbed all matters of minor interest.

The public had been apprised by the publication of bulletins, that his majesty was seriously ill, and on the 20th of June his death was announced as having taken place early that morning. His majesty was in the 72nd year of his age, and had nearly completed the seventh year of his reign.

Many were the eulogiums pronounced upon the deceased monarch; but no testimony was more just, or more characteristic of his real qualities, than the following tribute by sir Robert Peel. He said: 'It was the universal feeling of the country, that the reins of government were never committed to the hands of one who bore himself as a sovereign with more affability, and yet with more true dignity—to one who was more compassionate for the sufferings of others—or to one whose nature was more utterly free from all selfishness. He did not believe that, in the most exalted or in the most humble station, there could be found a man who felt more pleasure in witnessing and promoting the welfare of others.'

CHAPTER LXVI.

The Reign of VICTORIA.

A. D. 1837.—INTELLIGENCE of his majesty's death having been officially communicated to the princess Victoria and the duchess of Kent, at Kensington palace, preparations were immediately made for holding a privy council there at eleven o'clock. A temporary throne was erected for the occasion; and, on the queen being seated, the lord-chancellor administered to her majesty the usual oath, that she would govern the kingdom according to its laws and customs, &c. The cabinet ministers and other privy councillors then present took the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; and the ministers having first resigned their seals of office, her majesty was graciously pleased to return them, and they severally kissed hands on their reappointment.

By the death of William IV. the crowns of the united kingdom and of Hanover were dissevered through the operation of the salic law excluding females from the Hanoverian kingdom, which consequently descended to the next heir, the duke of Cumberland; and Adelaide, as queen-dowager, was entitled to 100,000*l.* per annum, settled upon her for life in 1831, with Marlborough-house and Bushy-house for residences.

On the 20th of October the new parliament assembled, when her majesty opened in person the business of the session. In her progress to and from the house, the queen was received by the populace with the strongest demonstrations of enthusiasm and loyalty.

No great progress was made during the first session of Victoria's parliament in settling the various important subjects under discussion. At its close, however, the civil list bill was passed; it provided a total sum of 385,000*l.*, which was thus classed:—1. privy purse, 60,000*l.*; 2. salaries of household and retired allowances, 131,260*l.*; 3. expenses of household, 172,500*l.*; 4. royal bounty, &c., 13,200*l.*; 5. pensions, 1,200*l.*; unappropriated monies, 8,040*l.*—On the 23rd her majesty went in person to give it her royal assent; and then adjourned the parliament to the 16th of January.

A. D. 1838.—For some time past there had been symptoms of discontent in Lower Canada, fomented by the old French party, which at length broke out into the appearance of a civil war. To check an evil so pregnant with mischief, it was deemed advisable that no ordinary person should be sent out to that important colony. Accordingly, it was notified in the London Gazette, Jan. 16, that the earl of Durham, G.C.B., was appointed governor-general of 'all her majesty's provinces within and adjacent to the continent of North America, and her majesty's high commissioner for the adjustment of certain important affairs affecting the provinces of Lower and Upper Canada.' His lordship did not arrive in Canada till nearly the end of May. Actual contests had taken place between considerable parties of the insurgents and the troops under lieutenant-col. Wetherall, who had succeeded in driving them from all the villages on the line of the river Richelieu. At length on the 13th of December, sir John Colborne himself marched from Montreal to attack the chief post of the rebels at the Grand Brule. On the following day an engagement took place in the churchyard of St. Eustache, when the loyalist army proved once more victorious, 80 of the enemy having been killed, and 120 taken prisoners. Dr. J. O. Chenier, their leader, was slain; and the town was more than half burnt down. On the 15th, on sir J. Colborne's approach to the town of St. Benoit, a great portion of the inhabitants came out bearing a white flag and begging for mercy; but in consequence of the great disloyalty of the place, and the fact of the principal leaders having been permitted to escape, some of their houses were fired as an example. Dr. Wolfred Nelson, one of the rebel leaders, having been nine days concealed in the woods, was brought in prisoner to Montreal. In the Upper Province, a body of rebels, which occupied a position about three miles from Toronto, threatening that city, were successfully attacked and dispersed on the 7th of December by sir Francis Bond Head, at the head of the armed citizens, with such reinforcements as had spontaneously joined them from the country. The rebels had, however, established a camp on Navy island on the Niagara river; and many citizens of the United States were implicated in the insurrectionary movements there and elsewhere on the frontier

On the 3rd of March a sharp engagement took place between her majesty's troops and the insurgents, in which the latter were totally defeated at Point Pele island, near the western boundary of the British possessions. This island had been occupied by about 500 men, well armed and equipped; when col. Maitland, in order to dispossess them, marched from Amherstburgh with a few companies of the 32nd and 83rd regiments, two six-pounders, and some volunteer cavalry. The action that followed assumed the character of bush-fighting—the island, which is about seven miles long, being covered with thicket, and the rebels outnumbering the troops in the proportion of nearly two to one. Ultimately, however, they were driven to flight; leaving among the dead, colonel Bradley, the commander-in-chief; major Howdley; and captains Van Rensellaer and M'Keon; besides a great many wounded and other prisoners. In this instance nearly all the killed and wounded were citizens of the United States; and the arms that were found were all new, and marked as the property of the United States. The insurgents being thus foiled in their daring attempts, it is not necessary, for the present, for us to dwell further on Canadian affairs, than to observe that some of the most active ringleaders were executed, and others transported to the island of Bermuda.

In narrating the national domestic occurrences of this year, we have to commence with one which, like the late conflagration of the houses of parliament, filled the inhabitants of the metropolis with great and well-founded alarm. Soon after ten o'clock on the evening of the 10th of January a fire broke out in the Royal Exchange. The firemen with the engines were promptly on the spot, but owing to an intense frost, great delay was occasioned before their services became effective. It was remarked by those present, that at twelve o'clock, when the flames had just reached the north-west angle of the building, the chimes struck up, as usual, the old tune 'There's nae luck about the house,' and continued for about five minutes. The effect was extraordinary; for although the fire was violently raging, and discordant sounds arose in every quarter, the tune was distinctly heard.

For months nothing was talked of but the approaching coronation of Queen Victoria. It was expected to be a splendid spectacle, and so indeed it proved; but the

walking procession of all the estates of the realm, and the banquet in Westminster-hall, with all the feudal services attendant thereon (which distinguished the gorgeous ceremony of George IV. from that of William), were to be wholly dispensed with; it having been discovered that 'the cost spoiled the relish;' but in order to make it more stately than the last, the exterior cavalcade was to be increased in splendour and numbers. The 28th of June was the day appointed for the celebration of this august ceremony, and as the procession was to pass through the principal streets, there was scarcely a house or a vacant spot along the whole line from Hyde Park-corner, through Piccadilly, St. James's-street, Pall Mall, Whitehall, and Parliament-street, to the Abbey, that was unoccupied with galleries or scaffolding.

The coronation festivities gave a great impetus to trade in the metropolis; there being, in addition to the numerous visitors from all parts of the United Kingdom, a very considerable number of distinguished foreigners, independent of the gentlemen attached to the different embassies. No one, however, attracted so much notice or received such marked attention as marshal Soult, ambassador extraordinary from the French court.

A new coinage in gold, silver, and copper was now issued. The gold consisted of five-pound pieces, double sovereigns, sovereigns, and half-sovereigns; the silver and copper comprised all the usual current coin of those metals; but in none of them was there either the originality or taste displayed that was expected.

A.D. 1839.—Canada again demands our notice. Lord Durham had been sent out with extraordinary powers to meet the exigency of affairs in that colony. It was now admitted that he had exceeded the scope of those powers, by deciding on the guilt of accused men, without trial, and by banishing and imprisoning them; but the ministers thought it their duty to acquiesce in passing a bill, which, while it recited the illegality of the ordinance issued by his lordship, should indemnify those who had advised or acted under it, on the score of their presumed good intentions. The ordinance set forth that 'Woolfred Nelson, R. S. M. Bouchette, and others, now in Montreal gaol, having acknowledged their treasons and submitted themselves to the will and pleasure of her majesty, shall be transported to the island of Bermuda, not to return on pain of death; and the same penalty is to be incurred by Papineau, and others who have absconded, if found at large in the province.' Government had intended merely to substitute a temporary legislative power during the suspension of, and in substitution for, the ordinary legislature: and as the ordinary legislature would not have had power to pass such an ordinance, it was argued that neither could this power belong to the substituted authority.

The passing of the indemnity act made a great sensation as soon as it was known in Canada; and lord Durham, acutely feeling that his implied condemnation was contained in it, declared his intention to resign and return immediately to England; inasmuch as he was now deprived of the ability to do the good which he had hoped to accomplish.

Meanwhile, the Canadas again became the scene of rebellious war and piratical invasion. The rebels occupied Beauharnois and Acadie, near the confluence of the Richelieu and the St. Lawrence, establishing their headquarters at Napierville; and their forces mustered, at one time, to the number of 8,000 men, generally well armed. Several actions took place; and sir John Colborne, who had proclaimed martial law, concentrated his troops at Napierville and Chateauquay, and executed a severe vengeance upon the rebels whom he found there, burning the houses of the disaffected through the whole district of Acadie. But it was a part of the plan of the traitors and their republican confederates to distract the attention of the British commander and to divide the military force, by invading Upper Canada; and at the moment sir John Colborne was putting the last hand to the suppression of the rebellion in Beauharnois and Acadie, 800 republican filibusters embarked in two schooners at Ogdenburgh, fully armed, and provided with six or eight pieces of artillery, to attack the town of Prescott, on the opposite side of the river. By the aid of two United States steamers, they effected a landing a mile or two below the town, where they established themselves in a windmill and some stone buildings, and repelled the first attempt made to dislodge them, killing and wounding forty-five of their assailants, among whom were five officers; but on colonel Dundas arriving with a reinforcement of regular troops, with three pieces of artillery, they surrendered at discretion. Some other skirmishes subsequently took place, chiefly between American desperadoes who invaded the British territory and the queen's troops; but the former were severely punished for their temerity. The conduct of sir John Colborne elicited the praise of all parties at home; and he was appointed governor-general of Canada, with all the powers which had been vested in the earl of Durham.

The adjustment of a boundary line between Maine and New Brunswick had been a subject of dispute from the time the independence of the States was acknowledged in 1783. Though the tract in dispute was of no value to either claimant generally as likely to become profitable under cultivation, yet some part of it was found necessary to Great Britain as a means of communication between New Brunswick and the Canadas, and thus through all the British colonies. Great Britain had, moreover, since 1783, remained in *de facto* possession of the desert, as far as a desert can be said to be occupied. At length, however, the state of Maine invaded this debateable land, and several conflicts took place, which for a time seemed likely to involve Great Britain and America into general war. The colonists showed great

alacrity and determination in defending their right to the disputed territory; and it was eventually agreed that both parties were to continue in possession of the parts occupied by them respectively at the commencement of the dispute, until the federal government and Great Britain should come to a definitive arrangement.

The proceedings of parliament had lately been watched with more than ordinary interest, the state of parties being too nicely balanced to insure ministerial majorities on questions affecting certain commercial interests. On the 9th of April leave was given to bring in a bill, on the motion of Mr. Labouchere, to suspend the executive constitution and to make provisions for the temporary government of Jamaica. It appeared that, in consequence of a dispute between the governor of that island and the house of assembly, no public business could be proceeded with; and it was proposed by this bill to vest the government in the governor and a council only—to be continued for five years. When, in the following month, the order of the day for going into committee on the Jamaica bill was moved, it was opposed by sir R. Peel, in a long and elaborate speech; in which he exposed the arbitrary provisions of the bill, the enormous power it would confer on the governor and commissioners, and the impossibility of imposing an effectual check on the abuse of power exercised at a distance of three thousand miles. In support of the view he had taken, sir Robert alluded to the mode of treating refractory colonies, formerly suggested by Mr. Canning; who had declared that 'nothing short of absolute and demonstrable necessity should induce him to moot the awful question of the transcendental power of parliament over every dependency of the British crown: for that transcendental power was an arcanum of empire which ought to be kept back within the penetralia of the constitution.' After an adjourned debate, May the 6th, the house divided, when there appeared for going into committee 294, against it 289, the majority for ministers being only five. The next day lord John Russell and lord Melbourne stated, that in consequence of this vote, the ministry had come to the resolution to resign. At the end of a week they were reinstated in their places, and one of the first acts of the reinstated ministry was to form a legislative union of the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, and to continue for two years the powers vested in the governor and special council of Lower Canada by the act previously passed to that effect. Another measure was also carried, after much opposition, namely, to grant the sum of 30,000*l.* for the purposes of public education. And a third, still more interesting to the great body of the public, was an immense reduction in the charge for postage, by the substitution of one uniform rate by weight, instead of increased charges according to the number of pieces of paper contained under one cover. Thus, whatever be the distance, the postage charge for a letter weighing only half an ounce is one penny; 2*d.* if an ounce; 4*d.* if two ounces, and so on.

The fierce and cruel contest that had raged for the last three years in the Spanish peninsula, between the Carlists and Christinos, was now virtually terminated by the active and soldier-like conduct of Espartero, the queen's general and chief. The British legion had some time since withdrawn, the queen's party daily gained ground, and Don Carlos had found it necessary to seek refuge in France.

In narrating the affairs of Britain, it will be observed that we are necessarily led, from time to time, to advert to the events which take place in British colonies and possessions, wherever situate and however distant. For a considerable time past the government of India had been adopting very active measures, in consequence of the shah of Persia, who was raised to the throne mainly by British assistance, being supposed to be acting under Russian influence, to the prejudice of this country. Stimulated by Russia, as it appeared, the Persian undertook an expedition to Herat; an important place, to which a small principality is attached, in the territory of Affghanistan. Lord Auckland, the governor-general of India, thereupon determined to send an army of 30,000 men towards Candahar, Caboul, and Herat; and this force was to be joined by about 45,000 men, furnished by Runjeet Singh, the sovereign of the Punjaub. In the meantime it appeared that the Persians had suffered great loss at Herat. It was soon afterwards rumoured that the chiefs of Affghanistan were prepared to meet a much stronger force than the Anglo-Indian government, though reinforced by Runjeet Singh, could bring into the field, and that they would listen to no terms of accommodation. The next accounts, however, informed us that the British had entered Candahar, that the difficulties experienced with respect to provisions had vanished, and that the troops were received with open arms. Shah Soojah was crowned with acclamation; and the army proceeded forthwith to Caboul.

On the 21st of September the fort of Joudpore, in Rajpootana, surrendered to the British; and that of Kurnaul, in the Deccan, on the 6th of October. The camp of the rajah was attacked by general Willshire, which ended in the total rout of the enemy. A very great quantity of military stores were found in Kurnaul, and treasure amounting to nearly 1,000,000*l.* sterling. In the camp an immense quantity of jewels was captured, besides 150,000*l.* in specie. The shah of Persia consented to acknowledge Shah Soojah as king of Affghanistan; but Dost Mahomed, the deposed prince, was still at large, and there was no doubt that a widely-ramified conspiracy existed among the native chiefs to rise against the British on the first favourable opportunity.

The country had been much disturbed during the year by large and tumultuous assemblages of the people, of a revolutionary character, under the name of *chartists*; and many excesses were committed by them in the large manufacturing towns of

Manchester, Bolton, Birmingham, Stockport, &c. that required the strong arm of the law to curb. This was referred to in her majesty's speech, at the close of the session of parliament, as the first attempts at insubordination, which happily had been checked by the fearless administration of the law.

But present appearances were not to be trusted. The insurrectionary movements and outrages in the manufacturing districts of the north had for a time, it is true, been quelled; and ministers boasted that chartism had received its death-blow, or was now but an idle word. But though the flames of sedition were not seen to blaze as before, the embers were still burning, and a mass of inflammable materials was spread abroad, ready to become ignited in a moment. That the friends of order might be lulled into security, there had been none of those public meetings lately, nor anything to lead the superficial observer to believe but that with the breaking up of the 'convention,' the charter cause was dead. Secret organisation was, however, all the time going on, and a general rising was in contemplation. It was arranged that their active operations should commence in the remote and unguarded districts of South Wales, where the emissaries 'of the charter' had obtained considerable influence; and while the country was in a state of alarm and confusion at what was going on in that quarter, other branches of the widespread conspiracy were to assemble and make a display of physical force sufficient to overawe the local authorities and astound the government. Thus prepared, on the 2nd of November the men began their march from the 'hills' in the neighbourhood of Merthyr, &c., armed with muskets, pikes, swords, crowbars, pickaxes, and whatever other implements they could muster, and proceeded in the direction of Newport in Monmouthshire, marching through the villages and compelling many to join them, till the whole number amounted to nearly 20,000 men. It was their intention to enter Newport in the dead of night, and thus obtain possession of it unresisted; but the rain had fallen in torrents, which greatly impeded their progress, and thus happily that part of the design was frustrated. At about four o'clock in the morning of the 4th, the main body of this lawless mob halted at Tredegar-park, the seat of sir Charles Morgan. The magistrates of Newport having received private information of the intentions of the rioters, were at this time assembled at the Westgate Arms, where a small party of the 45th foot was stationed one company of that regiment being all the military force at that time in the town.

The several gatherings of the rioters were under the guidance of certain leaders, the general-in-chief of whom was John Frost, a man respectably situated in life as a tradesman, and who for his zealous advocacy of the 'liberal' measures of the day (for he was a noted patriot of the new school had found favour in the eyes of lord John Russell, who flattered and rewarded him with a magisterial appointment. His son, a mere boy of sixteen, was also the leader of a party. One Jones, a watchmaker at Pontypool, was another of the redoubtable chartist generals, and Zephaniah Williams was a fourth. Such was the state of terrorism inspired by the chartist bands, that many of the peaceable inhabitants of Tredegar, Blackwood, &c. fled from their homes on Sunday, and passed the night in the woods, lest the chartists should kill them. At length they reached Newport, and proceeded at once to the rendezvous of the magistrates at the Westgate Arms, which they assailed and endeavoured to take possession of; but by the excellent arrangement of Mr. T. Phillips, the mayor, and the steady resolution of the soldiers, who were planted in an upper room of the inn, from which they could take good aim, the rioters were successfully resisted, several were killed or wounded, others were made prisoners, and the multitude, with their cowardly instigators, fled from the scene of danger with all imaginable speed.

The conduct of the mayor and his brother magistrates on this trying occasion was above all praise; and it was a source of general regret throughout the country that, in the performance of his perilous duty, the worthy mayor was severely wounded by two musket-balls. Fortunately, neither wound proved dangerous, and he subsequently received the honour of knighthood for his zeal, skill, and bravery. The whole of the military stationed at the Westgate Arms amounted to only one officer (lieutenant Gray), two non-commissioned officers, and twenty-eight privates!

On the 10th of December a special commission was held at Monmouth for the trial of the chartist rebels at Newport, before lord-chief-justice Tindal and the judges Park and Williams; the chief justice opening the proceedings with a luminous and eloquent charge to the grand jury. Accordingly on the 12th, true bills were returned against John Frost, Charles Waters, James Aust, William Jones, John Lovell, Zephaniah Williams, Jenkin Morgan, Solomon Britton, Edmond Edmonds, Richard Benfield, John Rees, David Jones, and George Terner (otherwise Coles) for high treason In order to comply with the forms customary in trials for high treason, the court was then adjourned to Dec. 31, when John Frost was put to the bar. The first day was occupied in challenging the jury; the next day the attorney-general addressed the court and jury on the part of the crown, and the prisoner's counsel objected to the calling of the witnesses, in consequence of the list of them not having been given to the prisoner, Frost, agreeably to the terms of the statute; on the third day the evidence was entered into; and on the eighth day, after the most patient attention of the court and jury, a verdict of guilty was recorded against Frost, with a strong recommendation to mercy. The trials of Zephaniah Williams, and William Jones, each occupied four days, with a like verdict and recommendation. Walters, Morgan, Rees, Benfield, and Lovell pleaded guilty, and

received sentence of death, the court intimating that they would be transported for life. Four were discharged; two forfeited their bail; and nine, having pleaded guilty to charges of conspiracy and riot, were sentenced to terms of imprisonment not exceeding one year. Frost and the other ringleaders on whom sentence of death had been passed, were finally transported for life.

The spirit of chartism, however, though repressed, was not wholly subdued. Sunday, the 12th of January, had been fixed on for further outbreaks in various parts of the country; but by the precautionary measures of the government and the police, their concerted designs were frustrated. Information was afterwards received that the chartists intended to fire and pillage the town of Sheffield on Sunday morning at two o'clock. They began to assemble, but the troops and constables, being on the alert, succeeded in taking seven or eight of the ringleaders, but not before several persons were severely wounded, three of whom were policemen. An immense quantity of fire-arms of all descriptions, ball-cartridges, iron-bullets, hand-grenades, fire-balls, daggers, pikes, and swords were found, together with a great quantity of crowfeet for disabling horses. The ringleaders were committed to York castle, and at the ensuing spring assizes were tried, found guilty, and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment of one, two, and three years. At the same time four of the Bradford chartists were sentenced to three years' imprisonment, and three from Barnsley to the term of two years. At the same assizes, Feargus O'Connor was convicted of having published, in the *Northern Star* newspaper, of which he was the editor and proprietor, certain seditious libels: and the noted demagogue orators, Vincent and Edwards, who were at the time undergoing a former sentence in prison, were convicted at Monmouth of a conspiracy to effect great changes in the government by illegal means, &c., and were severally sentenced to a further imprisonment of 12 and 14 months. In various other places, also—London among the rest—chartist conspirators were tried and punished for their misdeeds.

A.D. 1840.—On the 16th of January the queen met her parliament, and commenced her speech with the following plain and unaffected sentence:—'My lords and gentlemen,—Since you were last assembled I have declared my intention of allying myself in marriage with the Prince Albert of Saxe Coburg and Gotha. I humbly implore that the divine blessing may prosper this union, and render it conducive to the interests of my people, as well as to my own domestic happiness.'

There could be no reasonable ground for cavilling at her majesty's choice. A naturalisation bill for his royal highness was immediately passed; and lord John Russell moved a resolution authorising her majesty to grant 50,000*l.* a year to the prince for his life. This was generally thought to be more than sufficient; and Mr. Hume moved as an amendment, that the grant be 21,000*l.*; however, on a division there was a majority of 267 against the amendment. Upon this, colonel Sibthorp moved a second amendment, substituting 30,000*l.*, which was supported by Mr. Goulburn, sir J. Graham, and sir R. Peel, who considered 30,000*l.* a just and liberal allowance for the joint lives of the queen and the prince, and for the prince's possible survivorship, should there be no issue; if an heir should be born, then the 30,000*l.* might properly be advanced to 50,000*l.*; and, should there be a numerous issue, it would be reasonable to make a still further increase, such as would befit the father of a large family of royal children. Those events would justify the augmentations, by giving a guarantee for the prince's permanent residence in, and attachment to, this country. He showed the inapplicability of the precedents in the cases of queens-consort, and animadverted upon the instance of prince Leopold's 50,000*l.*; as the whole country had cried out that that allowance was excessive; and on the house again dividing, the numbers were, for the amendment 262, for the motion 158; majority against ministers 104.

On the 6th of the ensuing month (February) the bridegroom elect, conducted by viscount Torrington, and accompanied by the duke his father, and his elder brother, arrived at Dover; and on the 10th, the marriage of the queen's most excellent majesty with field-marshal his royal highness Francis Albert Augustus Charles Emanuel, duke of Saxe, prince of Saxe Cobourg and Gotha, K.G., was solemnised at the chapel royal, St. James's.

For many months past there had been an interruption to those relations of amity and commerce which for a long period had been maintained between this country and China. It originated in the determination on the part of the Chinese government to put an end to the importation of opium into the 'celestial empire,' and to the opposition made to that decree by the British merchants engaged in that traffic. Early in the preceding year a large quantity of opium, belonging to British merchants, was given up, on the requisition of Mr. Elliot, the queen's representative at Canton, to be destroyed by the Chinese authorities. The quantity seized was upwards of twenty thousand chests, which was supposed to be worth two millions; and Mr. Elliot pledged the faith of the government he represented that the merchants should receive compensation.

The English government was naturally desirous to keep on good terms with a country from which so many commercial advantages had been derived; but the Chinese authorities daily grew more arrogant and unreasonable, and several outrages against the English were committed. At length, in an affray between some seamen of the Volage and the Chinese, one of the latter was killed; and when captain Elliot refused to deliver up the homicide to commissioner Lin, the most severe and arbitrary measures were immediately taken to expel all the British inhabitants from Macao. This hostile conduct was quickly followed by an outrage of a still more so

rious character. The Black Joke, having on board one passenger, a Mr. Moss, and six Lascars, was obliged to anchor in the Lantaod passage, to wait for the tide. Here she was surrounded by three mandarin boats, by whose crews she was boarded; five of the Lascars butchered,—and Mr. Moss shockingly mutilated. These proceedings gave rise to further measures of hostility. On the 4th Sept. captain Elliot came from Hong Kong to Macao in his cutter, in company with the schooner Pearl, to obtain provisions for the fleet. The mandarins, however, on board the war-junks opposed their embarkation, when captain Elliot intimated that if in half an hour the provisions were not allowed to pass, he would open a fire upon them. The half hour passed, and the gun was fired. Three war junks then endeavoured to put to sea, but were compelled, by a well-directed fire of the cutter and the Pearl, to seek shelter under the walls of Coloon fort. About six o'clock the Volage frigate hove in sight, and the boat of captain Douglas, with twenty-four British seamen, attempted to board the junk, but without success. The boat's crew then opened a fire of musketry, by which a mandarin and four Chinese soldiers were killed, and seven wounded. The result, however, was, that the provisions were not obtained, and that the Chinese junks escaped; while, instead of any approach to a better understanding between the two countries, it was regarded rather as the commencement of a war; which, indeed, the next news from China confirmed.

On the appearance of another British ship, the Thomas Coutts, at Whampoa, commissioner Lin renewed his demand for the surrender of the murderer of the Chinese, and issued an edict commanding all the British ships to enter the port of Canton and sign the opium bond, or to depart from the coast immediately. In case of non-compliance with either of these conditions, within three days, the commissioner declared he would destroy the entire British fleet. On the publication of this edict captain Elliot demanded an explanation from the Chinese admiral Kawn, who at first pretended to enter into a negotiation, but immediately afterwards ordered out twenty-nine war-junks, evidently intending to surround the British ships. The attempt, however, ended in five of the junks being sunk, and another blown up, each with from 150 to 200 men on board; and on the rest making off, captain Elliot ordered the firing to cease.

A decree was now issued by the emperor prohibiting the importation of all British goods, and the trade with China was consequently at an end; but the American ships arrived and departed as usual. In the meantime preparations on a large scale were making in India to collect and send off a large force to China, so as to bring this most important quarrel to an issue. Several men of war and corvettes, from England and various foreign stations, were also got ready, and the command given to admiral Elliot, to give the expedition all the assistance and cooperation possible. The object of these preparations, as was stated by lord John Russell in the house of commons, was, in the first place, to obtain reparation for the insults and injuries offered to her majesty's subjects by the Chinese government; in the second place, to obtain for the merchants trading with China an indemnification for the loss of their property incurred by threats of violence offered by persons under the direction of the Chinese government; and, in the last place, to obtain a certain security that persons and property, in future trading with China, shall be protected from insult or injury, and that their trade and commerce be maintained on a proper footing. We shall hereafter have occasion to show the progress of the armament destined for China and its results. The account we have here given was deemed necessary in order to show the origin of the dispute. We return now to matters of domestic interest.

A great sensation was caused in the public mind by an attempt to assassinate the queen. On the 10th of June, as her majesty was starting for an evening drive, up Constitution-hill, in a low open carriage, accompanied by prince Albert, a young man deliberately fired two pistols at her, but happily without effect. His name proved to be Edward Oxford, a young man about eighteen years of age. He was instantly seized, and sent to Newgate on a charge of high treason; but as it appeared on his trial (which lasted two days) that there were grounds for attributing the act to insanity, and as there was no positive proof that the pistols were loaded, the jury returned a verdict of 'guilty but that at the time he committed the act he was insane.' The consequence was, that he became an inmate of Bethlem for life, as was the case with Hatfield, who forty years before fired off a pistol at George III. in Drury-lane theatre.

It is some time since we have had occasion to notice anything relative to French affairs; but an event transpired in August which we cannot well omit. On the 6th of that month Louis Napoleon (son of the late king of Holland, and heir male of the Buonaparte family) made an absurd attempt to effect a hostile descent upon the coast of France. He embarked from London in the Edinburgh Castle steamer, which he had hired from the Commercial Steam Navigation Company. They landed at a small port about two leagues from Boulogne, to which town they immediately marched. But the soldiers refused to rally under his standard, and within three hours the prince and his followers were safely lodged in the castle. From Boulogne he was removed to the castle of Ham, and placed in the rooms once occupied by prince Polignac. On being tried and found guilty, Louis Napoleon was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment in a fortress; count Montholon, twenty years' detention; Parquin and Lombard, the same period; others were sentenced to shorter periods; Aldenize was transported for life; and some were acquitted.

The insane attempt to excite a revolu

tionary movement in France, above described, probably owed its origin to the very 'liberal' permission granted by Louis Philippe, and the no less liberal acquiescence of the English ministers, to allow the ashes of the emperor Napoleon to be removed from St. Helena in order that they might find their last resting-place in France. This had undoubtedly raised the hopes of many zealous Buonapartists, who thought that the fervour of the populace was likely to display itself in a violent *émeute*, which the troops would be more ready to favour than to quell. A grant of a million of francs had been made to defray the expenses of the expedition to St. Helena (which was to be under the command of prince de Joinville), the funeral ceremony, and the erection of a tomb in the church of the Invalides; so that, in the language of the French minister of the interior, 'his tomb, like his glory, should belong to his country!' The prince arrived at Cherbourg, with his 'precious charge,' on the 30th of November; and on the 15th of December Napoleon's remains were honoured by a splendid funeral procession, the king and royal family being present at the ceremony, with 60,000 national guards in attendance, and an assemblage of 500,000 persons.

We conclude this year's occurrences with the accouchement of her majesty queen Victoria, who on the 21st of November gave birth at Buckingham-palace to a princess, her first-born child; and on the 10th of February the infant princess royal was christened Victoria Adelaide Mary Louisa.

A. D. 1841.—During the past year the attention of the great European powers had been drawn to the condition of Syria and Turkey; and an alliance was entered into between England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia to put an end to the dispute which existed between the sultan and Mehemet Ali, the warlike pacha of Egypt. For this purpose it was deemed expedient to despatch a fleet to the Mediterranean; and on the 14th of August commodore Napier summoned the Egyptian authorities to evacuate Syria. In reply to this summons Mehemet Ali declared that on the first appearance of hostility in the powers of Europe, the pacha Ibrahim would be commanded to march on Constantinople. Soon afterwards hostilities commenced, and the town of Beyrout was bombarded on the 11th of September, and completely destroyed by the allies in two hours. The war in Syria was now carried on with great activity. The troops of Ibrahim sustained a signal defeat early in October, with the loss of 7,000 in killed, wounded, and prisoners; in addition to which, commodore Napier, with a comparatively trifling number of marines and Turkish troops, succeeded in expelling the Egyptians from nearly the whole of Lebanon, captured about 5,000 prisoners, with artillery and stores, and effected the disorganisation of an army of 20,000 men. In short, more brilliant results with such limited means have rarely, if ever, been known, particularly when it is considered under what novel circumstances they were accomplished. But the great exploit remains to be related.

St. Jean d'Acre was taken by the allies on the 3rd of November. Colonel Smith, who commanded the forces in Syria, directed Omar Bey, with 2,000 Turks, to advance on Tyre, and occupy the passes to the northward of Acre; in the meantime admiral Stopford sailed from Beyrout roads, having on board 3,000 Turks, and detachments of English artillery and sappers. The forces and fleet arrived off Acre at the same hour. At 2 o'clock P.M. a tremendous cannonade took place, which was maintained without intermission for some hours; the steamers lying outside throwing their shells with astonishing rapidity over the ships into the fortification. During the bombardment the arsenal and magazine blew up, annihilating upwards of 1,200 of the enemy, forming two entire regiments, who were drawn up on the ramparts. A sensation was felt on board the ships similar to that of an earthquake. Every living creature within the area of 60,000 square yards ceased to exist. At two o'clock on the following morning a boat arrived from Acre to announce that the remainder of the garrison were leaving the place; and as soon as the sun rose, the British, Austrian, and Turkish flags were seen waving on the citadel. The town was found to be one mass of ruins—the batteries and houses riddled all over—the killed and wounded lying about in all directions. The slain were estimated at 2,500 men, and the prisoners amounted to upwards of 3,000. The Turkish troops were landed to garrison Acre, where a vast quantity of military stores was found; besides an excellent park of artillery of 200 guns, and a large sum in specie.

As the foregoing successes led to the termination of the war in Syria, and its evacuation by Ibrahim Pacha, it is unnecessary to enter into operations of a minor character. Mehemet Ali eventually submitted to all the conditions which were offered by the sultan, and sanctioned by the representatives of Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia.—1. The hereditary possession of Egypt is confirmed to Mehemet Ali, and his descendants *in a direct line*.—2. Mehemet Ali will be allowed to nominate his own officers up to the rank of a colonel. The viceroy can only confer the title of pacha with the consent of the sultan.—3. The annual contribution is fixed at 80,000 purses, or 40,000,000 of piastres, or 400,000*l*.—4. The viceroy will not be allowed to build a ship of war without the permission of the sultan.—5. The laws and regulations of the empire are to be observed in Egypt, with such changes as the peculiarity of the Egyptian people may render necessary, but which changes must receive the sanction of the Porte.

At the commencement of the year news was brought from China that the differences which had existed were in a fair train of settlement, and that the war might be considered as at an end. Hostilities had, however, recommenced, in consequence of

Keshen, the imperial commissioner, having delayed to bring to a conclusion the negotiations entered into with captain Elliot. Preparations were accordingly made for attacking the outports of the Bogue forts, on the Bocca Tigris. Having obtained possession, the steamers were sent to destroy the war junks in Anson's bay; but the shallowness of the water admitted only of the approach of the Nemesis, towing ten or twelve boats. The junks endeavoured to escape, but a rocket blew up a powder magazine of one of them, and eighteen more which were set on fire by the English boats' crews also successively blew up. At length a flag of truce was despatched by the Chinese commander, and hostilities ceased. On the 20th of January captain Elliot announced to her majesty's servants in China that the following arrangements had been made:—1. The cession of the island and harbour of Hong Kong to the British crown. 2. An indemnity to the British government of 6,000,000 dollars, 1,000,000 dollars payable at once, and the remainder in equal annual instalments, ending in 1846. 3. Direct official intercourse between the two countries upon an equal footing. 4. The trade of the port of Canton to be opened within ten days after the Chinese new year.

Thus far all appeared as it should be; but great doubts of the sincerity of Keshen, the Chinese commissioner, were felt both here and at Canton. Accordingly the Nemesis steamer was sent up the river to reconnoitre, and on nearing the Bogue forts (30 in number), it was discovered that preparations for defence had been made; batteries and field-works had been thrown up along the shore, and upon the islands in the middle of the river; a barrier was in course of being constructed across the channel, and there were large bodies of troops assembled from the interior. Keshen, finding his duplicity discovered, communicated that further negotiations would be declined. The emperor, it appeared, had issued edicts repudiating the treaty, and denouncing the English barbarians, 'who were like dogs and sheep in their dispositions.' That in sleeping or eating he found no quiet, and he therefore ordered 8,000 of his best troops to defend Canton, and to recover the places on the coast; for it was absolutely necessary (said the emperor) 'that the rebellious foreigners must give up their heads, which, with the prisoners, were to be sent to Pekin in cages, to undergo the last penalty of the law.' He also offered 50,000 dollars for the apprehension of Elliot, Morison, or Bermer alive, or 30,000 dollars for either of their heads. In addition, 5,000 dollars for an officer's head, 500 for an Englishman alive, 300 for a head, and 100 for a Sepoy alive. The emperor also delivered Keshen in irons over to the board of punishment at Pekin, and divested the admiral Kwan Teenpei of his button. Before the hostile edicts had appeared, captain Elliot, confiding in the good faith of Keshen, had sent orders to general Burrel to restore the island of Chusan (which we had taken many months before) to the Chinese, and to return with the Bengal volunteers to Calcutta. This order had been promptly obeyed; Chusan having been evacuated Feb. 29.

Capt. Elliot set sail on Feb. 20, up the Canton river. On the 24th he destroyed a masked field-work, disabling eighty cannon there mounted. On the 25th and 26th he took three adjoining Bogue forts, without losing a man, killing about 250 Chinese, and taking 1,300 prisoners. The subsequent operations of the squadron presented one unbroken succession of brilliant achievements; until on the 28th of March, Canton, the second city in the Chinese empire, containing a million of souls, was placed at the mercy of the British troops. Every possible means of defence had been used by the Chinese commanders; but nothing could withstand the intrepidity of the British. In consequence of the Chinese firing on a flag of truce, the forts and defences of Canton were speedily taken, the flotilla burnt or sunk, and the union jack hoisted on the walls of the British factory. But capt. Elliot seemed doomed to be made the sport of Chinese duplicity. He no sooner issued a circular to the English and foreign merchants,—announcing that a suspension of hostilities had been agreed on between the Chinese commissioner Yang and himself, and that the trade was open at Canton, and would be duly respected,—than the emperor issued another proclamation, ordering all communication with 'the detestable brood of English' to be cut off. Several other imperial proclamations in a more furious style followed: the last of which thus concludes—'If the whole number of them (the English) be not effectually destroyed, how shall I, the emperor, be able to answer to the gods of the heaven and the earth, and cherish the hopes of our people?' Capt. Elliot, however, whose great object hitherto appears to have been to secure the annual export of tea, had succeeded in having 11,000,000 lbs. shipped before the fulminating edicts of the emperor took effect.

In October, despatches of great importance were received from general sir Hugh Gough, commanding the land forces, and captain sir H. F. Senhouse, the senior naval officer of the fleet, detailing a series of brilliant operations against Canton, whither they had proceeded by the direction of capt. Elliot. On the 20th of May the contest began by the Chinese firing on the British ships and letting loose some fireships among them, which, however, did no damage. Next morning the fort of Shaming was silenced, and a fleet of about forty junks burnt. On the 24th, a favourable landing-place having been discovered, the right column of the 26th regiment, under major Pratt, was convoyed by the Atalanta to act on the south of the city; while the Nemesis towed the left column up to Tsinghae. After some sharp fighting, the Canton governor yielded, and the troops and ships were withdrawn, on condition of the three commissioners and all the troops

under them leaving Canton and its vicinity, and 6,000,000 of dollars to be paid within a week, the first million before evening that day: if the whole was not paid before the end of the week, the ransom was to be raised to 7,000,000; if not before the end of fourteen days, to 8,000,000; and if not before twenty days, to 9,000,000 dollars. After three days, the conditions having been fulfilled, the troops left for Hong Kong, having had 13 men killed and 97 wounded. Sir H. F. Senhouse died on board the Blenheim from a fever brought on by excessive fatigue. Notwithstanding this defeat, the Chinese were still determined to resist, and Yeh Shan had reported to the emperor, his uncle, that when he had induced the barbarians to withdraw, he would repair all the forts again. The emperor, on his part, declared that, as a last resort, he would put himself at the head of his army, and march to India and England, and tear up the English root and branch!

Sir Henry Pottinger, the new plenipotentiary, and rear-admiral Parker, the new naval commander-in-chief, arrived at Macao on the 9th of August. A notification of sir Henry's presence and powers was sent to Canton immediately on his arrival, accompanied by a letter forwarded to the emperor at Pekin, the answer to which was required to be sent to a northern station.

The fleet, consisting of nine ships of war, four armed steamers, and twenty-two transports, sailed for the island and fortified city of Amoy on the 21st of August.

This island is situated in a fine gulf in the province of Fokein, the great tea district of China, opposite the island of Formosa, and about 350 miles north-east of the gulf of Canton, 500 miles south of Chusan, and 1,300 miles from Pekin. It was fortified by very strong defences, of granite rocks faced with mud, and mounted with no less than 500 pieces of cannon. On the 26th, after a brief parley with a mandarin, the city was bombarded for two hours. Sir Hugh Gough, with the 18th regiment, then landed, and seized one end of the long battery; whilst the 26th regiment, with the sailors and marines, carried the strong batteries on the island of Koolangsee, just in front of Amoy. The Chinese made an animated defence for four hours, and then fled from all their fortifications, and also from the city, carrying with them their treasures. The Chinese junks and war-boats were all captured; and the cannon, with immense munitions of war, of course fell into the hands of the English. Not a single man of the British was killed, and only nine were wounded. The next day sir Hugh Gough entered the city at the head of his troops without opposition.

The next despatches from China stated that Chusan had been recaptured on the 1st of October. A more resolute stand than usual was made by the Chinese; but the troops, supported by the fire of the ships, ascended a hill, and escaladed Tinghae, the capital city, from whence the British colours were soon seen flying in every direction. On the 7th the troops attacked the city of Cinhae, on the mainland opposite Chusan, which is enclosed by a wall thirty-seven feet thick, and twenty-two feet high, with an embrasured parapet of four feet high. The ships shelled the citadel and enfiladed the batteries; the seamen and marines then landed, and admiral sir W. Parker, with the true spirit of a British sailor, was among the first to scale the walls. Here was found a great arsenal, a cannon foundry and gun-carriage manufactory, and a great variety of warlike stores.

Several other engagements took place, in all of which the British continued to have a most decided advantage, although it was admitted that the Chinese and Tartar soldiers showed more resolution and a better acquaintance with the art of war than on former occasions. However, as a large reinforcement of troops, with a battering train which had been sent from Calcutta, was shortly expected, sir Henry Pottinger put off the execution of some intended operations on a more extended scale until their arrival.

Home affairs again require our attention. The finances of the country had latterly assumed a most discouraging aspect; and on the chancellor of the exchequer bringing forward his annual budget, he proposed to make up the deficiency of the present year, which he stated to be 2,421,000*l.*, besides the aggregate deficiency of 5,000,000*l.*, mainly by a modification of the duties on sugar and timber, and an alteration of the duties on corn. The opposition, generally, censured the proceedings of ministers; and sir Robert Peel commented severely on the enormous deficiency of 7,500,000*l.* incurred during the past five years, with a revenue, too, which had been throughout improving It appeared that the Melbourne administration was on the wane; and its permanency was put to the test when lord John Russell, in moving that the house should go into a committee of ways and means in order to consider the sugar duties, entered into a defence of the present policy of government. Lord Sandon then moved the amendment of which he had given notice, 'That considering the efforts and sacrifices which parliament and the country have made for the abolition of the slave trade and slavery, with the earnest hope that their exertions and example might lead to the mitigation and final extension of those evils in other countries, this house is not prepared (especially with the present prospects of the supply of sugar from British possessions) to adopt the measure proposed by her majesty's government for the reduction of the duties on foreign sugars.' The debate which hereupon ensued was adjourned from day to day, and lasted for the unprecedented extent of eight nights. When the house divided, on the 18th of May, there appeared for lord Sandon's amendment, 317; against it, 281; majority against ministers, 36.

On the 27th of May sir R. Peel took an opportunity of minutely reviewing the various measures that had been submitted to parliament by ministers, and afterwards

abandoned, and the prejudicial effects on the finances of the country which had accrued from the passing of others. Sir Robert added, that in every former case where the house had indicated that its confidence was withdrawn from the ministry, the ministers had retired. The whole of their conduct betrayed weakness and a servile truckling for popular favour; and the prerogatives of the crown were not safe in their hands. He then moved the following resolution, 'That her majesty's ministers do not sufficiently possess the confidence of the house of commons to enable them to carry through the house measures which they deem of essential importance to the public welfare, and that their continuance in office, under such circumstances, is at variance with the spirit of the constitution.' This motion was carried in a full house (the number of members present being 623), by a majority of *one*. On the 22nd of June her majesty prorogued parliament, 'with a view to its immediate dissolution;' and it was accordingly dissolved by proclamation on the following day.

On the meeting of the new parliament (August the 24th), the strength of the conservative party was striking. The ministers had no measures to propose beyond those on which they had before sustained a defeat; and when an amendment to the address was put to the vote, declaratory of a want of confidence in her majesty's present advisers, it elicited a spirited debate of four nights' continuance, terminating in a majority of 91 against ministers. This result produced, as a matter of course, an immediate change in the ministry. The new cabinet was thus constituted:—Sir R. Peel, first lord of the treasury; duke of Wellington (without office); lord Lyndhurst, lord-chancellor: lord Wharncliffe, president of the council; duke of Buckingham, privy seal; right hon. H. Goulburn, chancellor of the exchequer; sir James Graham, home secretary; earl of Aberdeen, foreign secretary; lord Stanley, colonial secretary; earl of Haddington, first lord of the admiralty; lord Ellenborough, president of the board of control; earl of Ripon president of the board of trade; sir Henry Hardinge, secretary at war; sir Edward Knatchbull, treasurer of the navy and paymaster of the forces. Earl de Grey was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland; and sir Edward Sugden, Irish lord chancellor.

Some ordinary business being disposed of, sir R. Peel proposed to defer till after Christmas the measures he thought necessary to equalise the expenditure and the revenue, and the plans of ministers for meeting the commercial difficulties of the country: and the first session closed on the 7th of October.

On the 30th of October, the inhabitants of London were alarmed by a destructive fire in the Tower, which broke out about half-past ten o'clock at night, and continued to rage with the utmost fury for several hours. It was first discovered in the round or Bowyer tower, and quickly spread to the grand armoury. Notwithstanding the exertions of the firemen and the military, the conflagration continued to spread, and apprehensions were entertained that the jewel tower, with its crowns, sceptres, and other emblems of royalty deposited there, would fall a prey to the flames. Happily, by prompt exertion, they were all taken to the governor's residence; and the gunpowder and other warlike stores in the ordnance office, were also removed. In addition to the armoury and Bowyer tower, three other large buildings were entirely consumed. The grand armoury was 345 feet long, and 60 feet broad. In the Tower floor were kept about forty-three pieces of cannon, made by founders of different periods, besides various other interesting objects, and a large number of chests containing arms in readiness for use. A grand staircase led to the upper floor, which was all one room, and called the small armoury, in which were above 150,000 stand of small arms, new flinted, and ready for immediate service. As that part of the building where the fire originated was heated by flues from stoves, it was the general opinion that the accident was thereby occasioned. The loss sustained, including the expense of rebuilding, was estimated at about 250,000*l*.

On the 9th of November the queen gave birth to a prince at Buckingham-palace. On the 25th of the following January the infant prince of Wales received the name of Albert Edward, the king of Prussia being one of the sponsors.

A.D. 1842.—The year commenced with most disastrous intelligence from India. In consequence of reductions having been made in the tribute paid to the eastern Ghilzie tribes, for keeping open the passes between Caboul and Jellalabad, in Affghanistan, the people rose and took possession of those passes. Gen. sir R. Sale's brigade was therefore directed to reopen the communication. The brigade fought its way to Gundamuck, greatly harassed by the enemy from the high ground, and, after eighteen days' incessant fighting, reached that place, much exhausted; they then moved upon Jellalabad. Meantime an insurrection broke out at Caboul. Sir A. Burnes, his brother lieut. C. Burnes, lieut. Broadfoot, and lieut. Sturt were massacred. The whole city then rose in arms, and universal plunder ensued—whilst another large party attacked the British cantonments, about two miles from the town. These outrages, unfortunately, were but the prelude to others far more frightful. Akhbar Khan, the son of Dost Mahommed, on pretence of making arrangements with sir W. M'Naghten, the British envoy at the court of Shah Soojah, invited him to a conference; he went, accompanied by four officers and a small escort; when the treacherous Affghan, after abusing the British ambassador, drew a pistol and shot him dead on the spot. Capt. Trevor, of the 3rd Bengal cavalry, on rushing to his assistance, was cut down, three other officers were made prisoners, and the mutilated body of the ambassador was then barbarously paraded through the town. It was also stated that some severe fighting had

taken place, but under the greatest disadvantage to the British and native troops, and that the army in Caboul had been almost literally annihilated. A capitulation was then entered into, by which the remainder of the Anglo-Indian army retired from the town, leaving all the sick, wounded, and sixteen ladies, wives of officers, behind. They had not, however, proceeded far before they were assailed from the mountains by an immense force, when the native troops, having fought three days, and wading through deep snow, gave way, and nearly the whole were massacred.

So terrible a disaster had never visited the British arms since India first acknowledged the supremacy of England. A fatal mistake had been committed by the former government, and it was feared that all the energy of the new ministry would be insufficient to maintain that degree of influence over the vast and thickly peopled provinces of India, which was necessary to insure the safety of our possessions. The governor-general, lord Auckland, was recalled; and his place supplied by lord Ellenborough, whose reputation for a correct knowledge of Indian affairs was undisputed. His lordship arrived at Calcutta on Feb. 28; at which time sir Robert Sale was safe at Jellalabad; but he was most critically situated. The garrison, however, maintained their post with great gallantry, and were able to defy the utmost efforts of the Affghans, having in one instance sallied forth and attacked their camp of 6,000 men, and gained a signal victory. At length general Pollock effected a junction with the troops of sir R. Sale, and released them from a siege of 154 days' duration: having previously forced, with very little loss, the dreaded pass of the Khyber, twenty-eight miles in length. General Nott also, who advanced from Candahar to meet general England, who had sustained considerable loss at the pass of Kojuck, encountered a large force of Affghans and completely defeated them. But, on the other hand, colonel Palmer surrendered the celebrated fortress of Ghuznee, on condition that the garrison should be safely conducted to Caboul.

The day of retribution was now at hand. General Nott, at the head of 7,000 men, having left Candahar on the 10th of August, proceeded towards Ghuznee and Caboul; while general England, with the remainder of the troops lately stationed at Candahar, marched back in safety to Quetta. On the 30th of August Shah Shooden, the governor of Ghuznee, with nearly the whole of his army, amounting to not less than 12,000 men, arrived in the neighbourhood of the British camp; and general Nott prepared to meet him with one half of his force. The enemy came boldly forward, each division cheering as they came into position, and occupying their ground in excellent style; but after a short and spirited contest, they were completely defeated, and dispersed in every direction; their guns, tents, ammunition, &c. falling into the hands of the English. On the 5th of September general Nott invested the city of Ghuznee, which was strongly garrisoned, while the hills to the north-eastward swarmed with soldiery; but they soon abandoned the place, and the British flags were hoisted in triumph on the Bala Hissar. The citadel of Ghuznee, and other formidable works and defences, were razed to the ground.

Early in September general Pollock marched from Gundamuck on his way to Caboul. On reaching the hills which command the road through the pass of Jugdullock, the enemy was found strongly posted and in considerable numbers. In this action most of the influential Affghan chiefs were engaged, and their troops manfully maintained their position; but at length the heights were stormed, and, after much arduous exertion, they were dislodged and dispersed. General Pollock proceeded onwards, and does not appear to have encountered any further opposition until his arrival, Sept. 13, in the Tehzeer valley, where an army of 16,000 men, commanded by Akhbar Khan in person, was assembled to meet him. A desperate fight ensued; the enemy was completely defeated and driven from the field. On the day following this engagement the general advanced to Boodkhak; and on the 16th he made his triumphal entry into the citadel, and planted the British colours on its walls.

At length the long and anxiously desired liberation of the whole of the British prisoners in the hands of the Affghans was effected. Their number was 31 officers, 9 ladies, and 12 children, with 51 European soldiers, 2 clerks, and 4 women, making in all 109 persons, who had suffered captivity from Jan. 10, to Sept. 27. It appeared that, by direction of Akhbar Khan, the prisoners had been taken to Bameean, 90 miles to the westward, and that they were destined to be distributed among the Toorkistan chiefs. General Pollock and some other officers proposed to the Affghan chief, that if he would send them back to Caboul, they would give him 2,000*l.* at once, and 1,200*l.* a year for life. The chief complied, and on the second day they were met by sir Richmond Shakspear, with 610 Kuzzilbashes, and shortly afterwards by general Sale, with 2,000 cavalry and infantry, when they returned to Caboul. Besides the Europeans, there were 327 Sepoys found at Ghuznee, and 1,200 sick and wounded, who were begging about Caboul. On the arrival of general Nott's division, the resolution adopted by the British government to destroy all the Affghan strongholds was carried into execution; though not without resistance, particularly at the town and fort of Istaliff, where a strong body of Affghans, led on by Ameer Oola, and sixteen of their most determined chiefs, had posted themselves. This town consisted of masses of houses built on the slope of a mountain, in the rear of which were lofty eminences, shutting in a defile to Toorkistan. The number of its inhabitants exceeded 15,000, who, from their defences and difficulties of approach, considered their possession unassailable. The greater part of the plunder

seized last January from the British was placed there; the chiefs kept their wives and families in it; and many of those who had escaped from Caboul had sought refuge there. Its capture, however, was a work of no great difficulty; the British troops driving the enemy before them with considerable slaughter. The Anglo-Indian troops soon afterwards commenced their homeward march in three divisions; the first under general Pollock, the second under general M'Caskill and the third under general Nott. The first division effected their march through the passes without loss; but the second was less successful, the mountaineers attacking it about Ali-Musjid, and plundering it of part of the baggage. General Nott, with his division, arrived in safety; bearing with them the celebrated gates of Somnauth, which, it is said, a Mahometan conqueror had taken away from an Indian temple, and which, during nearly eight centuries, formed the chief ornament of his tomb at Ghuznee.

The Niger expedition, as it was termed, which was undertaken last year by benevolent individuals, supported by a government grant of 60,000*l*., was totally defeated by the pestilential effects of the climate. The intention was, to plant in the centre of Africa an English colony, in the hope, by the proofs afforded of the advantages of agriculture and trade, to reclaim the natives from the custom of selling their captives into slavery.

Among the various domestic incidents which diversify a nation's annals, none excite such lively interest or give birth to such a spontaneous burst of loyal feeling, as outrages directed against the life or welfare of a beloved sovereign. On the 30th of May, as her majesty, accompanied by prince Albert, was returning down Constitution-hill, to Buckingham-palace, from her afternoon's ride, a young man, named John Francis, fired a pistol at the carriage, but without effecting any injury. He was immediately taken into custody, examined before the privy council, and then committed to Newgate; he was tried and found guilty of high treason; but the extreme penalty was commuted to transportation for life.

It was evident that the false and reprehensible sympathy shown to Oxford had encouraged others in their base attempts; and sir Robert Peel, acting on that conviction, introduced a bill into parliament for the better security of her majesty's person: his object being to consign the offenders to that contempt and to that sort of punishment which befitted their disgraceful practices. The bill was so framed as to inflict for the offences of presenting fire-arms at her majesty, or striking or attempting to strike her person with missiles, and for various other acts of violence intended to alarm her majesty, or disturb the public peace, the penalty of seven years' transportation, with previous imprisonment and a good flogging, or other bodily chastisement.

Her majesty having signified her intention of visiting Scotland this summer, she and prince Albert embarked at Woolwich Aug. 29. During their progress every tower and beacon along the coast vied in demonstrations of loyalty. Her majesty arrived Sept. 1; and on landing proceeded direct to Dalkeith palace. On the 3rd her majesty made her public entry into Edinburgh; and reembarking on the 15th, in two days reached Windsor-castle.

We must once more recur to the warlike operations in China. After the arrival of reinforcements, the British expedition on the 13th of June entered the large river called Yang-tze-Kiang, on the banks of which were immense fortifications. The fleet at daylight having taken their stations, the batteries opened a fire, which lasted two hours. The seamen and marines then landed, and drove the enemy out of the batteries before the troops could be disembarked. 253 guns were here taken, of heavy calibre, and 11 feet long. On the 19th two other batteries were taken, in which were 48 guns. The troops then took possession of the city of Shanghai, destroyed the public buildings, and distributed the granaries among the people. Two other field-works were also taken, and the total of the guns captured amounted to the astonishing number of 364. The squadron set sail from Woosung on the 6th of July; on the 20th the vessels anchored abreast of the city of Ching-Keang-foo, which commands the entrance of the grand canal, and the next morning the troops were disembarked, and marched to the attack of the Chinese forces. One brigade was directed to move against the enemy's camp, situated about three miles distant; another was ordered to cooperate with this division in cutting off the expected retreat of the Chinese from the camp; while the third received instructions to escalade the northern wall of the town The Chinese, after firing a few distant volleys, fled from the camp with precipitation and dispersed over the country. The city itself, however, was manfully defended by the Tartar soldiers, who prolonged the contest for several hours, resisting with desperate valour the combined efforts of the three brigades, aided by a reinforcement of marines and seamen. At length opposition ceased, and ere nightfall the British were complete masters of the place. Ching-Keang-foo, like Amoy, was most strongly fortified, and the works in excellent repair. It is supposed that the garrison consisted of not less than 3,000 men, and of these about 1,000 and 40 mandarins were killed and wounded. The Tartar general retired to his house when he saw that all was lost, made his servants set it on fire, and sat in his chair till he was burned to death. On the side of the British, 15 officers and 134 men, of both services, were killed and wounded.

A strong garrison being left behind for the retention of Ching-keang-foo, the fleet proceeded towards Nankin, about 40 miles distant, and arrived on the 6th of August, when preparations were immediately made for an attack on the city. A force, under the command of major-general lord Saltoun, was landed and took up their position

to the west of the town; and operations were about to be commenced, when a letter was sent off to the plenipotentiary, requesting a truce, as certain high commissioners, specially delegated by the emperor, and possessed of full powers to negotiate, were on their way to treat with the English. After several visits and long discussions between the contracting powers, the treaty was publicly signed on board the Cornwallis, by sir H. Pottinger and the three commissioners. Of this convention the following are the most important articles:—1. Lasting peace and friendship between the two empires. 2. China to pay 21 millions of dollars in the course of that and three succeeding years. 3. The ports of Canton, Amoy, Foo-choo-foo, Ningpo, and Shanghai to be thrown open to British merchants, consular officers to be appointed to reside at them, and regular and just tariffs of import and export (as well as inland transit) duties to be established and published. 4. The island of Hong-Kong to be ceded in perpetuity to her Britannic majesty, her heirs, and successors. 5. All subjects of her Britannic majesty (whether natives of Europe or India), who may be confined in any part of the Chinese empire, to be unconditionally released. 6. An act of full and entire amnesty to be published by the emperor under his imperial sign manual and seal to all Chinese subjects, on account of their having held service or intercourse with, or resided under, the British government or its officers. 7. Correspondence to be conducted on terms of perfect equality amongst the officers of both governments. 8. On the emperor's assent being received to this treaty, and the payment of the first instalment, 6,000,000 dollars, her Britannic majesty's forces to retire from Nankin and the grand canal, and the military posts at Chinghai to be also withdrawn; but the islands of Chusan and Kolangsoo are to be held until the money payments and the arrangements for opening the ports be completed.

A.D. 1843.—On the 2nd of February the parliamentary session commenced; the royal speech, which was read by the lord-chancellor, referring in terms of just congratulation to—1. The successful termination of hostilities with China, and the prospect it afforded of assisting the commercial enterprise of her people. 2. The complete success of the recent military operations in Affghanistan, where the superiority of her majesty's arms had been established by decisive victories on the scenes of former disasters; and the complete liberation of her majesty's subjects, for whom she felt the deepest interest. 3. The adjustment of those differences with the United States of America, which from their long continuance had endangered the preservation of peace. 4. The obtaining, in concert with her allies, for the Christian population of Syria, an establishment of a system of administration which they were entitled to expect from the engagements of the sultan, and from the good faith of this country. And, 5. A treaty of commerce and navigation with Russia, which her majesty regarded as the foundation for increased intercourse between her subjects and those of the emperor.

To return to Indian affairs. When the expedition to Affghanistan was first undertaken, it was intended to open the Indus for the transit of British merchandise, and render it one of the great highways to Asia. The object was not lost sight of, though Affghanistan had been abandoned; and endeavours were made to obtain from the Ameers of Scinde such a treaty as would secure the safe navigation of that river. In December, major Outram was despatched to Hyderabad to conclude the best terms in his power with the native chiefs. Not being in a condition immediately to refuse to give up for the use of the navigation certain strips of land lying along the river, they temporised until at length their troops were collected, when on the 14th of February they sent word to major Outram to retire from their city. The major, not supposing they would proceed to extremities, delayed. The next day the residence of the British political agent was attacked; it was gallantly defended by 100 men for several hours; but at length their ammunition having been expended, the British soldiers retired with a small loss to the steamers, and proceeded to join sir C. J. Napier, then at the head of about 2,700 men, at a distance of about 20 miles from the capital of the Ameers. The latter hastened at the head of 22,000 men to attack the British force. On the 17th a battle took place, in which, after a severe struggle of three hours, the Ameers were totally routed, although they outnumbered the British force by seven to one. The Ameers on the following day surrendered themselves prisoners of war, and Hyderabad was occupied by the conquerors. Treasure and jewels were found to an amount considerably exceeding one million sterling. In consequence of this success, the territories of Scinde, with the exception of that portion belonging to Meer Ali, the morad of Khyrpore, have been declared by the governor-general to be a British province, and sir Charles J. Napier was appointed governor.

The new governor, however, was not to remain in undisturbed possession for any length of time. An army of Beloochees, twenty thousand strong, under the command of Meer Shere Mahomed, had taken up a strong position on the river Fullalie, near the spot where the Ameers of Scinde were so signally defeated, and sir C. J. Napier, on ascertaining the fact, resolved to attack them forthwith. On the 24th of March he moved from Hyderabad at the head of 5,000 men. The battle lasted for three hours, when victory declared for the British; eleven guns and nineteen standards were taken; about 1,000 of the enemy were killed, and 4,000 wounded: the loss of the British amounting to only 30 killed, and 231 wounded. By this victory the fate of Scinde and Beloochistan was sealed, and the whole territory finally annexed to the Anglo-Indian empire.

In an age of experimental science like the present, where the wonders of nature

seem scarcely to rival those of art, it appears almost invidious in a work of this kind to allude to *any*. In truth our limits have compelled us to omit the mention of many works of national importance, of which the country has reason to be proud; and we trust to be excused for such omissions, while we insert the following. In order to save the vast amount of manual labour necessary to form a sea-wall on the course of the south-eastern railway, near Dover, the great experiment of exploding 18,500 lbs. or 8¼ tons of gunpowder, under Round-down cliff, was on the 26th of January attempted by the engineers, with perfect success. On the signal being given, the miners communicated, by connecting wires, the electric spark to the gunpowder deposited in chambers formed in the cliff; the earth trembled for half a mile each way; a stifled report, not loud, but deep, was heard, and the cliff, extending on either hand to upwards of 500 feet, gradually subsided seaward; in a few seconds, not less than 1,000,000 tons of chalk were dislodged by the shock, settling into the sea below, frothing and boiling as it displaced the liquid element, till it occupied the expanse of many acres, and extended outward on its ocean bed to a distance of two or three thousand feet This operation was managed with such admirable skill and precision, that it would appear just so much of the cliff was removed as was necessary to make way for the sea-wall, while an immense saving in time and labour was also effected.

Now that we have trespassed on the province of art and alluded to its wonders, we cannot forbear to notice that wonderful and gigantic undertaking, the Thames Tunnel. For twenty years that stupendous labour had been going on, when on the 25th of May it was opened for foot passengers, at one penny each. This great work was commenced in 1825, but stopped in 1828 by an irruption of the Thames, and no further progress was made until 1835. Loans were then granted by government, and the works were uninterruptedly continued: the total expense being 446,000*l*.

On the 21st of April, his royal highness the Duke of Sussex died. On the 25th the queen was safely delivered of a princess, who was christened Alice Maud Mary. And on the same afternoon that the queen gave birth to a princess, the king of Hanover arrived in London, in a steamer from Calais, it being his majesty's first visit to England since his accession.

On the 28th of June the princess Augusta, eldest daughter of the duke of Cambridge, was married to his royal highness Frederick William, hereditary grand duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz. A grant of 3,000*l*. per annum was settled on her by the government, and in a few days after the marriage they embarked for the continent.

In Carmarthenshire and some of the neighbouring Welsh counties, a novel species of insurrection had for a long time past kept that part of the country in a state of alarm, and rendered military assistance necessary. Certain small farmers, and the agricultural population generally, united (under the singular appellation of 'Rebecca and her daughters') for the avowed object of resisting the payment of turnpike tolls, which are notoriously exorbitant there, and for the abatement of certain other grievances—the present administration of the poor laws being among the number—of which they loudly, and with no little show of justice, complained. Scarcely a night was suffered to pass without the removal of a gate or the demolition of a toll-house; and it usually happened that as soon as the work of destruction was completed, Rebecca's band quietly and stealthily dispersed to their respective homes. It will be sufficient to give merely one instance of these riots; but we should remark that the account of the riot we here subjoin was on a much larger scale, and attended with more serious results than any that occurred either before or since:—They were expected to attack the town of Carmarthen on Sunday the 18th of June, but did not come. On the following morning, however, at 12 o'clock, several thousand of the rioters were seen approaching, about 900 being on horseback, with one in front disguised with a woman's curls, to represent Rebecca, and from 7,000 to 8,000 on foot, walking about fourteen or fifteen abreast. Every man was armed with a bludgeon, and some of them had pistols. At their head were carried two banners, bearing inscriptions in Welsh, of 'Freedom, Liberty, and Better Feed;' and 'Free Toll and Liberty.' On reaching the workhouse, they broke open the gates of the court in front, and having gained an entrance into the house, they immediately demolished the furniture, and threw the beds and bedding out of the windows While they were thus pursuing the work of destruction, a troop of the 4th light dragoons arrived from Neath, and having entered the court, succeeded in taking all those within prisoners, about 250 in number, during which time they were pelted with stones and other missiles. The riot act being read, and a cry being raised that the soldiers were going to charge, the mob fled in every direction, leaving more than sixty horses, besides the above prisoners, in the hands of the captors.

With respect to the proceedings in parliament, it may be stated, that a great portion of the session was occupied in discussing the merits, or rather in opposing the reenactment, of the 'Irish arms bill.' On the second reading, May the 20th, the attorney-general for Ireland declared that the objects of the present repeal agitators were, first, the total abolition of the tithes' commutation rent-charge; next, the extension of the parliamentary suffrage to all same male adults not convicted of a crime; next, fixity of tenure—a phrase meaning the transfer of the whole landed property of Ireland from the landlord to the tenant; and some other extreme propositions of the same class. The measures provided by this bill had been in existence with little intermission for nearly a century, and the extreme avidity shown by the Irish peasantry for the possession of arms proved its

necessity to be most cogent. For about a month, almost every alternate evening was occupied with discussions in committee on the said bill. Afterwards a motion was brought forward by Mr. O'Brien for 'the redress of grievances in Ireland,' the debate on which was again and again adjourned: till at length the motion was negatived. On that occasion sir R. Peel discussed the alleged grievances *seriatim*; and in reply to an observation of lord Howick's, he said that the Roman catholics now enjoyed equal civil rights with the other subjects of the crown, and that the oaths were so altered that the offensive portions relating to transubstantiation were abolished. 'I am asked,' said the right honourable baronet, 'what course I intend to pursue? "Declare your course," is the demand. I am prepared to pursue that course which I consider I have pursued, namely, to administer the government of Ireland upon the principles of justice and impartiality. I am prepared to recognise the principle established by law, that there shall be equality of civil privileges. I am prepared, in respect of the franchise, to give a substantial and not a fictitious right of suffrage. In respect to the social condition of Ireland, we are prepared also—but that is a matter for legislation, and we all feel that no partial legislation will be proper or effective—we are prepared to consider the relations of landlord and tenant deliberately, and all the important questions involved therein. With respect to the established church, we are not prepared to make one alteration in the law by which that church and its revenues shall be impaired. He was not ashamed to act with care and moderation; and if the necessity should arise, he knew that past forbearance was the strongest claim to being intrusted with fuller powers when they thought proper to ask for them.' On the 9th of August, the third reading of the Irish arms bill was carried by a majority of 66.

During the remainder of the session many other acts were passed, among them the following:—The church of Scotland benefices' bill. The poor relief bill for Ireland. The Irish municipal corporations' bill. The Chelsea pensioners' bill, empowering government to call out and arm the out-pensioners of Chelsea hospital, if thought necessary. The episcopal functions bill. The defamation and libel bill.

Parliament was prorogued on the 24th of August by the queen in person; on which occasion her majesty expressed herself highly gratified with the advantageous position in which the country was placed by the successful termination of the war in China and India, and with the assurances of perfect amity which she continued to receive from foreign powers.

Scotland presented this year the melancholy spectacle of a disruption in her national church. Since the reign of Queen Anne, the right of presentation to parishes had lain with the heritors or landed proprietors, or other so-called patrons; but in 1834 the General Assembly had passed an act, giving a *veto* on the appointment to the majority of heads of families in the parishes. This act, however, having been pronounced to be illegal by the courts of law, the leaders of the dominant party in the Assembly determined to secede from the church. Accordingly on the first day of the meeting of the General Assembly in May, the ministry and elders, members of that body, opposed to the right of patronage and in favour of the *veto*, having given in a protest, retired to a separate place of meeting, and constituted themselves, and such as might afterwards adhere to them, into a body to be denominated the Free Church of Scotland. Within a few weeks, 470 clergymen seceded from the establishment and joined the Free Church, together with nearly a third of the whole Scottish population. Whatever may be thought of its wisdom, this proceeding evinced but too well the sincerity and zeal which animated the seceders. The voluntary abandonment by so many individuals of their homes and incomes, rather than hold them by compromising what they believed to be a fundamental principle, reflects the highest credit on the Scottish church and character.

Towards the close of this year, the affairs of Ireland assumed a serious aspect. Mr. O'Connell, who had long not only vauntingly prophesied the repeal of the union, but boasted that Ireland would see her own independent parliament legislating in Dublin by the approaching Christmas, now determined on active measures for the accomplishment of his designs. For a long time previous his delusive promises had been echoed throughout the land: and the exultation of his supporters and followers—priestly as well as secular—at the prospect of so soon obtaining 'Ireland for the Irish,' was as extravagant as his harangues and proclamations were artful, insulting, and fulsome.

It was too apparent, at the same time, to escape observation, that while he boasted of preserving the peace, and charged the government with attempting to overawe the people by the presence of the military, the mighty 'gatherings' of repealers were conducted to the ground in companies and detachments, with all the precision and regularity of disciplined bodies. At Tara, Mullaghmast, and many other places, these monster meetings had thus displayed their 'moral' strength. At length, great preparations having been made for holding a repeal meeting at Clontarf, near Dublin, on Sunday the 15th of October, 1843, which was expected to be one of immense magnitude, the lord-lieutenant, with the lord-chancellor, and other members of the Irish government, suddenly held a council at the castle on Saturday, and published a proclamation, denouncing repeal agitation, and cautioning all persons from attending the Clontarf meeting, on pain of being proceeded against according to law. Meantime fresh troops, in considerable numbers, arrived from England; and at Mr. O'Connell's bidding the meeting was abandoned!

But, notwithstanding this, government issued a warrant for the arrest of nine of

the leading agitators: viz. Daniel O'Connell, John O'Connell, Thomas M. Ray, Thomas Steele, Dr. Gray, Richard Burnett, Charles G. Duffy, Rev. Mr. Tyrrel, P.P., and Rev. James Tierney, P.P., all of whom had taken a conspicuous part in recent repeal meetings. The offence with which all these persons were charged was a *conspiracy* to excite disaffection and contempt among her majesty's subjects, and, amongst others, those serving in the army and navy; to excite unlawful opposition to the government by the demonstration of physical force; and to bring into contempt the legal tribunals of the country by usurping the queen's prerogative in the establishment of courts for the administration of the law. They were also charged with endeavouring to forward those objects by seditious speeches and libels, and with soliciting and obtaining from different parts of the United Kingdom, as well as from foreign countries, divers large sums of money. The whole of the parties were then held to bail, to take their trials in the Queen's Bench, Dublin.

We have no space to enter into a detail of the judicial proceedings which followed; but we must say that so numerous were the objections, and so technical the arguments, which were brought forward by the professional phalanx employed to defend the 'traversers,' that it seemed for a long time doubtful whether the trial would *ever* be brought to a close. The arguments were, however, combated *seriatim* by the counsel for the crown, the objections overruled by the judges, and a verdict of GUILTY was at length recorded against all of them, except the Rev. Mr. Tierney, who had been previously discharged. Daniel O'Connell was sentenced to one year's imprisonment, to pay a fine of 2,000*l.*, and to find bondsmen for his good behaviour for five years from the expiration of the term of his imprisonment; the rest to nine months each and a fine of 50*l.*, and all to find sureties for keeping the peace after their terms of durance had expired. Against this judgment an appeal was made to the house of lords on a 'writ of error.' Regarding the question as one of *law* rather than *fact*, the peers, instead of themselves adjudicating, referred the subject in the first instance to the English judges, who severally delivered their opinions on the different counts of the indictments, &c., the decision of the majority being in affirmation of the proceedings of the Irish court. It then (on the 3rd of September, 1844) came before the peers, when the '*lay* lords' consented to leave the decision of this most important national question to the '*law* lords,' of whom there were *only five*. Of these, two voted against, and three in favour of, the prisoners; thus abrogating all that had been done in vindication of the offended laws, and leaving the question of 'repeal' open for future strife and contentious disputation!

A.D. 1844.—At the commencement of this year, the affairs of the kingdom generally wore an improving aspect: trade and manufactures were reviving: internal tranquillity had in a great measure been restored; and the revenue was in a comparatively flourishing state: in short, no cloud appeared to darken the political horizon, save that portentous one which still enshrouded Ireland.

On the 1st February her majesty opened the parliament in person. The royal speech referred with pride to our late successes in India; to the establishment of commercial relations with China; and to the good understanding which subsisted between the government and all foreign powers; while the commercial and manufacturing prosperity of the country formed a subject for equal congratulation. It also earnestly recommended the adoption of such measures as might tend to improve the social condition of Ireland, and develope its natural resources; but at the same time emphatically declared her majesty's firm determination to maintain inviolate the legislative union between that country and Great Britain. The address was carried by a very large majority; and sir Robert Peel (who in his speech advocated corn-law protection, and dwelt on the advantages of his 'sliding-scale' over lord John Russell's proposition for a 'fixed duty') concluded by maintaining that his past measures had fulfilled the expectations he had held out, and that he now met parliament under greatly improved circumstances both at home and abroad.

Indian affairs shortly afterwards formed the subject of parliamentary discussion; and the thanks of both houses were voted to sir Charles Napier and the army employed in Scinde, for their unbounded zeal and gallantry — the duke of Wellington taking the opportunity of complimenting sir Charles in the strongest terms, and declaring that he never knew an instance in which a general officer showed in a higher degree all the qualifications which were necessary for the conduct of great operations. This just tribute to the merits of an old and distinguished military officer was quickly followed by an event inseparably connected with the reputation and stability of our Indian empire. From some cause, never thoroughly made public, the East India directors thought proper to recall lord Ellenborough, the governor-general. This nobleman had only been appointed to that important post about two years: his acts had met with the decided approbation of government, and it was generally supposed that his policy had given satisfaction to the court of directors. But it appeared that the contrary was the fact: and as various enactments had secured to them the undoubted right to recall the governor-general whenever they might think fit, they exercised that right on the present occasion, not only without the consent of her majesty's ministers, but in opposition to their well-known sentiments. This conduct gave rise to various conjectures, and became the subject of considerable animadversion; and the duke of Wellington, as one of the chief members of the government, did not hesitate to characterise it as the most indiscreet exercise of power he had ever known. It

was necessary, however, that a new governor-general should be sent out without delay; the office was accordingly tendered to sir Henry Hardinge; and the directors, anxious to conciliate the ministry, readily acquiesced in his appointment.

And now the subject of Irish affairs for a time continued to engross the attention of parliament, to the exclusion of almost all other business. On a motion brought forward by lord John Russell for a committee of the whole house on the state of Ireland, the debate was continued, by adjournment, for nine nights, and ultimately rejected by a majority of 99. In the course of this protracted discussion frequent reference was made to the recent trial and conviction of Daniel O'Connell and his coadjutors (but on which we need not dwell further here, the subject having been noticed in the concluding paragraph of the history of the preceding year). About the same time, another measure of relief to the Roman Catholic body was obtained by a bill for the abolition of a number of penal acts—many of which were obsolete, although they were still retained on the statute-book. Several long debates also took place on motions for the limitation of the hours of labour in factories; that question exciting much controversy, but leading to no satisfactory result.

The discussions on the subjects of free trade and the corn-laws, which had occupied so large a share of the attention of both houses in former sessions, did not this year engage so much of the time of parliament. Mr. Cobden, however, brought it before the house, by moving for a committee to enquire into the effects of protective duties on agricultural tenants and labourers. He argued that the gainers by the present law were not the farmers, but the speculators; and he denied that corn could be grown abroad, or conveyed from foreign countries hither, at rates ruinous to the English agriculturist. Mr. Villiers and other members favourable to free-trade principles, strongly dwelt upon the effect of the repeal of the corn laws in giving additional employment to manufacturing districts: but the motion was lost by a majority against it of 91.

When the chancellor of the exchequer exhibited his financial statement, it was seen that the revenue very considerably exceeded the expenditure; and a fact so gratifying was hailed with joy, and looked upon as a happy presage of still increasing prosperity by the public in general; while it enabled him not only to propose the reduction of those stocks which bore the highest rate of interest, but also the remission of certain taxes. Long and anxious discussions on the sugar duties bill next engaged the attention of parliament, and the ministers sustained a defeat by a majority of 20; but, on the 17th of June, sir Robert Peel called on the house to reconsider their late decision; when they recovered from their 'false position,' by obtaining a rather larger majority than the one by which they had been outvoted.

It will be seen, from what has already been mentioned, that the legislature had been far from idle during this session; but no measure that had yet been brought forward equalled in magnitude, as regards the great interests it involved, or which was calculated to produce such effects upon the commercial and monetary transactions of the kingdom, as the bill, introduced by sir R. Peel, for the regulation of the Bank of England, and for the administration of banking concerns in general. By an act of parliament passed in 1833, it was provided that the charter for securing certain privileges to the Bank of England should expire in 1855, but reserving to the legislature the power of giving six months' notice, to revise the charter ten years earlier; and this the prime minister signified his intention of now doing. On a subject so extensive, and embracing such abundant details, we cannot pretend to give more than a faint outline; but it is incumbent on us to state, that the ability with which he introduced the subject, and the lucid arguments by which he supported it, not only riveted the attention and admiration of the house, but tended to confirm an opinion which at that time very generally prevailed, that sir Robert Peel was, of all public men, the one most capable of directing the financial operations of a great commercial country. He proposed that there should be an actual separation of the two departments of issue and banking, in the Bank of England; and that there should be different officers to each, and a different system of account; that the banking business of the Bank should be governed on precisely the same principles as would regulate any other body dealing with Bank of England notes; that the fixed amount of securities on which he proposed that the Bank of England should issue notes was 14,000,000*l.*; the whole of the remainder of the circulation to be issued exclusively on the foundation of bullion: that there should be a complete and periodical publication of the accounts of the Bank of England, both of the banking and issue departments, as tending to increase the credit of the Bank, and to prevent panic and needless alarm. 'I would therefore,' he said, 'enact by law, that there should be returned to the government a weekly account of the issue of notes by the Bank of England—of the amount of bullion—of the fluctuations of the bullion—of the amount of deposits—in short, an account of every transaction both in the issue department and the banking department of the Bank of England; and that the government should forthwith publish unreservedly and weekly a full account of the circulation of the Bank.' He also observed that the Bank would be allowed to extend its issues beyond the 14,000,000*l.* on emergency, but only with assent of three members of the government; and in such case the whole of the net profit on any amount beyond the 14,000,000*l.* was to revert to government. After subtracting all the items of charge and necessary deductions, it was seen that 220,000*l.* would be derived from the issuing of notes. 'Hitherto,' said sir Robert, 'the Bank has paid 120,000*l.* to government for its privileges; its privi-

leges are now to be affected; but on the other hand increased stability is to be given to its banking business;' and he proposed that in future the Bank should still pay that sum, besides the 60,000*l.* composition with the stamp-office, for the privilege of issuing notes, making in all about 180,000*l.* The difference between this sum, and the sum of 248,000*l.*, which was the amount government paid to the Bank for the management of the public debt, would be the balance that government would have to pay over to the Bank.

Among various regulations affecting joint-stock and private banks, the following appear to be the most important:—No new bank of issue to be constituted; but all the existing banks of issue to be allowed to retain the privilege, upon condition that they do not exceed the present amount; joint-stock banks in London, which were before restricted from accepting bills for a date less than six months, to be placed on an equality with other banks, and allowed to accept bills of any amount, and any date: joint-stock banks to publish a full and complete periodical list of all partners and directors; and banks of issue to publish an account of their issues. Some parts of this comprehensive bill met with considerable opposition, particularly that which limited the issue and circulation of country notes; but after further discussions in committee, in which some members attempted to introduce modifications in the bill, the original propositions of sir R. Peel were carried by a very large majority.

The only other parliamentary proceeding of this session, which produced much excitement out of doors, was a bill which originated in the house of lords, where it was brought in by the lord chancellor. Its object was to confirm the possession of religious endowments in the hands of dissenters; and to put an end to all legal controversy respecting the right to voluntary endowments connected with dissenting chapels, by vesting the property in the religious body in whose hands it had been for the preceding 20 years. The opposition this met with in parliament, though it was at first both loud and strong, was at length overcome by its being manifestly based upon the soundest principles of policy and justice; and it was eventually carried by large majorities in both houses.

On the 5th of September the royal assent having been given to several bills, and various routine business being disposed of, parliament was prorogued by commission to the 5th of October; and it must be admitted, that, considering the great and complicated interests continually springing up in this immense empire, and the ever-varying phases which those interests present to view, the destinies of the country wore a more promising appearance than they had exhibited for many previous years, and gave to the existing administration that degree of credit and stability which nothing but an improved state of things could have given them.

Although the warmest professions of sincerity between the governments of France and Great Britain had been reciprocated for the last three years, it was plainly to be seen that among a large portion of the French people there existed a latent jealousy against 'perfidious Albion,' as the democratic press chose to term our sea-girt home. That M. Guizot and his compeers had no share in encouraging this odious feeling, our government was well aware; and that Louis Philippe was sincerely desirous of preserving the political friendship of the two nations was shown by all his words and actions. But still there was a formidable war party in France—a restless, discontented faction, whose pugnacious valour seemed to be unappeasable by anything short of an appeal to arms. At one time, indeed, a pretext for coming to an open rupture appeared on the eve of presenting itself. Queen Pomare, the sovereign of Tahiti, had, by a treaty in 1842, placed her dominions under the protection of France—an act which appears to have been distasteful to the natives; and the French experienced considerable difficulty, which they attributed to the intrigues of English missionaries resident in the island. Admiral Dupetit Thouars insisted that the queen should hoist the French flag, in token of the French sovereignty; and on her refusal to comply, troops and seamen were landed to take possession in the name of the king of the French, and M. d'Aubigny was appointed governor. On the news of this occupation reaching Europe, the act was at once disavowed by the French government. Mr. Pritchard, who had gone out originally to this distant island in the Pacific as a missionary, had been acting as British consul there; and though he had notified to the English government his wish to resign the office, intelligence of the acceptance of this resignation had not reached Tahiti, and he was still exercising the functions of consul. A French sentinel having been attacked and disarmed by the natives, Mr. Pritchard was held responsible for their acts, and he was seized and hurried off to prison by order of the French governor. When the news of this outrage reached England, a very general feeling of indignation was expressed; and sir Robert Peel, in his place in the house of commons, declared, that a gross outrage, accompanied with gross indignity, had been committed upon Mr. Pritchard, though, as it was well known, the French government were not privy to it. He, however, represented the affair in its proper colours to them; and on the last day of the sessions of the British parliament he was enabled to state that the Tahitian business had been brought to an amicable and satisfactory termination—the conditions being, that Mr. Pritchard would receive a sum of money from the French government as an indemnity or compensation for the outrage. On the 6th of August Queen Victoria was happily delivered of a prince. On the 9th of September Her Majesty, accompanied by Prince Albert, the Princess Royal, and suite, proceeded to Scotland. Her return from Scotland was followed by the speedy arrival of Louis Philippe, king of the

French, on a visit to Her Majesty, at Windsor-castle.

On the 28th of October, a most interesting ceremony took place in London, and one that will be long memorable in the city annals,—the opening of the New Royal Exchange by Queen Victoria.

A.D. 1845.—We have seen that Great Britain began the year 1844 with favourable omens, and continued to advance in industrial and commercial prosperity to its close; and it was generally admitted that to sir Robert Peel's financial measures and fiscal regulations much of that prosperity was to be attributed: accordingly at the commencement of 1845, his position and that of his colleagues appeared to possess increased stability. But doubtless there were potent drawbacks to it. The successful exertions of the anti-corn law league still occasioned great disquietude to the agriculturists; and a feeling of great uncertainty, as to the ultimate fate of the much-assailed protective laws, was generally entertained by those of the landed classes who kept a watchful eye on the course of passing events.

When the queen met her parliament on the first day of the session (Feb. 4, 1845), she was enabled to state that trade and commerce had been extended at home and abroad;—that she continued to receive from all foreign powers and states assurances of their friendly disposition (alluding more particularly to the visits of the emperor of Russia and the king of the French);—and that the political agitation and excitement which she had heretofore had occasion to lament existed in Ireland appeared to have gradually abated. But whether this apparent state of repose and security had been effected by the prosecution of O'Connell and his fellow-repealers, or by the reversal of their sentences, the royal speech did not hazard even the most guarded hint.

Ten days after the opening of the session the premier submitted his financial scheme to the house, and clearly showed that he had to deal with a prosperous revenue. He stated, that on the 5th of January 1845, he had a surplus amount over the expenditure of 3,357,000*l.*, and that by making the account up to the approaching 5th of April he might fairly estimate the actual surplus revenue at 5,000,000*l.*; a sum, he said, which would be either sufficient for the repeal of the income-tax, or enable him to make large remissions in general taxation. He decided on the latter course; and proposed that the income-tax should be continued for three years longer. The details of his financial propositions (all of which, after considerable discussion, were ultimately carried), may be thus summed up:—The duties on British plantation sugar he proposed should be reduced from 25*s.* 3*d.* per cwt. to 14*s.* per cwt., and the foreign free-grown sugar from 35*s.* 9*d.* to 23*s.* 4*d.* He proposed also the total repeal of the duty on cotton-wool, amounting to five-sixteenths of a penny per lb., and yielding a revenue of 680,000*l.*; the repeal of the auction duty, 250,000*l.*; of the duties on glass, 640,000*l.*; of the export duty on coal, 183,000*l.*; and of reductions on duty on the numerous minor articles in the tariff to the extent of 320,000*l.*, which, together with an estimated loss on the sugar duties of 1,300,000*l.*, would amount to 3,388,000*l.*

Among the most important and obstinately contested questions brought before the consideration of parliament were the proposal to augment the grant for supporting the Catholic College of Maynooth, and the establishment of three Irish colleges for secular education. With regard to Maynooth, sir R. Peel declared that the government were prepared, 'in a liberal sense and confiding spirit,' to improve that institution, and to elevate the tone of education there: for which purpose he proposed that a vote for the sum of 30,000*l.* should be taken for the proper accommodation of the president and professors, and for the maintenance and education of 500 free students. This announcement excited much surprise, and, from many of the members, strong animadversions, based on religious grounds; but the minister, speaking for himself and colleagues, said, 'We do not think there is any violation of conscientious scruples involved in our proposition. We believe that it is perfectly compatible to hold stedfast the profession of our faith without wavering, and at the same time to improve the education and to elevate the character of those who—do what you will—pass this measure or refuse it—must be the spiritual guides and religious instructors of millions of your fellow-countrymen.'

When the minister's plan became known, a determined opposition to it arose in the country, and numerous were the petitions that were presented against it. In London great meetings were held in Exeter-hall and Covent-garden theatre, and the measure was condemned in the strongest terms, as an endowment by the state of the popish religion. The opposition to it, however, was counteracted by the great majority of votes it obtained in both houses, and it at length passed into a law. The Irish colleges bill was introduced by sir J. Graham on the 9th of May. Its object was to establish three colleges for secular education in Ireland, to be wholly independent of all religious instruction, though it should give every facility to the *voluntary endowment* of theological professorships. Sir R. H. Inglis declared it to be 'a gigantic scheme of godless education;' but the epithet, though strong and characteristic, and one that was well calculated to dwell on the ear, failed to make an impression sufficiently powerful to defeat the measure; and it passed, carried by a great majority.

The labours of a long and anxious session of parliament were now brought to a close. The queen appeared in person; and the speaker, in addressing her majesty on the various and important business which had occupied the attention of the legislature, spoke of the rapid developement of private enterprise, in extending the railway communications of the kingdom—the care with which they had consulted the interests, and regarded the religious feelings of the people of Ireland, by the Maynooth grant, and the means they had provided for academical

instruction in that country—the abolition of the duties on many articles of import—and the measures which had been adopted for the further security and extension of the trade and commerce of the country. Some bills having received the royal assent, her majesty read a very appropriate speech, concluding by imploring the blessing of Divine Providence on their united efforts to encourage the industry and increase the comforts of her people, and to inculcate those religious and moral principles which are the surest foundation of security and happiness.

Railway legislation had occupied considerable attention during this session. It was thought by many that a more experienced and inexpensive tribunal for deciding on railway bills than committees of the house might be discovered; but an opposite opinion was entertained by the premier, and it was therefore resolved to persist in the former system, and to constitute a number of railway committees to whom bills might be referred. The railway department of the board of trade failed in its professed object; it was no guide or authority for the committees, who chose to come to the consideration of the bills before them unfettered by the conclusions of any former tribunal; and thus the labours of the board of trade became eventually to be entirely disregarded. An immense sum was expended in feeing counsel, paying witnesses, &c.; but in the end a great number of bills were passed, authorising the employment of 37,000,000*l.* of capital. When railways were first commenced in this country they were regarded with great suspicion; but the weekly returns of traffic, published during the three or four previous years, held out such a prospect of large and certain returns, that speculation in railway shares, which at first advanced with some discretion and steadiness, now took so wild and eccentric a direction, that it was properly denominated the 'railway mania,' and such a one as seemed to promise the speedy ruin of thousands. Every project, however wild or visionary, had crowds of applicants eager for its scrip; and as there was no patent to secure to each promoter a right in his line from one place to another, a feasible scheme was no sooner advertised than it had several rival companies to oppose it. In one week alone there were projects advertised whose united capitals amounted to 170,000,000*l.* In order to check this intemperate species of gambling, the legislature enacted, that, before petitions for bills could be presented to parliament, 10*l.* per cent. on the estimated capital should be lodged with the accountant-general; and a sum of about 15,000,000*l.*, on account of deposits, was at one time actually vested in his hands.

Although throughout the session government commanded powerful majorities, it frequently had to rely for its existence on the votes of the opposition; and it was evident that the elements of union which had so long kept the tories together were fast giving way. The premier was repeatedly attacked, and in no measured language, for his want of good faith in endeavouring to lull into a fancied security the agricultural party, whose interests he had declared he would support, and by whose means he had attained the elevated position he now held. Annoyed by their suspicions and reproaches, he determined in his own mind to defy the agriculturists, and throw himself, if necessary, into the arms of the opposition for support. Yet during the session, neither his declarations nor his acts were of a kind to impair the confidence they reposed in him. But towards the latter end of the year a rumour prevailed throughout the country that the parliament would assemble early in January, and that sir Robert Peel would certainly bring forward a motion for the total repeal of the corn laws. Frequent cabinet councils quickly followed, which showed that some subject of the highest moment was in debate. Sir Robert, it appeared, had strenuously urged their repeal, but had failed to reconcile his colleagues to the change; and on the 12th of December the whole of the ministers tendered their resignation to her majesty. Lord John Russell was immediately sent for by the queen, and he hastened to Osborne-house in obedience to her commands. He was anxious to have the support of the Peel party, which was more difficult than he had anticipated, and he was perplexed by a division among his own; so that, although he had accepted the charge of constructing a cabinet on the 15th, he finally refused it two days after; and her majesty again sent for her former minister. Sir Robert well knew that his chief difficulty lay in obtaining the support of the duke of Wellington He therefore acquainted his Grace that, lord John Russell having failed to form a ministry, the queen and the country were without a government; adding, that for his own part, he was resolved to sacrifice his desire of retirement to a sense of duty. He knew well that the man whom he thus addressed had a chivalrous feeling of duty for his sovereign that was superior to every political consideration. The duke complied; and, with the exception of lord Stanley who retired, sir Robert once more saw himself surrounded by his former friends in the cabinet.

It is time that we now advert to our possessions in India. From the arrival of sir H. Hardinge, until nearly the close of the year, uninterrupted peace pervaded the vast peninsula of India, and the governor-general was actively employed in promoting the interests of the natives, by giving his attention to the important question of education, when suspicious appearances on our western frontier summoned him to engage in warlike preparations. The state of the Punjaub had for some time previous been so unsettled as to render it necessary that the British should keep a watchful eye on the advanced post under their protection; but it was not anticipated that a bold invasion was on the eve of being attempted. It was known that the Sikh troops were insubordinate and restless; and it is alleged, that in defiance of the wishes of the Lahore government, which was in a disorganised state, they determined to cross the Sutlej, in hopes of finding us unpre-

pared, and carrying off an immense booty. Still up to the 12th of December no Sikh aggression had been committed, and no artillery had moved down the river; but on the following day certain information was received that the Sikh army had crossed the Sutlej, and was concentrating in great force on its left bank.

Having crossed the Sutlej, the Sikhs invested Ferozepore on one side, and took up an entrenched position at the village of Ferozeshah, about ten miles in advance of Ferozepore, and nearly the same distance from the village of Moodkee. The headquarters of sir Hugh Gough, commander-in-chief, were at Umballah, which is distant 150 miles from Moodkee; and Ferozepore was garrisoned by a body of rather more than 5,000 troops, under the command of major-general sir John Littler. In order, therefore, to effect a junction between the several portions of the Anglo-Indian army, before an attack could be made upon them by the Sikhs, the governor-general issued orders to sir Hugh Gough to hasten with his force towards Ferozepore. After suffering severely for want of water, as well as fatigue, they arrived in a state of great exhaustion, and took up their encamping ground in front of Moodkee: the troops having scarcely time to get under arms and move to their positions, when they heard that the Sikh army was rapidly advancing. The enemy's forces were said to consist of from 15,000 to 20,000 infantry, about the same number of cavalry, and forty guns. 'To resist their attack, and to cover the formation of the infantry,' says the despatch of sir Hugh Gough, 'I advanced the cavalry, under brigadiers White, Gough, and Mactier, rapidly to the front, in columns of squadrons, and occupied the plain. They were speedily followed by five troops of horse artillery, under brigadier Brooke, who took up a forward position, having the cavalry then on his flanks.' The battle-field was a thick jungle, dotted with sandy hillocks, which partly screened the infantry and guns of the enemy; but the rapid and well-directed fire of the British artillery, and the brilliant charges of the cavalry, appeared soon to paralyse their opponents. The infantry, under major-generals sir Harry Smith, Gilbert, and sir John M'Caskill, attacked in echelon of lines the enemy's infantry, almost invisible amongst wood and the approaching darkness of night. In the words of the despatch, 'the opposition of the enemy was such as might have been expected from troops who had everything at stake, and who had long vaunted of being irresistible. Their ample and extended line, from their great superiority of numbers, far outflanked ours; but this was counteracted by the flank movements of our cavalry. The attack of the infantry now commenced, and the roll of fire from this powerful arm soon convinced the Sikh army that they had met with a foe they little expected; and their whole force was driven from position after position with great slaughter, and the loss of seventeen pieces of artillery, some of them of heavy calibre; our infantry using that never-failing weapon, the bayonet, wherever the enemy stood. Night only saved them from a worse disaster, for this stout conflict was maintained during an hour and a half of dim starlight, amidst a cloud of dust from the sandy plain, which yet more obscured every object.' This victory, though glorious, was dearly purchased. Major-general sir Robert Sale, the hero of Jellalabad, was amongst those who fell; as was also major-general sir John M'Caskill: the total of killed and wounded was 872.

On the 21st sir Hugh Gough advanced with his whole force towards Ferozeshah, where the Sikh army was posted in a strongly entrenched camp, defended by a most formidable park of artillery. A junction with sir John Littler's division was effected, and sir Henry Hardinge offered his services to the commander-in-chief as second in command. The camp of the enemy was in the form of a parallelogram, of about a mile in length, and half a mile in breadth, including within its area the strong village of Ferozeshah; the shorter sides looking towards the Sutlej and Moodkee, and the longer towards Ferozepore and the open country. The British troops moved against the last-named face, the ground in front of which was, like the Sikh position in Moodkee, covered with low jungle.

The command of the right wing of the British army was taken by sir Hugh Gough; the left was under the charge and direction of sir Henry Hardinge. The veteran commander thus describes the fight:—'A very heavy cannonade was opened by the enemy, who had dispersed over their position upwards of one hundred guns, more than forty of which were of battering calibre; these kept up a heavy and well-directed fire, which the practice of our far less numerous artillery, of much lighter metal, checked in some degree, but could not silence; finally, in the face of a storm of shot and shell, our infantry advanced and carried these formidable entrenchments; they threw themselves upon their guns, and with matchless gallantry, wrested them from the enemy: but when the batteries were partially within our grasp, our soldiery had to face such a fire of musketry from the Sikh infantry, arrayed behind their guns, that in spite of the most heroic efforts, a portion only of the entrenchment could be carried. Night fell while the conflict was everywhere raging. Although I now brought up major-general sir Harry Smith's division, and he captured and long retained another point of the position, and her majesty's 3rd light dragoons charged and took some of the most formidable batteries, yet the enemy remained in possession of a considerable portion of the great quadrangle, whilst our troops, intermingled with theirs, kept possession of the remainder, and finally bivouacked upon it, exhausted by their gallant efforts, greatly reduced in numbers, and suffering extremely from thirst, yet animated by an indomitable spirit. In this state of things the night wore away.

'Near the middle of it, one of their heavy guns was advanced, and played with deadly effect upon our troops. Lieut.-gen. sir Henry Hardinge immediately formed her majesty's 80th and the 1st European light infantry. They were led to the attack by their commanding officers, and animated in their exertions by lieut.-col. Wood, who was wounded in the outset. The 80th captured the gun, and the enemy, dismayed by this counter-check, did not venture to press on farther. During the whole night, however, they continued to harass our troops by fire of artillery, wherever moonlight discovered our position.

'But with daylight of the 22nd came retribution. Our infantry formed line, supported on both flanks by horse artillery, whilst a fire was opened from our centre by such of our heavy guns as remained effective, aided by a flight of rockets. A masked battery played with great effect upon this point, dismounting our pieces, and blowing up our tumbrils. At this moment lieut.-gen. sir Henry Hardinge placed himself at the head of the left, whilst I rode at the head of the right wing. Our line advanced, and, unchecked by the enemy's fire, drove them rapidly out of the village of Ferozeshah, and their encampment: then, changing front to its left, on its centre, our force continued to sweep the camp, bearing down all opposition, and dislodged the enemy from their position. The line then halted, as if on a day of manœuvre, receiving its two leaders, as they rode along its front, with a gratifying cheer, and displaying the captured standards of the Khalsa army. We had taken upwards of seventy-three pieces of cannon, and were masters of the whole field.

'The force assumed a position on the ground which it had won; but even here its labours were not to cease. In the course of two hours, Sirdar Tej Singh, who had commanded in the last great battle, brought up from the vicinity of Ferozepore fresh battalions and a large field of artillery, supported by 30,000 Ghorepurras, hitherto encamped near the river. He drove in our cavalry parties, and made strenuous efforts to regain the position at Ferozeshah: this attempt was defeated; but its failure had scarcely become manifest, when the Sirdar renewed the contest with more troops and a large artillery. He commenced by a combination against our left flank, and when this was frustrated, made such a demonstration against the captured village as compelled us to change our whole front to the right. His guns during this manœuvre maintained an incessant fire, whilst our artillery ammunition being completely expended in these protracted combats, we were unable to answer him with a single shot. I now directed our almost exhausted cavalry to threaten both flanks at once, preparing the infantry to advance in support, which apparently caused him suddenly to cease his fire, and to abandon the field.'

Such a victory, fought under such disadvantages, could not be achieved without heavy loss. In the two actions of the 21st and 22nd of December, the British had 694 killed, and 1,721 wounded. The Anglo-Indian force consisted of 16,700 men and 69 guns, chiefly horse artillery. The Sikh forces varied from 48,000 to 60,000 men, with 108 pieces of cannon of heavy calibre, in fixed batteries.

The late victories had prepared the public for expecting to hear that the discomfited Sikhs had re-crossed the Sutlej; when news arrived of another victory, obtained by the troops under the command of major-general sir Harry Smith, on the 28th of January, at Aliwal, over the Sikh forces commanded by the Sirdar Runjoor Singh Majeethea. In this decisive and glorious action, the enemy's infantry were dislodged from every position and village they attempted to hold, by rapid charges at the point of the bayonet. Their horsemen were driven from every part of the field by repeated charges, in which the superior valour of the European and native cavalry, as well as the precision of the artillery, were most conspicuous. These noble efforts, combined with the skill of the commander, ended in the signal defeat of the enemy; who was driven across the river with great loss, his camp being captured, and 52 pieces of artillery remaining in the hands of the victors. Sir Harry Smith's account of the battle was both spirited and luminous, but our limits forbid us from quoting more than the concluding paragraph. 'The determined bravery of all was as conspicuous as noble. I am unwont to praise when praise is not merited, and here I most avowedly express my firm opinion and conviction that no troops in any battle on record ever behaved more nobly. British and Native (no distinction) cavalry all vying with her majesty's 16th lancers, and striving to lead in the repeated charges. Our guns and gunners, officers and men, may be equalled, but cannot be excelled, by any artillery in the world. Throughout the day, no hesitation, a bold and intrepid advance. And thus it is that our loss is comparatively small, though I deeply regret to say, severe. The enemy fought with much resolution; they maintained frequent rencontres with our cavalry hand to hand. In one charge of infantry upon the 16th lancers, they threw away their muskets, and came on with their swords and targets against the lance.' In killed, wounded, and missing, the British loss amounted to 589. The quantity of ammunition captured with the artillery, and found in the camp of the enemy, was beyond accurate calculation; consisting of shot, shell, grape, and small arm ammunition of every description and for every calibre.

In about a fortnight after this, another desperate contest took place, when the Sikhs were swept from their last and strongest hold on the British side of the Sutlej. The strongly fortified camp at Sobraon, constructed by them to protect the bridge at Hurrakee, and so keep up communication with their own territories, was the scene of this ever-memorable battle. Sir Hugh Gough, commander-in-chief of the army, was the leader on this occasion, and the army under his direction consisted in the

main of the officers and men who had fought the battles of Moodkee, Ferozeshah, and Aliwal. Sir Henry Hardinge was present, aiding by his advice, and inspiriting the soldiers by his example. He described the victory in his despatch as one of the most daring exploits ever achieved, by which, in open day, a triple line of breastworks, flanked by formidable redoubts, bristling with artillery, manned by 32 regular regiments of infantry, was assaulted and carried; and he stated that 220 guns had been taken in the campaign. The loss of the enemy was immense; not less, according to all accounts, than 10,000 men killed and wounded in action, and drowned in the passage of the river.

'Their awful slaughter, confusion, and dismay,' as was said by the British commander, 'were such as would have excited compassion in the hearts of their generous conquerors, if the Khalsa troops had not, in the early part of the action, sullied their gallantry by slaughtering and barbarously mangling every wounded soldier whom, in the vicissitudes of attack, the fortune of war left at their mercy.'

The Anglo-Indian army had 320 men killed, and 2,063 wounded. Among the former was major-general sir Robert Dick, a gallant veteran of the Peninsular and Waterloo campaigns.

The British army now advanced upon Lahore; the unconditional submission of its government was tendered and accepted; and, on the 22nd of February, 1846, the citadel of Lahore was taken possession of by the commander-in-chief; the young prince, under British protection, was conducted to his palace; and arrangements were made for the occupation of the conquered territories. The Khalsa troops, after their late defeat, retired towards Umritsir; Teh Singh, their commander, attempted to rally them no more; and the remnant of his army surrendered their cannon, and dispersed.

Treaties were afterwards concluded with the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh, as the sovereign of Lahore, and Ghoiab Singh; the latter having been raised by the British to the rank of a protected prince, and a valuable territory assigned to him. In short, the moderation of the victor was conspicuous throughout the whole of the arrangements; territorial aggrandisement was not for a moment entertained; and the arrangements were all of a pacificatory character, combining liberality with caution, and calculated, it was hoped, to produce a powerful impression on the native population of India.

The vast importance of this decisive campaign, which had at once punished a daring and treacherous invader, and given such ample evidence of the skill and bravery of the Anglo-Indian army, was duly felt in this country, and by all classes gratefully acknowledged. Thanksgivings were offered up in our churches for the late splendid victories; the dignity of viscount was conferred by her majesty on sir Henry Hardinge, and that of baron on sir Hugh Gough (both of whom were rewarded with liberal pensions); and sir Harry Smith was created a baronet.

A.D. 1846.—On the 22nd of January, 1846, her majesty congratulated her reassembled parliament on the prosperous state of the revenue, and the general improvement which had taken place in the internal condition of the country; and hoped that a further reduction of the protective duties would be found to ensure the continuance of her people's prosperity. The royal speech was gratefully acknowledged; and the addresses in both houses were carried without a division.

Sir Robert Peel then gave a full explanation of the late ministerial crisis, and also of his own views and measures. The immediate cause, he said, which led to the dissolution of the late government, was that great and mysterious calamity, the failure of the potato crop: it appeared to him to preclude further delay, and to require immediate decision, as to the course to be taken with regard to the corn-laws; but, while he stated the failure of the potato crop to be the immediate cause, he would not withhold the homage which was due to the progress of reason and to truth, by denying that his opinions on the subject of protection had undergone a change. His experience during the last three years had confirmed him in his new opinions; and he felt no hesitation in declaring it, however much he might, by so doing, incur the imputation of inconsistency. He showed that while he was reviled for apathy and neglect, he and his colleagues were actually engaged in the most extensive and arduous enquiries into the true state of the Irish scarcity; and in the course of those enquiries he had come to the conclusion that the protective policy was unsound, and therefore untenable.

In a luminous and most comprehensive speech which he afterwards made when the house was in committee on the corn duties, he admitted that on the part of agriculturists, there was a natural dread of competition from foreign corn-growers; but, he argued, the dreaded competition would be met by the application of skill, capital, and industry; and he proposed that the state should assist agricultural industry by various local aids, and the remission of certain local burdens.

At length, after much discussion in both houses, the corn-law bill was passed, and grain was admitted into our ports under the new rates of duty. But a bill which had been framed for the suppression of outrage in Ireland had just been rejected in the house of commons, by a majority of 73 over ministers. Thus defeated, they determined upon resigning their offices, and, in speeches remarkable for their explicitness and candour, the duke of Wellington in the house of lords, and sir R. Peel in the house of commons, on the 29th of June, announced their resignation. Once more, lord John Russell had the task of forming a Whig ministry, and the following list was speedily completed:—lord-chancellor, lord Cottenham; president of the council, marquis of Lansdowne;

lord privy seal, earl Minto; home secretary, sir George Grey; colonial secretary, earl Grey; foreign secretary, viscount Palmerston; first lord of the treasury, lord John Russell; chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Charles Wood; chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, lord Campbell; paymaster-general, Mr. Macaulay; woods and forests, lord Morpeth; postmaster-general, marquis Clanrickarde; board of control, sir John Cam Hobhouse; board of trade, earl of Clarendon; chief secretary for Ireland, Mr. Labouchere; admiralty, lord Auckland. The foregoing were *in the cabinet*—the following were *not*:—Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, earl of Besborough; commander-in-chief, duke of Wellington; master-general of the ordnance, marquis of Anglesey.

The passing of the corn-bill and the new tariff excited much rejoicing in the manufacturing districts: bells were rung; flags and banners bearing appropriate inscriptions were displayed from factories, or carried in procession about the streets; cannons were fired, and all the usual modes of giving vent to popular feeling resorted to.

The first measure of any importance brought forward by the new administration, was lord John Russell's scheme for a reduction of the sugar duties. He proposed that slave-grown sugar and foreign free-grown sugar be admitted at a duty of 21s. till July, 1847; from that date a descending scale until 1851, when they were to be admitted at a fixed duty of 14s., the present duty on British colonial sugar. Another question which occupied the attention of parliament this session was the necessity which was said to exist for having a uniform gauge on all railways. Great and incontrovertible reasons were certainly given for it, and the bulk of the evidence tended to show that the narrow gauge was best for the public.

The almost universal failure of the potato crop, as we have before observed, was the immediate cause that led to the abrogation of the corn laws, although sir R. Peel had at the same time declared that his late experience had induced him to become a convert to free-trade principles. The most disastrous accounts from all parts of Ireland soon showed that the minister's apprehensions on that score were too well founded; and that unless prompt assistance were afforded, the great mass of the poorer population must die of starvation. Such evidence, indeed, was given of their destitute condition, that, forgetting everything but their necessities, the people of England, in every town and village in the kingdom, and of every class, contributed to their relief by raising bountiful subscriptions, and thus for a time partially arrested the impending awful visitation. Great, however, as was the assistance thus derived from individual charity, it was found absolutely necessary for the government to aid the suffering Irish by means more permanent and effectual, which, however, will best be noticed in the proceedings of the next session of parliament.

During this year our relations with the United States more than once assumed a serious aspect. Mr. Polk, a conspicuous member of the democratic party, had succeeded Mr. Tyler as president; and there appeared to be a determination on his part not to yield an iota of their claims on the Oregon territory to Great Britain. What was called 'the clear and unquestionable right' of the States to the territory in dispute, was arrogantly insisted on; and it was not until a firm and unequivocal declaration had been made by sir R. Peel, in the house of commons, that England was determined to maintain her territorial rights, that the threats of taking forcible possession gave way to the more wise and equitable mode of settling the question by arbitration, and it was eventually agreed upon, 'that from that point in the 49th parallel of north latitude, in which the boundary laid down by existing treaties between Great Britain and the United States terminates, the line of boundary between the territories of the two countries should be continued westward along the 49th parallel to the middle of the said channel which separates the continent from Vancouver's Island, and thence, southerly, through the middle of the said channel and the Fuca Straits to the Pacific Ocean.'

A.D. 1847.—The commencement of this year found the domestic affairs of the British Empire in a position calculated to call forth all the firmness of those intrusted with the government. The calamity that had befallen unhappy Ireland in the previous year still continued to harass her.

The chancellor of the exchequer having congratulated the house that the finances of the country were never better able to bear the demand that would be made upon them, said, 'Ireland required an extraordinary provision. Up to the present time (Feb. 22) there had been 2,000,000*l.* advanced towards its relief, and he much feared the expenditure under this head could not be estimated at less than one million per month, until the next harvest shall have been collected. This would be about 8,000,000*l.*, which, with the two already advanced, would be 10,000,000*l.*'

Besides many measures of immediate and temporary application, others of a permanent character were introduced to secure the well-being of Ireland; and among these was an efficient poor law for compelling the land to provide for the relief of its own pauperism. The discussion of this bill in its progress through parliament, occupied a great portion of the session; but time was found for lengthened discussions upon the navigation laws, which had so long been identified with the established policy of the country; and various measures were introduced in connection with its finance, commerce, and trade, of which the most important was the bill for limiting by law the labour of young persons in factories, which had of late years excited much interest and discussion both in and out of parliament.

These, and other measures having been passed, parliament was prorogued by the queen in person on July 23rd, with a view to an immediate dissolution; and the new

parliament was convoked in November, to adopt measures applicable to the commercial distresswhich weighed so heavilyupon all persons engaged in trade at this period. The railway mania of the preceding year, and the failure of the potato crop, had brought on a commercial crisis, during which a great many commercial houses were swept away; and the alarm thereby occasioned gave rise to a panic, during which the government consented to a temporary suspension of the bank act of 1844. But whether the violence of the crisis had already abated, or the mere announcement of the determination of the government had a beneficial effect on the public mind, there was no need for putting it in force, and on the meeting of parliament, the chancellor of the exchequer informed the house that there was every reason to believe that the crisis was over, and that the anticipated distress of the winter would be averted. The rest of the session was chiefly occupied with the discussion of measures for the repression of crime in Ireland; and the special business for which parliament had been called together having been now concluded, the two houses adjourned to the 3rd Feb. 1848.

This year witnessed the decease of two men who, in their respective careers, had exercised greater influence upon their countrymen than most of their contemporaries—Daniel O'Connell and Dr. Chalmers. But for a sketch of these remarkable men, we must refer the reader to the 'Biographical Treasury.'

A.D. 1848.—There are few more eventful years in the history of the world than 1848. The combustible materials that had long been smouldering throughout Europe, then burst into a flame, which threatened for a time not merely to overthrow the thrones and dynasties of nations, but to sweep away the very bases on which modern society has been established. The expulsion of Louis Philippe's family from the throne and soil of France on Feb. 24, gave the signal for these general outbreaks. But whilst almost every throne on the continent was shaken by revolution, the English monarchy, strong in the attachment of the people, not only stood firm in the tempest, but appeared even to derive increased stability from the events that elsewhere convulsed the world. By the far-sighted sagacity of sir Robert Peel the great question of free trade in corn, which might have become a prolific source of agitation, had been happily set at rest; hence when a knot of malcontents attempted to forward their political designs by a demonstration of physical force, the great mass of the British population at once rose up in defence of the laws and institutions of the country, and gained a moral victory over their opponents, the effects of which promise to be as lasting as they were beneficial. The 10th of April had been fixed by the chartists for an immense meeting to take place on Kennington-common, whence they were to proceed to parliament in military array, to present a petition signed, as was asserted, by nearly 6,000,000 of men, and thus to overawe the government into a concession of their demands. Meanwhile the government took all necessary precautions to preserve the peace of the metropolis. Large bodies of troops were stationed unseen in different public buildings; and 150,000 citizens of London voluntarily enrolled themselves as special constables for the maintenance of order. When the appointed day arrived, the courage of the chartists fell. Their leader, Feargus O'Connor, at the instigation of the police, induced the meeting quietly to disperse, and the 'Monster Petition,' as it was called, was conveyed to the house of commons in a hackney vehicle. When analysed, it was found to contain not so many as 2,000,000, instead of 6,000,000 of signatures, and these of the most absurd kind; hence it was deservedly treated with disdain, and the great chartist demonstration, which was to have changed the institutions of the country, became a byword of contempt. But although all alarm was at an end, meetings continued to be held in the metropolis for the promotion of what was called the 'People's Charter,' at which much seditious language was held. The contagion spread to some of the large manufacturing towns both in England and Scotland, and in some parts of the country the chartist demonstrations created so great an apprehension, that the government judged it expedient to arrest and bring to trial a few of the most violent leaders, who, on being found guilty, were transported or imprisoned for different periods. These transactions out of doors became the subject of frequent discussion in parliament, and led to the introduction of some new legal securities for strengthening the hands of government, and enabling them to deal more effectually with plotters against the public peace.

Scarcely had the alarm consequent on the proceedings of the chartists subsided in England, when the country was again thrown into agitation by the events which took place in Ireland. The 'Great Agitator being now removed from the stage, his place was soon filled by some young men, of great spirit and sincerity, who thought that their demands for the 'Repeal of the Union' might be prosecuted with success amid the turmoils of the period both at home and abroad. Among these were Messrs. Smith O'Brien, John Mitchell, and Thomas Meagher. Mitchell had established a newspaper, called the 'United Irishman,' in which rebellion was proclaimed without disguise. Each number contained what was called 'Our War Article,' in which the people were taught how to arm themselves, how to destroy troops in the streets of towns by pouring vitriol over them, how to form barricades and all the other apparatus of a civic insurrection. At length when, to all appearance, every preparation was made for civil war, the Irish government began to act.

O'Brien, with his two accomplices, Meagher and Mitchell, were arrested and held to bail; the two former for their harangues, the latter for a series of libels in his newspaper, and, among others, for a seditious letter addressed to the lord-lieu-

tenant, as Her Majesty's Executioner-General of Ireland.

State prosecutions, indeed, are always delicate affairs, and there were peculiarities in the law in Ireland at that time which made these prosecutions particularly hazardous. In fact, it was already obvious that the law was too weak to grapple with the turbulence which existed. Far from being intimidated by the impending trials, the incendiaries were no sooner admitted to bail, than they renewed their criminal proceedings with redoubled violence. In fact, the existing law was rather an attraction to the seditious than a discouragement. The crime was vague, the punishment slight, the chances of escape considerable; and between arrest and trial, the public was at the mercy of the agitator, who might possibly reckon upon an intermediate accomplishment of his revolutionary objects. To apply the law of treason, would have been neither easy nor desirable; speeches and articles alone would not come within its definition; and even if that difficulty could have been got over, another would have immediately occurred, arising from the magnitude of the penalties in an age so averse to extreme punishments. In short, the law of sedition was below the mark, and the law of treason above it. It was therefore expedient to meet the circumstances of the period, and the peculiarities of the crime, by a new enactment. These perilous forms of sedition were accordingly made felonies: the precision of the new law materially reduced the chances of eluding it: the consequences of conviction had much more of the pains than the charms of martyrdom: arrest was followed by committal and present incapacity for further mischief; while a punishment, at once infamous and merciful, satisfied both the claims of justice and the clemency of the public feeling. The bill met with some opposition in the house of commons on purely constitutional grounds; but the chief resistance to it was offered by Mr. John O'Connell on the part of the old agitation, Mr. O'Connor on the part of the chartists, and Mr. O'Brien himself on the part of the rebellious clubs. The figure the latter gentleman made in rising to oppose a bill for securing the crown and government against the machinations of himself and his accomplices, was rendered doubly disgraceful by the fact that he had just returned from his treasonable mission to France. The would-be Cataline was received in scornful silence by an assembly of loyal gentlemen, and sir George Grey, amidst the loudest acclamations, gave vent to the suppressed feeling of the house of commons. The new statute came no sooner into force than Mr. Mitchell was seized under its provisions, brought to trial without delay, convicted, sentenced, and, with imposing promptitude, transported to Bermuda. This was the second blow; first it stunned, then it maddened, the incendiaries, who agitated more furiously than ever, and extended their insurrectionary organisation with increased industry and vigour. A newspaper, called the 'Felon,' started up in the place of the 'United Irishman.' Thirty-two new clubs were formed in Dublin in the course of the month of June and the beginning of July. In the provinces, also, the organisation was spreading widely. The papers of the confederation, seized by the police, proved the existence of sixty-four clubs scattered through nineteen counties, but the number was probably much greater.

In the city of Cork alone there were seven clubs, of which four mustered 90C members. The law and the government were now openly defied. All descriptions of treasonable preparations were carried on with redoubled vigilance. Rebellion was no longer vaguely prated of, but formally declared; nothing was left unsettled save the convenient and proper moment for revolt. The leaders dispersed themselves through the provinces, hectoring and blustering wherever they went, founding new clubs, talking the most rampant treason in every town and village, speaking and acting as if they had already trampled the law and the government under their feet. But the government, which had hitherto been watching them with a hundred eyes, was now prepared to smite them with a hundred hands. Power of proclaiming and disarming districts was already at the lord-lieutenant's command; and on the 18th of July, to the great dismay of the clubs, this power was exerted, and Dublin, Cork, Kilkenny, Waterford, Drogheda, and Galway, along with some half dozen counties, were subjected to the wholesome rigours of the act. This bold resolution took the enemy by surprise; for as the law had been made especially for the counties, to suppress predial outrage, the anarchists had never dreamed of its application to cities and towns. With the same vigour the government now silenced the abominable journals which had replaced the 'United Irishman,' demolished their presses, confiscated their types, seized their editors, and cast out their devils The faction was thus fairly driven into the field, about which they had been blustering for so many months. The leaders, in different parts of the country, and in different strains of bombast, invited the populace to instant insurrection.

Meanwhile application had been made to parliament for those high powers which the constitution reserves for extreme cases of public disorders. On the 22nd of July a bill to suspend the habeas corpus was introduced in the commons by lord John Russell. On the 25th the bill received the royal assent, and on the 27th the lord-lieutenant issued proclamations offering rewards for the capture of Mr. O'Brien and three other persons charged with overt acts of treason. The rest was rebellion burlesqued; the lowest description of treason which ever provoked the penalties of that high crime. On the 29th of July, at the head of a large body of the Tipperary peasantry, Mr. Smith O'Brien attacked a small force of policemen, took a constable prisoner, made booty of a horse, stormed a cabin, and was totally overthrown in

half an hour. After lying *perdu* for a few days, he surrendered to the government, and was soon afterwards arraigned for high treason. Thus ended what, as soon as it was over, was called the farce of the Irish rebellion.

The trials for high treason may be briefly disposed of here, though they were not so disposed of by the courts of law. At a special commission held in the month of October in Clonmel, Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Meagher, and two others were tried, found guilty, and sentenced to the extreme penalties of the law. That those antiquated and barbarous penalties would not be enforced was, of course, notorious to all the world; but the convicts themselves assumed the airs, and claimed the honours, of martyrdom. There were points of law reserved, however, for the superior courts in Dublin; and when, after long delays, these points were decided in favour of the crown, there still lay an appeal to the house of lords, which further postponed the fate of the prisoners, whatever that fate was ultimately to be. In the month of June, however, the lords confirmed the decisions of the tribunal in Ireland, and now all difficulties seemed removed, whether in the path of justice or of mercy, when a new and totally unforeseen difficulty arose. The convicts objected to any mitigation of penalties, and insisted upon their right to be executed pursuant to their sentence. It was formally contended that the crown had no right to be merciful to Irishmen convicted of treason, and that to transport them, instead of hanging them, would be a monstrous stretch of arbitrary power. No serious doubt was entertained in the present case as to the right of the queen to commute these sentences into transportation; but, nevertheless, it was thought expedient to pass a declaratory act to prevent future cavilling on the point. This step having been taken, nothing remained but to inflict the minor penalty, which was carried out as much to the satisfaction of the public, as either the extreme penalty of the law, which nobody thought of, or complete impunity, which a few giddy people recommended, would have been displeasing to it.

The New World, and we may add the Old also, was this year thrown into a whirl of excitement by the abundant discovery of surface gold on the plains of Upper California. In the spring of the year some settlers were excavating a mill-race in the neighbourhood of the Sacramento, a river about thirty miles to the north of San Francisco, having its rise in the Californian mountains, and falling into the sea in the Bay of San Pablo. In the course of their work, they met with several pieces of heavy yellow-coloured metal, which being of a sufficiently peculiar nature to excite curiosity, were speedily discovered to be gold of great purity. For some time they preserved the secret, and are supposed to have gathered a very considerable quantity before it transpired. At length an Indian surprised them while occupied in searching, and although they endeavoured to divert his attention, and detained him for some time, he acquainted his tribe, by whose means it soon became known in the country. Such an unheard-of circumstance caused great surprise and some curiosity, but a few having tried for themselves, and having become most satisfactorily convinced of its truth, all other pursuits were abandoned, and all hands hastened to the 'diggings,' whilst wages, and all the necessaries of life and labour, have risen to the most exorbitant prices. In the course of three months, 4,000 people collected, digging and scraping early and late. The gold was found in three forms: granulated, of the size of medium gunpowder, and mixed with iron; in small scales or laminæ, of from one eighth to one twelfth of an inch in diameter; and in solid lumps of from half an ounce to four pounds in weight.

In the East, the arms of Great Britain were not allowed to remain inactive, being once more challenged to a contest by a foe who, it was thought, had been effectually subdued. The immediate cause of the rupture was as follows:—Soon after the evacuation of the Punjaub by the British troops in 1846, Moolraj, the dewan or governor of Mooltan, had become embroiled with the court of Lahore respecting the non-payment of his stipulated tribute to the treasury. By the mediation of the British authorities in India, these differences were at first temporarily adjusted; and at length, under their guarantee, the dewan was induced to trust himself in the city of Lahore for the purpose of personally arranging a final and amicable compromise. After this he returned to his province; but some time subsequently it was agreed, or alleged to be so, that he should retire from his office; and, in pursuance of this understanding, the British officers, Mr. Vans Agnew and lieut. Anderson, departed in the spring of 1848 from Lahore to Mooltan, to receive his surrender, and instal his successor. While in discharge of this duty they were treacherously and foully murdered. Moolraj then shut himself up in his fort, strengthened his defences, collected adherents from all parts of the country, and prepared to defy the British power. Immediately on intelligence of the murder reaching Lahore, a body of 3,000 Sikhs, horse and foot, was ordered to march to Mooltan, under the command of Rajah Shere Singh. It happened that at this juncture lieutenant Edwardes was engaged upon the Indus with a small force, collecting the land-tax due to Moolraj. As soon as he heard of the assassination at Mooltan, he immediately took measures to effect a junction with the forces of colonel Cortlandt, who had been commanding in a contiguous district; and this being accomplished, on the 20th May an engagement took place, in which the enemy were defeated with great slaughter, and the loss of two guns and five swivel pieces. The British troops then occupied the forts of the Dera and the line of the Indus. But they did not remain inactive. On the 18th of June, lieut. Edwardes, having, with great skill and energy, formed a junction

with the forces of the rajah of Bhawalpoor, once more engaged the army of Moolraj, which, after a sanguinary conflict of nine hours' duration, was completely defeated with the loss of all its artillery. Moolraj now fell back upon Mooltan, and was immediately followed by the British and their allies. General Whish soon after arriving from Lahore with a large reinforcement, with a view to besiege the city, the whole British force assembled round the walls of Mooltan amounted to 28,000 men. The 12th of September was fixed for making a general attack upon the town. A party of the enemy having strongly entrenched themselves in a garden and village near the walls, 2,500 of the British troops, under the command of brigadier Harvey, marched at daybreak against this post, and carried it after a severe struggle and much loss on both sides. Next day the Mooltanese troops made a desperate attack on Lieut. Edwardes' camp, but were repelled, and the British troops carried another important outwork. But at this critical juncture, Shere Singh went over to the enemy with the whole of his troops consisting of 5,000 men; and in consequence of this defection general Whish deemed it expedient to raise the siege, and fall back upon a position a few miles from the town. As it had now become apparent that a struggle with the whole of the fierce soldiery of the Sikhs was at hand, a large force was ordered to assemble at Ferozepoor, under the orders of lord Gough, and preparations on a large scale were made to crush this formidable rebellion.

On Oct. 9, Shere Singh separated himself from Moolraj, and by skilful manœuvres led the whole of his force across the Ravee, and through the whole extent of Doab-i-Bechna, to the country north-west of Lahore, and south-east of Vyseernbad, where Chuttur Singh shortly after took up his position. On Nov. 21, it was found that Shere Singh was entrenched on the right bank of the Chenab, behind Ramnuggur, with nearly 40,000 men and 28 guns well placed. A picket of two regiments was posted advantageously on the left bank. Lord Gough despatched major-general Thackwell with thirteen infantry regiments, besides artillery and cavalry, to cross the river some miles up the stream, and operate on the enemy's flank. Lord Gough personally led the attack on the advanced position. A surprise was attempted, but unsuccessfully. Some of the British troops fell into ambush, suffered great slaughter, and lost a gun. Among the losses sustained by the British in this engagement, were col. Havelock, gen. Cureton, and capt. Highbury, who fell in a gallant but unsuccessful charge against the enemy. After a variety of manœuvres, in which Shere Singh displayed great ability as a tactician, the whole Sikh army abandoned their position at Ramnuggur, and marched upon the Jhelum.

Meanwhile, general Whish, having been joined by the Bombay troops, renewed the siege of Mooltan. The besieging army now amounted to 15,000 British troops; that of the allies to about 17,000; or 32,000 in all, besides 150 pieces of artillery. On December 27, the troops advanced in four columns to the attack; and clearing the suburbs, and driving in the enemy on all sides, established themselves within 500 yards of the walls. A terrific cannonade and bombardment commenced next day. On Dec. 29, the besiegers had arrived so close to the walls, that their heavy guns were breaching them at a distance of no more than eighty yards. Tremendous damage was caused to the town; and in the fort a granary was set on fire, and several small magazines exploded. On the morning of the 30th, the principal magazine of the fort, in which nearly 800,000 pounds of powder were reported to have been stored, blew up with a terrific explosion. The Dewan's mother, and several of his relatives, with many of the sirdars, and a great number of troops and people, were blown into the air; while mosques and houses, and huge masses of masonry, came tumbling down in destructive confusion. But with this grave event our narrative for the present year must close.

In this memorable year's obituary are the names of two distinguished statesmen, viscount Melbourne and lord George Bentinck. The former for some time had retired from the active scene of politics, and was carried to the grave full of years and honours. But the latter was struck down in the vigour of manhood, and, it may be said, at the very commencement of a career which the great and various resources he had recently displayed, his boundless energy and uncompromising firmness, had made full of promise.

A.D. 1849.—Public affairs at the commencement of the parliamentary session presented no extraordinary feature. In England, the landed interest showed itself uneasy and dissatisfied with the great commercial changes that had recently taken place; and in Ireland a lawless spirit still prevailed to some extent among the population. But commerce was reviving from the shocks which it had felt for the last two or three years; and the internal tranquillity of the kingdom was undisturbed. Great part of the session was devoted to the affairs of Ireland. A select committee having been appointed upon the Irish poor law, a committee of the whole house was agreed to, after a long discussion, to consider the government proposition of a 'rate in aid;' and the debates that then ensued were chiefly remarkable for the speech of sir Robert Peel, who at great length developed his own views respecting the state of Ireland, and suggested a plan for the redemption of landed property in that country. 'If,' said the right hon. gentleman, 'technicalities and legal difficulties stood in their way, they should cut the Gordian knot and release the land.' 'Sooner than let the present state of things continue, he would altogether oust the court of chancery of its jurisdiction over the subject.' These memorable words were soon followed by the introduction of a bill for facilitating the sale and transfer

of encumbered estates. By means of it, a simple, short, inexpensive mode of selling and transferring land is substituted for the tardy and ruinous course of procedure which previously prevailed; and whether we regard the magnitude and stubbornness of the abuse it grappled with, the vigour and originality of the machinery it employed, or the vast and almost inc[illegible]culable importance of the social change which its operation promises to accomplish in Ireland, it may justly challenge comparison with the greatest achievements of modern legislation.

Another most important measure of the session of 1849 was the bill introduced by the government for the repeal of the navigation laws. After lengthened discussions in both houses, this crowning measure of the free-trade policy received the final sanction of parliament, and shortly afterwards obtained the royal assent; its operation being fixed to commence on Jan. 1, 1850.

We must now revert to the affairs of India. Our narrative closed last year with an account of the tremendous explosion of a large powder magazine in Mooltan, on the 30th of December 1848, in the midst of the assault made by the British troops. But this produced hardly a pause in the conflict. After an incessant roar of cannon and musketry for about eight and forty hours, her majesty's 32nd and 49th, and 72nd native infantry, pushed forward to a breach near the Delhi gate but it proved impracticable. The troops then moved round to the opposite side of the town where the entrance of the Bombay column had already been effected. The Fusileers entered first, and placed the standard on the city walls. The Bengal column followed, and the city, which was taken about 3 P. M., was before sunset filled with British troops. The citadel, however, in which Moolraj had shut himself up, still continued to hold out; but practicable breaches having been effected, the British troops were about to storm the citadel, when Moolraj surrendered himself unconditionally, with his whole garrison. Mooltan having thus fallen, the troops engaged in the attack immediately commenced their march northwards, to join the grand army under lord Gough, opposed to the two rebel chieftains, Shere Singh and Chuttur Singh.

On the 10th of January, lord Gough received an official communication, that the fortress of Attock, which had so long been defended by major Herbert, had fallen, and that Chuttur Singh was advancing to join his forces to those under his son Shere Singh, which then amounted to nearly 40,000 men with 62 guns. He, therefore, determined to lose no time in attempting the complete overthrow of the Sikh army in his front; and at daylight on the morning of the 12th marched from Loah Zibbah to Dingree. The succeeding movements may be narrated in the words of his own despatch: 'Having learned from my spies and from other sources of information, that Shere Singh still held with his right the villages of Lukhneewalla and Futteh-Shah-keh-Chuck, having the great body of his force at the village of Lollianwalla, with his left at Russool on the Jhelum, strongly occupying the southern extremity of a low range of different hills intersected by ravines which extend nearly to that village, I made my arrangements accordingly this evening, and communicated them to the commanders of the several divisions; but to insure correct information as to the nature of the country, which I believed to be excessively difficult and ill-adapted to the advance of a regular army, I determined upon moving on this village with a view to reconnoitre.

'On the morning of the 13th the force advanced: I made a considerable detour to my right, partly in order to distract the enemy's attention, but principally to get as clear as I could of the jungle, on which it would appear that the enemy mainly relied.

'We approached this village about 12 o'clock, and I found on a mound close to it a strong picket of the enemy's cavalry and infantry, which we at once dispersed, obtaining from the mound a very extended view of the country before us, and the enemy drawn out in battle-array, he having either during the night or that morning moved out of his several positions and occupied the ground in our front, which, though not a dense, was still a difficult jungle, his right in advance of Futteh-Shah-keh-Chuck, and his left on the furrowed hills before described.

'The day being so far advanced, I decided upon taking up a position in rear of the village, in order to reconnoitre my front: finding that I could not turn the enemy's flanks, which rested upon a dense jungle, extending nearly to Hailah, which I had previously occupied for some time, and the neighbourhood of which I knew, and upon the ravine hills, near Russori, without detaching a force to a distance; this I considered both inexpedient and dangerous.

'The engineer department had been ordered to examine the country before us, and the quartermaster-general was in the act of taking up ground for the encampment, when the enemy advanced some horse artillery, and opened a fire on the skirmishers in front of the village. I immediately ordered them to be silenced by a few rounds from our heavy guns, which advanced to an open space in front of the village. The fire was instantly returned by that of nearly the whole of the enemy's field artillery, thus exposing the position of his guns, which the jungle had hitherto concealed.

'It was now evident that the enemy intended to fight, and would probably advance his guns so as to reach the encampment during the night.

'I, therefore, drew up in order of battle, sir Walter Gilbert's division on the right, flanked by brigadier Pope's brigade of cavalry, which I strengthened by the 14th light dragoons, well aware that the enemy was strong in cavalry upon his left. To

this were attached three troops of horse artillery under lieutenant-colonel Grant. The heavy guns were in the centre.

'Brigadier-general Campbell's division formed the left, flanked by brigadier White's brigade of cavalry, and three troops of horse artillery under lieutenant-colonel Brind. The field batteries were with the infantry divisions.'

Such was the order of attack; but the question now arises was it prudent under the circumstances to make the attack at all? The troops were wearied with their march, the day was almost spent, and there was no time to make proper preparations so as to avoid unnecessary loss of life. The truth seems to be that lord Gough was irritated by the fire from the horse artillery of the Sikhs, and suddenly changing his plan of waiting until the next day before he attacked them, he resolved to chastise their presumption upon the spot. If such be the fact, the commander-in-chief was certainly in this instance more brave than discreet, and his indiscretion cost us dear. No sufficient reconnaissance was made of the ground that lay between our troops and the enemy, and it was not known in what part of his line his chief strength lay.

'After a cannonade which lasted between one and two hours, the left division were directed to make a flank movement, and in obeying the order, exposed their own flank to a dreadful cross-fire from Sikh batteries on their left which had not been observed, and on the third and fourth brigades ultimately reaching the guns, they were met by such a tremendous fire, that they were obliged to retire with severe loss. As soon as it was known that these two brigades were engaged, the fifth was sent against the centre of what was supposed to be the enemy's line, and advanced under brigadier Mountain through the jungle in the face of a storm, first of round shot, then grape, and lastly musketry, which mowed down the officers and men by dozens. Still they advanced, and on reaching the guns spiked every one in front and two others on the left, which had subsequently opened a flank fire on them; but the Sikhs no sooner saw they were deprived of the use of their guns, than they renewed such a fire with musketry not only on the flank, but in the rear of the brigade, that it was compelled to retreat—a movement which was effected in good order, and with determined bravery.'

'In the meantime,' we quote from a contemporary account, 'brigadier Godby, with major-general sir W. Gilbert as a leader, who was on the extreme right of the infantry line, moved forward, and after marching through dense jungle for some minutes, came upon the enemy's infantry; the brigade opened their fire, but the enemy were in such numbers, that they easily outflanked them. Two companies of the 2nd European regiment were wheeled up, showed front, and the whole charged, but had not gone far when they found they were surrounded. They immediately faced right about, kept up some file-firing and charged rear-rank in front. At this juncture Dawe's battery came to the rescue, and having beaten off the enemy, took their guns. While the infantry were thus highly distinguishing themselves, and earning imperishable laurels, the cavalry on the extreme left under brigadier White had made a dashing charge and contributed much to the defeat of the enemy, while the cavalry on the extreme right, consisting of brigadier Pope's force, with the 14th light dragoons temporarily attached, having been taken in advance of their horse artillery, Lane's, Christie's, and Huish's troops were directed to charge a body of the enemy's cavalry, variously estimated at from 1,000 to 5,000. Instead of obeying the orders given them they faced about, and, in spite of the energetic endeavours of their own and other officers, left the field (with the exception of a body of the 9th lancers who were rallied), and made direct for the artillery, on coming up to which, instead of pulling up, they dashed through Huish's and Christie's troops, upsetting a waggon and some horses, and directing their course to the field hospital. The enemy, seeing the advantage they had thus unaccountably ensured, followed our cavalry, got amongst the horse artillery, cut down no less than 73 gunners, who had, by the flight of the cavalry through their ranks, been deprived of the means of defending themselves, and carried off 6 of the guns, two of which were subsequently recovered.' A fire of grape was however poured in upon the advancing Sikhs, and they turned and fled.

'The British troops remained masters of the field, but their loss was very heavy: 26 European officers and 731 men killed, 66 officers and 1,446 men wounded, making a total of 2,269. Moreover 4 of our guns fell into the hands of the enemy, and 5 stand of colours, and the Sikhs, aided by the darkness of the night, were able to remove the greater part of the guns which had been taken by us during the struggle. Upon the whole, although the victory was complete, the policy and conduct of the action which had just been fought were most severely criticised. It was known by the name of the battle of Chillianwallah, from a village in the immediate vicinity of which the British army was encamped, and the news was received in England with a burst of sorrow, and we must add indignation. Want of due caution on the part of the general was patent on the face of the accounts of the engagement, and it was felt that it ought not to have been hazarded, nor so great a waste of life wantonly incurred. There was no need to test the courage of the soldiers who had been engaged in this campaign against the Sikhs, and the duty of the commander-in-chief was to effect the overthrow of the enemy by superior strategic skill, rather than by dashing exploits of personal valour, and hand-to-hand conflicts with the sabre and the bayonet. The consequence was an almost unanimous demand for the recall of lord Gough, and the appointment of a general who would carry on the war in a more scientific and less desperate fashion.

In this emergency all eyes were turned to sir Charles Napier, the hero of Meeance and conqueror of Scinde, whose name was dreaded by the restless tribes of the Indus more than that of any other living man, and both the Government and the East India Company acknowledged the correctness of the public choice. Sir Charles Napier was without delay appointed commander-in-chief of the forces, and member extraordinary of the council of India, and he sailed from England at the latter end of March, to assume his duties in the East.

'But in the meantime Providence had blessed our arms with a decisive and final victory, and the glory of Goojerat effaced all vindictive memory of the carnage of Chillianwallah.' (*Annual Register* for 1849.)

On the 12th of February, the Sikhs drew up their cavalry in masses outside their camp at Chillianwallah, and under that cover the tents were struck, and the troops retreated in the direction of Goojerat. Lord Gough, with 25,000 men and 100 guns, then resolved to attack the enemy, numbering 60,000 men with 59 guns. The Sikh chief was strongly posted between two river courses, which protected his flanks, and yet allowed him good manœuvring space to retire either on the east or west side of the town of Goojerat, which afforded shelter and protection to his rear. The fight began at seven in the morning, and lasted throughout the day. The British army displayed the greatest gallantry; and the result was that, by four o'clock the enemy had been driven from every post, and was in general retreat, which the field artillery and cavalry converted into a total rout and flight. They were pursued with great slaughter for about 15 miles, and next morning an adequate force took up the direct pursuit, and detachments were sent to the points where retreat could most effectually be cut off. The result was that 3 of the enemy's guns, and the whole of their ammunition and camp equipage, fell into the hands of the British.

This decisive engagement was followed by the most important results. Shere Singh and various other chiefs surrendered unconditionally. The flight of Dost Mohammed into Affghanistan, by dissolving the Sikh and Affghan confederacy, gave the finishing blow to the existence of the Sikhs; and the Punjaub was forthwith declared to be a portion of the British empire in India. At a public durbar held on the 29th of March, it was agreed, that Dhuleep Singh should resign the sovereignty, that all the property of the state should be confiscated to the East India Company, and that the famous diamond called the Koh-i-noor, or Mountain of Light, should be surrendered to the queen of England.

The year 1849 will long be memorable for the reappearance of cholera in appalling strength. On that occasion, this frightful disease did not, as in 1832, arise in one unhealthy spot, and thence radiate to congenial localities in other parts of the kingdom, but it reappeared in all its terrors simultaneously, and in all parts of the country, sparing neither the rich in their mansions nor the poor in their hovels, though its chief ravages were committed wherever neglect, vice, or poverty pressed upon the population. As soon as its presence was distinctly ascertained, every attention was paid to the subject by government; parochial and district boards were forthwith organised; and every measure that humanity and prudence could suggest was adopted to check the progress of the disease. Nor were its ravages confined to England. As in 1832, it made the tour of the globe; the main points in which it differed from the former visitation being the longer continuance of the disease in the places visited, the greater tendency to subside and reappear, and the higher mortality it occasioned. In the metropolis it raged with terrific violence during the third quarter of the year, till it reached its climax in the week ending Sept. 8, during which period the deaths amounted to the enormous number of 12,847.

Among the many fair fruits of restored tranquillity in Ireland was the inducement it offered to the queen to visit a part of her empire hitherto known to her only by name. That gracious visit was a well-timed proof of the royal confidence in the unshaken allegiance of the great bulk of the Irish people; and it was likewise a compliment to the energy, prudence, just humanity, and moderation by which the unfortunate tumults of the preceding year had been so happily composed. The appearance, indeed, of the queen among her Irish subjects was all that was wanting to complete the ascendency of loyalty over treason, and of order over tumult. Her visit was to the nation; and the nation which welcomed her was not only loyal but free. Her progress, comprehending the capital and principal cities, afforded people of all orders and classes opportunities of testifying their joy and presenting her with their homage.

The close of this year witnessed the death of the queen dowager, Adelaide. Her majesty's health had long been feeble; but in the autumn of 1849 her debility assumed an alarming form, and, after lingering a few weeks, she died December 2nd, sincerely regretted by all classes of the community.

A.D. 1850.—This year opened with more cheering prospects than might have been expected. The bill for the repeal of the navigation laws, which had been passed the preceding year, far from putting an end to the public agitation for Protection, seemed only to have doubled its intensity. At the close of 1849, meetings sprang up on all sides, in which the Protectionists and Free Traders fought all their battles over again. The latter had all the ardour which is inspired by the desire of defending a recent conquest against adversaries who are at work to destroy it: the former had all the vehemence produced by a lost position and deeply affected interests. In the midst of these hostile dispositions, parliament was opened by commission on

the 1st of Feb. The prevalence of distress among the agriculturists formed a topic for regret in the speech from the throne; but as a set-off, great stress was laid on the increase of our foreign trade, and the cheapness of the comforts of life to the working classes. In opposition to the usual address, an amendment was ineffectually moved in both houses of parliament, embodying the complaints of the owners and occupiers of land, and seeking for relief. But these apparent triumphs of the cabinet were soon seriously endangered by the division on the motion of Mr. Disraeli, for a committee on the 'Burdens on Land;' and especially to consider the necessity for an immediate revision of those poor-law charges which rest wholly on such property. The cabinet's admission, in the royal speech, of the distress of the agriculturists, naturally formed a good point of attack for the mover of the committee, and seriously embarrassed the ministry in opposing his motion. The adhesion of Mr. Gladstone and other members of the Peel party to the motion rendered the division very close, and gave the ministry a majority of no more than 21, in a house of more than 620 members. Colonial affairs, and in an especial manner the West India question, also threatened the existence of the ministry. The appointment of the Ceylon Committee, to enquire into lord Torrington's conduct during the Ceylon riots, that had taken place in 1848, proved how little confidence was placed in the Colonial Office, whilst the resolution of sir Fowell Buxton, affirming the injustice of exposing free-grown sugar to competition with slave-grown sugar, was rejected by the narrow majority of 275 to 234.

But by far the most important debate of this session arose out of the affairs of Greece. At the commencement of this year, intelligence had reached England that, in consequence of the refusal of the government of Greece to accede to demands which the British government had made on account of certain British subjects, admiral sir W. Parker had been directed to proceed to Athens, and, not obtaining satisfaction, had blockaded the Piræus, and had had recourse to other stringent measures. On the receipt of this intelligence, many persons, otherwise friendly to the government, manifestedconsiderable dissatisfaction,considering such peremptory proceedings towards a feeble state like Greece unworthy of the dignity and reputation of the British nation. Soon after the meeting of parliament, questions were addressed to the government on the subject, and lengthened discussions took place, the object of which was to show that the nation did not sympathise with the government in the course which it had thought fit to adopt. Lord Palmerston having, however, accepted of the good offices of the French government, hostilities had ceased, and every thing promised a peaceful termination to this untoward affair, when it became known that the French ambassador, baron Gros, who had been deputed to confer with Mr. Wyse, the British minister at Athens, had failed in his mission. Meanwhile, a convention was agreed to in London between lord Palmerston and M. Drouyn de Lhuys, by which the whole matter was to be arranged. Before this convention was actually signed, the French government despatched a steam frigate to the Piræus, to announce the basis of the proposed agreement to baron Gros; but from some inexplicable cause, lord Palmerston sent no instructions to Mr. Wyse on the subject; and the latter, in complete ignorance of the measures agreed to in London, gave notice to the Greek government that he would immediately recommence coercive measures unless the demands of the British government were unconditionally complied with. These demands were acceded to; but the French government, to mark its sense of what it believed to be a want of good faith on the part of lord Palmerston, recalled its ambassador from London, and only agreed to his return when the British government consented to be bound by the stipulations of the convention in which he had borne a part. But the matter did not rest here. In the house of lords the blockade of Greece was discussed at great length, and lord Stanley brought forward a motion of censure against the government, whom he reproached with having violated the principles of the law of nations, and having compromised the good understanding of England with the continental powers. After an animated discussion, lord Stanley's motion was carried against the government in a full house by a majority of 37. It was at first supposed that in consequence of this defeat the ministry would resign; but lord John Russell showed by precedents that an adverse vote in the house of lords does not necessitate the resignation of a government, nor a change in its policy. It was, however, deemed expedient that something should be done to counterbalance the moral effect of the vote in the house of lords; and Mr. Roebuck gave notice of a comprehensive resolution, approving of the whole foreign policy of the government. The debate on this motion lasted four days; all the most distinguished members of the house took part in it. A powerful defence of his policy was made by lord Palmerston, who travelled over the whole ground of attack, and with varied and well-put arguments maintained that he had not failed of his duty in the proud position of the minister who wielded the power of England, and fearlessly challenged the verdict of the house upon the principles of his policy. In a house, consisting of 574 members, the division gave a majority of 46 in favour of the government. The victory thus gained would have created immense sensation, but for the melancholy event by which it was immediately followed. Sir Robert Peel had taken a prominent part in the debate just closed. His speech was distinguished by a manly generosity of tone, well suited to the lofty, though unofficial position which he had occupied for four years; and though compelled to

dissociate himself from the foreign policy of the government, few will forget the sensation produced by his generous language in reference to lord Palmerston,—'We are all proud of him!' The day after this memorable debate, while riding up Constitution-hill, his horse started and threw him. He was conveyed home, and medical attendance was instantly with him; but the internal injuries he had sustained proved too much for his susceptible frame, and after intense suffering of three days' duration, he expired on July 2nd. The intelligence of this sad event was heard with dismay. The house of commons immediately adjourned out of respect to the memory of the great statesman; and next day in both houses, members of all political parties gave utterance to their feelings of regret for his loss. Lord John Russell, on the part of the government, proposed that the deceased should be honoured by a public funeral—the highest tribute of respect to an individual which the house of commons could pay,—but Mr. Goulburn, on the part of sir Robert Peel's family, declined this offer, in consequence of the often-expressed and written desire of the illustrious dead, to be 'interred without ostentation or parade of any kind.' A national monument, however, was decreed to his memory in Westminster-abbey; and her majesty would have conferred on his family the honours of the peerage if they had not been respectfully declined.

The last important business with which the house was occupied previous to its rising, was the attempt of baron Rothschild to sit without taking the usual oaths. Wearied, apparently, of waiting for the promised government measure, on the 26th of July the baron presented himself at the table of the house, and demanded to be sworn on the Old Testament. After a discussion this was conceded; but when the oaths were tendered, on coming to the words 'on the faith of a true Christian,' the baron said, 'I pass them as not binding on my conscience,' and concluded with the remaining words of adjuration. But this evasion of the law was not supported even by his ministerial friends, and the result was that these words were affirmed to be an essential part of the oath, and the baron was declared to be not entitled to his seat in the house.

Among the most important acts bearing on the well-being of the community passed this session, may be mentioned the 'Act to make better Provision for the Interment of the Dead in and near the Metropolis,' the Factories Amendment Act, a bill for the better government of the Australian colonies, a bill for the alteration of the stamp duties, and a bill for altering the qualification of parliamentary votes in Ireland. The 8th day of July witnessed the death of his royal highness the duke of Cambridge.

In the autumn of this year Great Britain was thrown into a state of political and religious excitement, almost unprecedented in its history. It was occasioned by the attempt of the Pope to reestablish the Roman Catholic hierarchy, which had been extinct since the Reformation. Without permission of the crown, or any negotiation with the government whatever, Pope Pius IX. divided the whole of England into twelve sees, and assigned these to as many Roman Catholic bishops, with territorial jurisdiction. The chief of them was Dr. Wiseman, who was created cardinal and elevated to the rank of archbishop of Westminster. Dr. Wiseman issued a pastoral letter, which was read on the 27th day of October, 1850, in all the churches and chapels of the Romanists, congratulating catholic England on the reestablishment of the Roman hierarchy.

The excitement produced by this intelligence throughout England was prodigious; and the flame was fanned by the publication of a letter which lord John Russell had addressed to the bishop of Durham, in condemnation of the Pope's proceedings. When the excitement was at its height, cardinal Wiseman published a subtle defence of himself and the popish measure, which he addressed to the people of England, and, whether consistently or inconsistently, pleaded in the most strenuous manner for the inviolable observance of the principles of 'religious liberty.' But the great body of the people turned a deaf ear to this appeal; and many, even of the Roman Catholic subjects of the queen viewed the papal rescript with no favourable eye, confirming, as it did, their suspicions of ultramontane tendencies, which but a short time previously had been exhibited in Ireland. For the aggression of the Roman Catholic Church had not begun here. A synod of Irish Catholic archbishops, bishops, and inferior clergy, had been recently held in Thurles, under the direction of archbishop Cullen, the Pope's legate; and great indignation was manifested by the Protestant population throughout the country, when it became known that the queen's colleges, which had been established in 1845, to enable the youth of Ireland to obtain secular instruction, had been solemnly condemned by the synod, and that its acts had been forwarded to Rome to be submitted to the approval of the Pope.

A. D. 1851.—At the commencement of this year, two subjects, though diametrically opposite, engrossed the minds of the community: the Papal aggression, with the measures likely to be adopted to counteract it; and the Great Exhibition of the Industry of all Nations. It was generally expected that, with the exception of some measures calculated to abate the pretensions of the Papal See, the session of parliament would be barren of legislative results, and that the fervour of politics would give way to the amenities which the great commercial jubilee would naturally inspire. How far this expectation was realised will be seen in the sequel. The parliament was opened by the queen in person, on Feb. 4. Her majesty in the royal speech dwelt with satisfaction on the continuance of peace and amity with foreign nations: on the termination of hostilities between Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein, through

the exertions of the German confederation in carrying out the stipulations of the treaty of Berlin; on the conclusion of an additional treaty with the king of Sardinia; and on the new measures taken by the government of Brazil for the suppression of the slave trade. Her majesty having referred to the estimates of the year, which 'were framed with a due regard to economy and to the necessities of the public service,' proceeded to remark on the satisfactory state of the revenue, notwithstanding the large reduction of taxation in late years, and upon the flourishing state of the commerce and manufactures of the kingdom. The difficulties still felt by the owners and occupiers of land her majesty lamented, but hoped that the prosperity of other classes of her subjects would have a beneficial effect in diminishing those difficulties, and in promoting the interests of agriculture. Her majesty then foreshadowed the principal government measures of the coming session; a bill to prevent the assumption of certain ecclesiastical titles conferred by the Pope; bills for improving the administration of justice in the several departments of law and equity; and a bill for a registration of deeds and instruments relating to the transfer of property.

Following the order of the measures here adverted to, lord John Russell, on the 7th of Feb., moved for leave to bring in a bill to counteract the aggressive policy of the Church of Rome. The debate was protracted during four nights by successive adjournments; and at length the motion was carried on a division by 395 against 63. The extent of this majority sufficiently demonstrated the feeling which pervaded the country in regard to the Papal aggression; but a sudden stop was put to the further progress of the measure through parliament by events to which we must now more particularly advert. Before the session had lasted a month, a ministerial crisis had arisen, and their seals of office had been resigned, only to be taken back again after an interval of a few days. The weakness of the ministerial party had long been admitted, whilst the strength of the Conservative opposition had been increased by the accession of several votes from the Peel section, after the death of their great chief. Taking advantage of the fresh admission of agricultural distress contained in the royal speech, on the 11th Feb., Mr. Disraeli renewed his motion on the burdens on land and the inequality of taxation, in the form of a resolution of the house affirming the duty of the government to provide some immediate relief for that distress it publicly admitted, and pretended to deplore. To this proposition the cabinet replied by again denying the existence of the distress, or ridiculing the proposed measures for its relief. On a division, their majority could muster only 281 members, whilst the minority had risen to 267 votes. But close upon this victory followed their defeat in a small house by their own friends, on the question of extending the county franchise to 10*l.* householders. Convinced of their own decline, but, as was surmised, hoping, by an immediate resignation, to anticipate the tactics of the Conservatives, and perhaps prevent their future accession to office, the cabinet resigned, and lord Stanley was sent for by the queen. After a day's consultation with his friends, lord Stanley declined to take office until every other means had failed to constitute a government among the leaders of the majority. Lord Aberdeen and sir James Graham were severally sent for by her majesty, and intrusted with the formation of a new ministry; but all the negotiations for this purpose proved abortive, the two latter statesmen announcing their repugnance to take office while the bill to counteract the Papal aggression was unsettled. The queen, therefore, on the advice of the duke of Wellington, once more recalled the Whigs to office; but from that period to the close of the session, the cabinet existed on the sufferance of its opponents. Finance was the weakest point in the ministerial programme. In the middle of February, the first budget of the year was proposed, but found little approval or support. Another three years' lease of the income-tax was demanded, and a partial remission of the window duties, and some removal of a few thousand pounds each, of agricultural burdens, were promised, but the ministerial crisis of March destroyed this budget. On the 5th of April the second budget appeared. By this the window-tax was wholly repealed, a house-tax imposed, and the bonus to the agriculturists withdrawn; but still the income-tax was redemanded for three years. This budget found more favour than its predecessor, and its main details were carried. The house, however, marked its objection to the income-tax, by limiting it to a single year, as well as nominating a select committee to enquire into its operation. Two other temporary defeats on financial matters were suffered by the government—that on home-made spirits in bond, and that on the attorneys' certificate duties—and though these defeats were afterwards retrieved, the weakness of the government was made fully evident. The ecclesiastical titles bill, introduced by the cabinet, was regarded with little favour by any party. The more zealous Protestants viewed it as practically ineffective. The Romanists looked on it as an insult, and all the more insulting from its inefficiency; whilst the Peelites denounced it as inconsistent with the principles which the Whigs had professed for so many years on the subject of religion. Chiefly by the votes of the Conservative majority, several important amendments were carried against the government, who, however, consented to adopt them, and thus made the bill more palatable to the country. The close of the parliamentary session was marked by an attempt of alderman Salomons, who had a short time previously been elected member for Greenwich, to take his seat without the usual oaths. This incident gave rise to lengthened discussions, during which alderman Salomons both sat and voted; but the house, on the motion of lord John

Russell, at length passed a resolution, denying the right of the honourable member to sit or vote, until he had taken the oaths in the form appointed by law.

But while fierce discussions were raging in parliament, the public attention was fully engrossed by another subject, to which we shall briefly advert. 'The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations' in 1851, will be recorded in the annals of future ages as the first event of the kind which has occurred in the history of mankind. The fabric termed the Crystal Palace, designed by Mr. Joseph Paxton, in Hyde-park, London, for the English celebration of the Exhibition of Industry of all Nations, surpassed in extent and magnificence, and wondrous adaptation of means to ends, all former displays of our continental neighbours, and all that the most sanguine and enterprising of its projectors could have conceived. The Exhibition was opened with imposing solemnity by her majesty Queen Victoria, May 1st, in the presence of 25,000 persons. The site of the Crystal Palace was on the vacant space on the S. side of Hyde-park between the Kensington-road and the Serpentine, 3¾m. S. by W. of the General Post-office. Its figure was a cross, being oblong, with a central transept rising 108 feet. Extreme length of building 1,851 feet, corresponding to the year of erection; extreme breadth 456 feet; area nearly 19 acres, or seven times the area of St. Paul's Cathedral. The Exhibition was closed to the public on Oct. 11; and shortly afterwards her majesty conferred the honour of knighthood and other distinctions on those gentlemen to whose zeal, ability, and active cooperation with Prince Albert much of the success of the novel scheme must be attributed. It would far exceed our limits to enter upon any of the great questions, moral, social, and industrial, which are naturally suggested by so gigantic an undertaking, thus successfully concluded. Few designs ever awakened more alarm at its outset, or ever inspired greater apprehensions for its success during its progress: but in the same proportion few realisations were more complete, and no consummation more likely to be pregnant with lasting good. We have only to add that the general opinion was strongly in favour of the preservation of the Exhibition Building; but this being adverse to the terms on which its site in Hyde park had been temporarily conceded, a new Crystal Palace was commenced at Sydenham, Aug. 5, 1852, more expressly and artistically appropriate to popular recreation and instruction.

The close of this year witnessed the death of the last surviving son of George III., Ernest, king of Hanover, better known in this country as the duke of Cumberland.

A.D. 1852.—The opening of the parliamentary session of this year was looked forward to with considerable curiosity; for an important change in the cabinet—the dismissal of lord Palmerston from the office of foreign secretary, which to many seemed unaccountable—had taken place during the recess; and nothing but ministerial explanations, it appeared, could throw light upon the subject. On the 3rd of Feb. the session was opened by her majesty in person; and soon after the royal speech was delivered, lord John Russell availed himself of an opportunity presented to him by one of his supporters to enter into the eagerly desired explanations. From these it appeared, that lord Palmerston had on various occasions acted independently of his colleagues; and as more especially in opposition to a resolution passed in the cabinet, 'to abstain from the expression of opinions in approval or disapproval of the recent *coup d'état* in France,' his lordship had, both in public despatches and private conversation, spoken favourably of the policy adopted by the French president, the premier resolved to call upon him to resign the seals of office. This took place on the 24th Dec. 1851; and earl Granville was appointed secretary for foreign affairs in his room. These explanations over, the attention of parliament was speedily occupied with two questions of great importance: the defences of the country, and the new Reform Bill. Of the latter we need only say, that it was received with few manifestations of approval even by the friends of reform: while the ministerial scheme for organising the militia gave lord Palmerston an opportunity of ousting the minister by whom he had been dismissed. On the 20th of Feb. the militia bill came on for discussion, when lord Palmerston moved to omit those words from the preamble which would convert the projected force into a general instead of local militia. This motion was carried by 136 to 125, and on that hint the premier, who, it was said, was in dread of a motion closely impending on the policy of lord Grey towards the colonies, resigned office, and lord Stanley, who had since the ministerial crisis of last year succeeded his father as earl of Derby, was once more intrusted with the task of forming an administration. During a short parliamentary adjournment which took place, the following list was completed:—lord-chancellor, sir Edward Sugden, created baron St. Leonards; president of the council, earl of Lonsdale; lord privy seal, marquis of Salisbury; home secretary, right hon. Spencer Walpole; colonial secretary, sir John Pakington; foreign secretary, earl of Malmesbury; first lord of the treasury, earl of Derby; chancellor of exchequer, right hon. B. Disraeli; chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, right hon. R. A. Christopher; first commissioner of works and public buildings, lord John Manners; postmaster-general, earl of Hardwicke; board of control, right hon. J. C. Herries; board of trade, right hon. Joseph Henley; chief secretary for Ireland, lord Naas; admiralty, duke of Northumberland. The foregoing were in the cabinet, the following were not:—Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, earl of Eglinton; commander-in-chief, duke of Wellington; master-general of the ordnance, viscount Hardinge. On the reassembling of parliament on the 15th of

March, the earl of Derby made a long and eloquent speech in the house of peers, in which he declined to pledge himself to a particular course in regard to any measures, though he did not desire to go back to the law of 1846 with respect to corn. While he frankly owned that, in his opinion, the imposition of a moderate duty, producing a large revenue, and enabling other kinds of taxation to be taken off, with hardly an appreciable effect on the food of the people, would be just, economical, and advantageous to the country, he thought that no minister ought to bring forward such a proposition, unless he was sure not only of a bare majority, but of a very general concurrence of opinion throughout the country. The enunciation of these views was favourably received, both in and out of parliament; and the ministry having declared that, as a speedy dissolution of parliament was contemplated, none but the most pressing measures should be brought forward, all factious opposition was suspended. The militia bill, after lengthened discussion, was carried by a large majority: New Zealand received a constitution; various social and sanitary improvements were effected; and, above all, extensive changes, amounting in many respects to a thorough reform, were made in the proceeding of the superior courts of law and equity. These and other measures having been passed, parliament was prorogued by the queen in person on the 1st July; and on the same day dissolved by royal proclamation.

We must now advert briefly to the state of our colonial dependencies. Some insults having been offered to the British flag by the viceroy of Rangoon, the governor-general of India at once took measures to avenge them. The British troops captured five principal cities, Martaban, Bassein, Rangoon, Pegu, and Prome, reconnoitred the banks of the Irrawaddy, and remained four months in the enemy's country, without loss, save from the climate, of more than 100 men. At the Cape, a fierce war was carried on for eighteen months with the Caffres at a vast, and it is to be feared, useless expenditure of blood and treasure. To make the narrative clear to the reader, a few geographical details of the colony may not be out of place. Three large rivers, running in nearly parallel directions from north-west to south-east, and discharging themselves into the sea, supply as many available lines for the eastern or Caffrarian frontier of our Cape colony. The first of these is the Great Fish River; the second, the Keiskamma; and the third the Kei. Between the first and the second lies the recently annexed province of Victoria; between the second and third the extensive district, called British Caffraria; and, beyond the third, the territories proper of the independent Caffres, among whom the most powerful chief is Kreili. Thus by the last settlement, the Kei was intended to be the Caffre frontier, and the Keiskamma that of the colony; British Caffraria, as its designation imports, being a compound or neutralised country between the two borders, intended to serve as a barrier province. It was strengthened by a chain of military outposts, and being occupied by Caffres, though garrisoned by the British, it was hoped that future wars could be either prevented altogether, or confined to this particular field. To the north of British Caffraria, runs a range of considerable highlands, called the Amatola Mountains, constituting a wild and almost impenetrable district, and the whole country along the Keiskamma is covered with dense thickets, or broken into rugged ravines.

Soon after sir Harry Smith was appointed governor of the Cape, he summoned a meeting of the Caffre chiefs. A great many assembled; but Sandilli, who was the most formidable, and regarded as a sort of king among them, having refused to appear, he was formally deposed by the governor from his authority; and the Caffre chiefs, at a second meeting, elected Sutu, or the 'Great Widow' as she was called, to rule over them in his stead. All attempts of the governor, however, to induce the chiefs to effect the capture of Sandilli, were in vain. Sir Harry Smith, having meanwhile received information that the Caffre chief was lurking in the neighbourhood, thought he might be able, by a sudden sortie, to make him prisoner; or, at all events, force him to abandon that part of the country. He therefore ordered col. Mackinnon, at the head of 600 men, to make the attempt. In pursuance of this object, col. Mackinnon took his way up the valley of the Keiskamma river. On reaching a narrow gorge, where his men could only proceed in single file, a deadly fire was opened upon his column by the Caffres; and it was only after the serious loss of three officers, and sixteen men killed and wounded, that he succeeded in extricating his troops from the defile, and in dislodging the Caffres. This attack in the Keiskamma defile was the signal for a general rising among the Caffres.

When sir Harry Smith was first surprised by the intelligence that Sandilli was in insurrection, he repaired immediately in person to British Caffraria, took post at King William's-town, the chief station, and opening his communications with the other forts to the right and left, endeavoured to detain the insurgent Caffres round these posts, and thus keep them out of the colony, until he was sufficiently reinforced to act on the offensive. His design was, as soon as he could gather strength, to concert a general movement from the British forts upon the Amatolas, the chief stronghold of the enemy, and to finish the war by routing him in his last retreat. The first part of the scheme was successful: that is to say, the Caffres exhausted their violence in vain efforts to force the British positions, and for some weeks it was considered that the device of thus making a neutral battle-ground had answered its purpose. At length, however (though not till after material delays), sir Harry effected his advance upon the Amatolas, and, as far as the immediate operation was concerned, with good result, for the mountains were penetrated in all directions, and the savages

expelled. But, unluckily, when the British commander abandoned the fighting ground of the forts, the Caffres did the same, and pushed on adroitly to sir Harry's rear, and threw themselves upon the farms of the colony while he was marching on the Amatolas. The consequence was, that the war, instead of being finished, was transferred from British Caffraria to our own provinces; the savages ensconced themselves in strong positions, such as the 'Waterkloof,' in the very centre of Albany. Sir Harry could do no better than attempt to take them by storm, but though the positions were more than once lost, they were reoccupied, and very little progress was made. Finally the British commander determined to advance to the Kei, and invade the Caffres in the remotest of their abodes. It was argued that on former occasions this movement had been productive of the happiest results; that the country was favourable to the operations of regular warfare, and that the Caffres, when their own properties were thus menaced, would sue for peace. Accordingly, the expedition was carried out, and with apparent success—the Amatolas being also again scoured so completely, that, according to the official despatches, only three Caffres could be discovered by the most powerful telescope. A few weeks, however, brought several more specimens into view, and sir Harry resigned the command into the hands of general Cathcart, just as it was ascertained that the Caffre bands within the colonial border were as numerous, as bold, and as well-provisioned as ever. Thus all the operations of the British, though directly successful, were wholly ineffective in putting down the enemy or bringing the war to a close.

We have only space to advert here to the discovery of an extensive gold region in our Australian colonies. The emigrants to Australia, in the first four months of this year, were more than twice as many as in the corresponding period of either of the two preceding years.

In the course of the summer, considerable alarm prevailed as to a possible rupture between England and the United States, in consequence of the steps recently taken by the ministry, at the instances of our North American colonists, to protect the fisheries on their coasts. In disregard of the treaty of 1818, which excluded the Americans from fishing in the bays of the British coasts, the New Englanders, it appears, have never ceased to fish on the coasts of Newfoundland, justifying their presumed breach of the treaty on the ground that if a bay or inlet were so spacious as to admit of a vessel entering without coming within a league from either shore, such bay should be considered as open sea. At Boston, a memorial was addressed to president Fillmore, representing that 2,100 vessels, and 30,000 seamen, are engaged in the fisheries, representing property valued at 12,000,000 dollars; and a very decided demonstration was made in all quarters that the advantages gradually assumed would not be yielded without a struggle. A good understanding was restored by the British government conceding in perpetuity that access of the American fishermen which had hitherto been permitted on sufferance; and thus all danger of a rupture fortunately was averted.

The result of the general elections showed that no attempt to restore protection to agriculture could be made with prudence or reasonable chance of success. The new parliament met on the 4th of November, and the speech of the queen made special reference to the death of the duke of Wellington, which had taken place on the 14th of September. This event chiefly occupied the attention of the country, and the houses of parliament voted a public funeral to the greatest and most successful warrior of his time, and whose civil career, in the words of Mr. Disraeli, was scarcely less successful or less splendid than his military one. The funeral took place in the cathedral of St. Paul's, on the 18th of November, and was conducted in a way which reflected the greatest credit not only on those who had the ordering of the ceremony, but on the immense multitudes, who filled the streets of London to testify their sense of the public services and virtues of the great warrior and statesman. After the funeral, the parliament immediately resumed the subject of free trade, when lord Derby admitted that the result of the elections proved that the principle of unrestricted competition ought to be adopted. On the 23rd Mr. C. Villiers brought forward a resolution which affirmed that the improved condition of the people had been mainly owing to commercial legislation, and especially to the Act of 1846, for the free importation of foreign corn, and that the principle of free trade ought to be consistently extended and carried out. The chancellor of the exchequer (Mr. Disraeli), regarding this resolution as expressive of want of confidence in the government, attributed the prosperity of the country to cheapness of provisions occasioned by recent legislation, and moved an amendment to that effect. A long debate followed, in the course of which lord Palmerston suggested, although he would not move, a second amendment, which affirmed that the improved state of the country was mainly the result of recent legislation, and the policy of free trade on which it had been based. On the renewal of the debate on the 25th, the chancellor of the exchequer expressed his willingness to adopt the amendment of lord Palmerston. Lord John Russell maintained, in opposition to Mr. Disraeli, that the real question at issue was free trade or protection, and Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Sidney Herbert vindicated the policy of sir Robert Peel. At length, on the refusal of Mr. Villiers to withdraw his motion, it was put to the house and negatived by a division of 336 against 256. Lord Palmerston's amendment was then put and carried by a majority of 415, the numbers being 468 in its favour, and 53 against it. This resolution affirmed that the principle of unrestricted competition, together with the abolition of protecting taxes, had dimin-

ished the cost and increased the supply of the chief articles of food, and so brought about the improved state of the country. By this resolution the house of commons definitely settled and adopted the policy of free trade, and the house of lords, after an animated debate, asserted its adherence to the commercial system recently established. And so ended the momentous controversy which had occupied the attention of so many parliaments, by the establishment of a principle which its opponents had once regarded as fatal to the interests of the country.

On the 6th of December, the earl of Malmesbury, in the house of lords, and Mr. Disraeli, in the house of commons, announced that the French republic had been superseded by an empire, and that the president was now Napoleon III. By the commons this news was received without discussion; but the house proceeded to increase the estimates for national defences, especially by grants for screw steamers and for an addition to the artillery forces.

But the contest which was to end in the downfall of the ministry had already begun. On the 8th of December, Mr. Disraeli introduced his financial budget. In order to counterbalance the loss resulting from the remission of taxes and of duties on malt, tea, and sugar, he proposed to extend the income-tax to funded property and salaries in Ireland, and fix the point of exemptions on industrial incomes at 100*l.* a year, and on incomes from property at 50*l.*, the rate in schedules A. and C. being as before 7*d.* in the pound, on B. D. and E. 5½*d.* He proposed further to extend the house-tax to houses rated at 10*l.* a year and upwards, instead of 20*l.*, as well as to increase the rate of the assessment. It soon became clear that on these several points a formidable opposition must be encountered. When the report of the committee of supply was brought up on the 6th of December, Mr. Gladstone insisted that the income-tax was the first question to be discussed, and the more as the government proposed its reconstruction as well as its extension. The debate was prolonged to the third adjournment. On the 15th of December, the resolution respecting the house-duty was put and lost by a majority of 19 against the government,—the numbers being 305, to 286 in its favour. This was followed immediately by the resignation of lord Derby and his colleagues. But some days passed before the following list announced the arrangements for the new cabinet:—First lord of the treasury, the earl of Aberdeen; lord-chancellor, lord Cranworth; chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Gladstone; secretaries of state, home, lord Palmerston; foreign, lord John Russell; colonial, duke of Newcastle; first lord of the admiralty, sir J. Graham; president of the council, earl Grenville; lord privy seal, the duke of Argyle; secretary of war, Mr. Sidney Herbert; president of the board of control, sir C. Wood; first commissioner of public works, sir W. Molesworth. In announcing the future policy of his ministry, lord Aberdeen, in answer to lord Derby, denied that any government could be carried on which was not at once conservative and liberal, and added that the country was sick of terms which had now no meaning except as party cries. On the 31st of December, the house of commons adjourned to the 10th of February.

In the East, a war, caused by some insults offered to the British flag by the viceroy of Rangoon, broke out between England and Burmah. The summer was spent in operations of no great importance. The river Irrawaddy was effectually cleared between Rangoon and Prome, but the latter place was not taken till October. In the following month, however, Pegu fell into the hands of the English, and the whole province was annexed to the British empire. Still the garrison left in the city was subjected to much annoyance from the Burmese troops, and the attempts to bring these to a general engagement proved ineffectual.

The year was marked by some memorable disasters, among which may be mentioned the loss of the ships Amazon and Birkenhead. The former had left Southampton on January 2, by the morning of the 4th the ship had been destroyed by fire, and 102 passengers, among whom was Mr. Eliot Warburton, were lost from the total number of 161. The Birkenhead was wrecked on the following month by striking on a rock in False Bay near the Cape of Good Hope. Of the 630 persons on board, only 194 were saved: and the wonderful heroism and discipline of the men, with the horrible massacre caused by the sharks among those who were swimming, roused the most intense sympathy for the sufferers in this terrible calamity. It was felt that the conduct of the men and crew of the Birkenhead exhibited a moral courage and a self-sacrificing obedience to law which has rarely been equalled, and never surpassed.

A.D. 1853.—The events of this year are scarcely so important in themselves as in the results to which they subsequently led. Before the close of the year it became manifest that the western powers could scarcely avoid interfering in the struggle which had begun between Turkey and Russia; but the debates in the English parliament were chiefly concerned with subjects of less permanent interest than those of previous or subsequent sessions. The great controversy of free trade was ended; and no movement of equal importance had as yet succeeded to it. The houses of parliament met on the 10th of February, and were thenceforth occupied in discussing a number of subjects, most of which were of temporary interest. The question of law reform was practically limited to a design for the consolidation of the statute law, and conversations took place on the persecution of the Madiais family at Florence for attempts to proselytise Roman Catholics to Protestantism. An effort made by Mr. Disraeli to raise a controversy respecting the relations of England with France was met by lord John Russell with the reply that those relations were as friendly as Mr. Disraeli could wish them to be. On the 22nd of February, Mr

Spooner moved that the house of commons should resolve itself into committee to consider the Act relating to the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth in Ireland. The resolution was negatived; and when in the house of lords the same proposition was made by lord Winchelsea, an amendment by which lord Aberdeen proposed that a commission should be issued to enquire into the government and management of the Maynooth college, was adopted in its stead. A more important debate followed on the Canadian clergy reserves. According to the statement of Mr. F. Peel, who proposed the bill, these reserves dated from the year 1791, when the province was divided into two parts. It was then provided that one seventh of the value of waste lands disposed of by the crown should be reserved for the support of the Protestant clergy. But in the time between 1791 and 1840 the clergy of the established churches of England and Scotland had received the largest portion of the profits arising from the sale of these lands, and great discontent had thus been caused in the colony. The object of the bill, as described by Mr. Peel, was to enable the legislature of Canada to alter the existing arrangement, if it thought fit so to do. The point to be determined was whether it was an imperial or a local question. Sir John Pakington, maintaining the former position, protested against the secularisation of the lands by which the Protestant missions were supported, and the injury which would thus be inflicted on the church of England. On the other side, sir W. Molesworth insisted that the Canadian legislature should have full power to deal with the reserves as it might think best; and Mr. Gladstone further maintained that the alteration effected in 1840 made it, in consistency, necessary to leave to the Canadian parliament the power of making any other changes. On the 11th of April, which was appointed for the third reading of the bill, Mr. Walpole proposed that it should be read that day six months, on the ground that its enactment would be followed in Canada by the establishment of the voluntary system and the outbreak of religious strife. Mr. Peel in reply stated that the bill protected the interests of all existing incumbents, and simply left to the Canadian legislature the power of managing its own local affairs. Lord John Russell, while hoping that the existing arrangements might not be disturbed, did not hesitate to assert that if the people of Canada preferred the voluntary system to church establishments, they must follow their own will. The bill was then passed in the commons by a majority of 80. In the house of lords, the duke of Newcastle urged that the best way to preserve the existing arrangement was to trust the colonists outright. The bishop of Exeter proposed the motion which Mr. Walpole had brought forward in the house of commons; and lord Derby suggested a compromise by which, while the Canadian legislature should have more power than was accorded to it by the Act of 1840, all the appropriations for the Church of England or Scotland should be maintained inviolate and for ever. To this compromise, when proposed by lord Derby in the committee of the house, on the 25th of April, the duke of Newcastle replied that, as affecting the principle of the bill, it should have been brought forward on the motion for the second reading, and said that lord Derby had himself given a precedent for what was now proposed by abolishing ten Irish bishoprics, while he saved the rights of the then existing bishops. The bishop of Oxford drew a distinction between church property in England as granted to specific parishes, while the reserves were granted by parliament to be administered for the whole Canadian province. He urged, therefore, that the Canadians should be left to deal with the matter as they might think best; and the bill was read for the third time on the 28th of April. The subject of Jewish disabilities was discussed in the house of commons when, on the 24th of February, lord John Russell proposed that the Jews should be admitted to the same rights and privileges as the Dissenters and Roman Catholics; but the bill, although passed in the commons, was lost in the house of lords by a division of 164 to 115. On the 4th of April, lord John Russell, in explaining the views of the government with regard to public education, expressed his disapproval of the voluntary and secular systems alike. He denied that the state, which assumed the power to punish for crimes, should leave education, which should instruct men in the rules of morality and law, entirely to voluntary effort. The system of exclusive secular instruction was condemned by the need of teaching the poor how to regulate their conduct in life; and with merely secular teaching, it was impossible to do this. After explaining his views with regard to the national debt, Mr. Gladstone, on the 18th of April, made his financial statement, in a speech of the greatest ability, extending over five hours. It was distinguished especially by a masterly analysis of the income-tax, which preceded his proposal for its extension, as well as for remissions of taxation. Having shown that the enormous accumulation of debt previous to 1798 would not have occurred, had the resolution to submit to the income-tax been adopted earlier, he asserted that the income-tax, as applied to a time of war, might enable the country to defy the world. But this tax had produced results not less wonderful, in assisting our industrious toils in time of peace, and effecting the reform of our fiscal and commercial system. Then, showing that the system of exemption was one which could not be minutely carried out, he proposed that the tax should be extended to Ireland, that incomes between 100*l.* and 150*l.* should pay 5*d.* in the pound during the whole continuance of the tax, while incomes above 150*l.* should pay 7*d.* for 2 years from April 1853, 6*d.* for 2 years more from April 1855, and 5*d.* for 3 years from April 1857, thus leaving the tax to expire in April 1860. In the way of remission he proposed to abolish the duty on soap, to reduce the duty on life assurance, rearrangement of

the system of assessed taxes, with a reduction of the duty on tea and other articles of food, &c. The statement was received with general satisfaction, and the debate on the propositions respecting the income-tax began on the 25th of April. Sir E. B. Lytton proposed an amendment which affirmed that the continuance of the income-tax, and its extension to classes who had hitherto been exempt from its operation, was alike unjust and impolitic. This amendment was supported by Mr. Disraeli, on the ground that the budget added to the burdens on land, while it lightened those which pressed on particular classes. Such privileged classes were always a source of the greatest dangers to a nation, and he could see no difference between a privileged noble and a privileged tobacconist. In reply, lord John Russell pointed out the inconsistency of Mr. Disraeli in supporting an amendment which left the burdens on land just where they were and lowered the rate of tax in favour of trades and professions. The loss of this amendment placed the budget in safety; and an attempt to leave Ireland exempt from the tax was equally unsuccessful. There were no special features in the debates of the house of lords on the subject, and the bill was finally passed on the 27th of June. But although successful in the main principles of the budget, Mr. Gladstone was defeated in some points of detail; and in place of his motion to reduce the duty on advertisements to 6*d.*, a resolution was carried which substituted a cipher (or 0) in place of this sum; and the Speaker decided that there was nothing informal in the proceeding. Among the remaining subjects which occupied the attention of the house during this session was the condition of conventual establishments, the questions of church rate, law reform and charitable trusts, and transportation of criminals. In the first of these an ineffectual attempt was made to introduce a bill by which persons in conventual houses might regain their liberty when they should desire to do so. On the subject of church rates, Dr. Phillimore opened up a controversy, which was afterwards to assume more formidable proportions. His proposal was for a bill to alter and amend the existing law, while sir W. Clay proposed an amendment for the abolition of the rates. The house, however, after a long debate, rejected both the amendment and the original motion. In the province of law reform, the house of lords passed a bill, brought forward by the lord-chancellor, for the registration of assurances; but it was subsequently withdrawn in the house of commons. The charitable trusts bill was more successful. The lord-chancellor, in explaining the difference between this bill and that which had been introduced in 1851, said that the board of superintendence would be a branch of the government, and that its powers would extend to all the charities in the kingdom, and to the sanctioning of different applications of their funds, in cases where it was found impossible to apply them to the original object, or where the object did not carry out the intentions of the founder, or when, of several charities, the funds taken separately failed to accomplish their purpose, but when an amalgamation would enable them to do so. The bill was read for the last time in the house of commons on the 8th of August, and soon afterwards became law.

It had now become clear that some alteration must be made in the matter of transportation. With the exception of Western Australia the colonies showed a strong repugnance to the further reception of convicts. Still on the 10th of May, lord Grey proposed an address to the crown urging that the existing system should be continued until the new arrangements should be laid before parliament and carefully considered; and he urged that the abandonment of transportation would throw large bodies of criminals on this country who would ultimately become a class as formidable as the forçats of France. Lord Aberdeen in his reply quoted lord Grey against himself as having admitted that this country had no right to force convicts on colonies against the will of the latter, and maintained that the forçats of France were formidable only because they were not disciplined. The duke of Newcastle urged that the dangers apprehended from a discontinuance of the old system were greatly exaggerated. The whole number of convicts transported in 1857 did not exceed 2,000. Lord Grey's motion was lost. A bill for altering the punishment of transportation was introduced into the house of lords; and the lord-chancellor proposed that the punishment should be reserved for those who had been sentenced for periods of fourteen years and upwards, while for other criminals the sentence should be commuted for a proportionate term of convict labour at home. Lord Brougham regretted that transportation should be given up: the duke of Newcastle replied that its abandonment was absolutely necessary, and the only question was to determine what was best under existing circumstances. When the bill, having passed the lords, was introduced into the commons, lord Palmerston explained that criminals sentenced to transportation should, after a certain term of imprisonment, be set at liberty with conditional tickets of leave, revocable on misconduct by the secretary of state. Mr. Walpole added that, while transportation cost the country about 200,000*l.* a year, the works at Portland paid themselves, besides producing a splendid harbour, and through the past year the earnings of the convicts had exceeded the expenses of the establishment. The bill was read for the third time on the 12th of August, and passed after a slight discussion on the merits of the ticket-of-leave system.

The charter of the East India Company had been renewed in 1833 for twenty years. It now became necessary to renew it or to alter it. Sir Charles Wood, in introducing the ministerial measure, said that the chief subjects of complaint in native petitions from India were the maladministration of justice, the want of public works, and the

tenure of land. In all of these a marked improvement had taken place. The natives placed implicit confidence in the uprightness of the English judges, while the character of the native judges, who now decided a large number of causes, had risen greatly. In public works, large sums had been and would be expended on roads and railroads; and canals and works of irrigation had already added 14,000,000 acres to the productive soil of India. Of the three systems of land tenure at present existing he showed that none could be established as a universal system. The revenue of the country was greatly increased; and the augmented consumption of the necessaries of life was the evidence of the improved condition of the peasantry. The value of imports had risen 140 per cent. in the course of fifteen years. Still the system of Indian government was not perfect, and some changes in it appeared to be expedient and necessary. It had been objected that the home government of India was irresponsible; but he maintained, that as head of the board of control, he was as responsible to parliament as the secretaries of state in their several departments, and that the court of directors was neither a sham nor the cause of any unnecessary and hurtful delay. The measure which he proposed left untouched the relations of the board of control and the court of directors, while it changed the constitution and limited the patronage of the latter. The thirty members of the court were to be reduced to eighteen, twelve of whom were to be elected in the usual way, the rest being nominated by the crown from Indian servants who had been ten years in the service of the crown or company. One third of this number was to go out every second year, but to be forthwith re-eligible; and the system so introduced was to continue until parliament should determine on changing it. All civil and scientific appointments were to be thrown open to public competition; and merit alone was to be the test of Haileybury and Addiscombe. On the renewal of the debate on the 6th of June, Mr. Phillimore attacked the government measure, and said that the actual condition of India stood out in striking contrast with the picture drawn by Sir C. Wood. The civil and criminal law was miserably administered, and judgments were passed without the accused being even heard. The present system might best be likened to the administration of Verres in Sicily in the days of Cicero, and it was a libel to assert that the people of India were not fit to hold office in their native land. Sir James Hogg warmly defended the company, and urged the necessity of immediate legislation, insisting that the double government was the only way in which the administration of India could be purged of all political bias. If the cotton trade of India was not flourishing, it must be put down especially to the want of railroads, to the want of foreign capital, rather than to the government. And so far was the statement of Mr. Phillimore as to the law courts from being a true one, that 96 per cent. of the causes heard were decided by natives of India. On the 9th of June, after some further discussion, leave was given to sir C. Wood to introduce the bill. Lord Stanley immediately moved a resolution that further delay was needed before the parliament could be able to legislate with advantage for the permanent government of India. Delay was a matter of comparatively little moment. There were no elements of insurrection in the country, and if there were, there was no leader. The continuance of the present system a little longer would awaken a higher sense of responsibility in the servants of the company, and give a stimulus to local reforms. No attempt, he said, had been made to justify the Indian government with respect to the proportion of revenue expended on public works; and on the subject of education, especially, a rigorous enquiry was indispensable. When the debate was resumed on the 24th of June, Mr. Hume urged that the court of directors should only be made more efficient, and Mr. Macaulay spoke of the bill as designed chiefly to make room for greater improvements hereafter. A double government in some sense was acknowledged by all to be best suited for India, and it was beyond question that India must be governed in India. He protested against allowing the governor-general to nominate the civil servants, as leading to the most monstrous jobbery, and maintained, in opposition to lord Ellenborough, that the most efficient test was that of competition, and that nothing could be more unjust and impolitic than to exclude the natives of India from a share in the government, or to discourage their study of Western learning. After a further adjournment to the 27th of June, the debate was resumed, when Mr. Cobden denied that any double government existed. Except in patronage, the directors had no irresponsible power, and were a mere screen, concealing the real government, which he was anxious at once to remove. India could be saved only by governing it as the colonies were governed, so that public opinion could reach it. He denied the accuracy of sir C. Wood's financial picture. The mere increase of revenue proved little, if the debt was increased along with it; and this debt had increased with additions of territory, and the newly acquired provinces were confessedly governed at a loss. Sir J. Graham met Mr. Cobden's charge of unnecessary wars by saying that war in that country 'is not British policy, it is Indian necessity.' Every governor-general went out with the most pacific intentions, but found it impossible to adhere to them. On the subject of debt he urged that while this had risen from 38 to 53 millions, the revenue had increased from 18 to 29 millions. The debate, after being again adjourned, was resumed on the 30th of June, when Mr. Disraeli, criticising the bill, spoke of the home government as being 'cumbrous, divided, tardy and deficient in responsibility,' and urged the recall of lord Ellenborough as proving that the directors were the real governors of India. It was impossible to draw a line between English

and Indian finance: twenty years later, we must accept the Indian debt, whatever might be its amount. Sir James Hogg, he said, had expressed his unqualified approval of the existing system and its working; and he ought therefore to vote against his own bill for changing what was so perfect. Lord John Russell insisted that under present circumstances delay was dangerous and hurtful; on the division of the house the amendment was lost, and the bill read a second time. As it passed through committee, much discussion arose on many of its clauses; but when the bill was read as amended on the 28th of July, sir John Pakington introduced an important discussion by proposing to forbid the manufacture of salt by the East India Company after the 1st of May, 1856, and to declare its manufacture and sale from that date to be absolutely free. The motion was opposed by sir C. Wood, lord John Russell, and others, but it was finally carried against the government by a majority of 117 to 107. The bill itself was passed in the house of commons; and in the lords, after some strong arguments against it from lord Ellenborough, sir J. Pakington's clause relating to the monopoly of salt was struck out, and the bill so amended was approved, and soon afterwards became law.

But the subject which more than all others at this time engrossed the attention both of the parliament and the nation was the dispute between the Russian government, for the origin of which the reader is referred to the History of the Ottoman Empire. In April lord Clarendon had stated that the government relied partly on the words of the emperor of Russia, and that the sultan of Turkey had nothing to fear, if, guided by ordinary prudence, he would adopt a more humane policy towards his Christian subjects. On the 27th of May lord Malmesbury said that the promises of lord Clarendon had not been borne out by subsequent events. With any disputes which were confined to the holy places, England would have no personal concern; but prince Menschikoff had further insisted that the sultan should concede certain privileges to his Christian subjects, and accept Russia as a guarantee for the personal security of those privileges; or, in other words, that the czar should become the actual ruler of a great portion of the subjects of the sultan. Lord Clarendon, in reply, stated that no decisive information could be given because none had been received, but that the policy of the government had undergone no change, and they were acting in perfect concert on this question with the government of France. On the 14th of June, the czar announced his intention of occupying the Danubian principalities; on the 2nd and 3rd of July his troops crossed the Pruth, and occupied the Turkish provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia. But on the 11th of July, in answer to a question from lord Malmesbury, lord Aberdeen replied that no information had been received of the occupation of Bosnia by Russian troops. At this time a circular despatch from count Nesselrode to the diplomatic agents of the Russian court was published in the newspapers, and its authenticity was admitted by lord John Russell. It stated that the emperor would not withdraw from the principalities until the sultan had given him full satisfaction, and until the French and English fleets had retired from those ports of the Turkish empire which they then occupied. Much controversy arose on the interpretation of this despatch. But in August hopes of a satisfactory adjustment were again roused by lord Clarendon's statement that the negotiations then pending had assumed a favourable character, and that Austria, France, and England were acting together to check designs which were likely to upset the balance of power. Still, much dissatisfaction was felt and expressed throughout the country at the reserve of the government in speaking of their proceedings with reference to this quarrel; and an important discussion took place on the subject in the house of commons on the 16th of August, when lord John Russell explained the state of the negotiations at the time; and said that the evacuation of the principalities would be made an indispensable condition for the satisfactory settlement of the question. A long debate followed, in the course of which Mr. Cobden, admitting that there was a feeling of uneasiness in this country respecting Turkey, said that there was also a growing conviction that the integrity of the Turkish empire as a maxim of policy was now nothing more than an empty phrase; that the Turks were intruders in Europe, ruling over a population of Christians who stood to them in the proportion of three to one. He denied that it was in the interest of England to maintain Turkey, and held that the government had done wisely in resisting the demand for war. Lord Palmerston, denying all Mr. Cobden's statements, said that he had forgotten his own principles of free trade, which should have led him to prefer the liberal commercial policy of Turkey to the eminently restrictive and prohibitory policy of Russia. Turkey, again, so far from having fallen back, had improved more than any other country in its social and moral relations, and in religious tolerance. Many other countries, to all appearance, were in a much more critical condition internally than Turkey; and if France and England would unite in declaring that its integrity should be preserved, their decision would be respected.

The state of affairs generally demanded active preparation; and the naval coast volunteers' bill was accordingly introduced in the house of commons, for the establishment of a naval militia; and it was thought that by its means an additional force of 18,000 or 20,000 men could be easily provided among the seamen employed in the coasting service, and others who had experience in sea life and would not object to be trained during a short time in each year to the practice of great guns. In addition to this bill, two other measures of great importance were passed in the pilotage and mercantile marine bills. Thus the parliamentary session closed with an imminent

prospect of war, after a peace which dated from the battle of Waterloo, nearly forty years before. Nor was the internal condition of the country by any means so encouraging as it had been a twelvemonth previously. A bad harvest here, and in all other corn-growing countries of Europe, had been accompanied by prolonged strikes in the manufacturing districts for an increase of wages at a time when the contraction of trade rendered any such scheme impracticable. On the 16th of December it was announced that lord Palmerston had resigned his office of home secretary; in a few days the resignation, which had never been accepted, was withdrawn; but although it was imputed to a difference of opinion on the eastern question, no explanation was offered in parliament of a step which, if persisted in, would have endangered the stability of the cabinet.

In the course of this year the Caffre war in southern Africa was brought to a conclusion by general Cathcart, who had succeeded sir Harry Smith as governor of the colony and commander-in-chief of the troops at the Cape. Peace was brought about by the exhaustion of Sandilli and his subordinate chiefs; and the result was that the Galka tribe was compelled to retire 200 miles to the north of its former frontier, and the Kei and Orange rivers became the boundaries of British Caffraria to the north and east. The chiefs begged earnestly for permission to retain possession of the Amatolas; but the governor gave them no hope of returning to a country where their constant plots showed that they could not be trusted again. The only other event of importance in the colony was the promulgation on the 1st of July of the constitution for the colony of Cape Town.

The war with Burmah had practically come to an end in 1852, with the fall of Prome and the annexation of the province of Pegu. The operations of this year were directed against the marauding chief, Hea Toon, who finally escaped from his stronghold, with only 300 of his followers. The king of Ava refused to sign any formal treaty of peace; but the governor-general consented to regard all hostilities as at an end as long as the British possession of Pegu was left undisputed. At the same time all British prisoners detained at Ava were released, and the river Irrawaddy was declared free for all purposes of trade to the people of both countries.

The year 1854 began with the prospect of almost immediate war. The massacre at Sinope (Nov. 1853) and the entrance of the allied fleets into the Baltic, left but a faint hope that peace would be preserved. But although a time of comparative dearth had depressed the trade of this country, the farmers were generally satisfied with the state of prices, while the revenue, after the recent remission of taxation, continued satisfactory. Parliament was opened by the queen in person on the 30th of January. In the debate on the address in answer to the royal speech, much comment was made on the secret and mysterious method in which the government had concluded the negotiations with Russia. Lord Aberdeen, in defending himself, insisted that instead of being 'the instrument and tool of Russia,' he had taken a more active part than any one else against the Russian government, and that a menacing tone to Russia in 1853 would have brought about an immediate attack on Constantinople at a time when the Turks were altogether unable to resist it. At the same time he took the opportunity of defending prince Albert against the charges of undue interference in domestic and foreign politics. Having said that it was a matter for regret whenever the prince was not present in the council, he repelled still more indignantly the charge that he interfered unduly with the army and the horse guards. It had been the earnest wish of the duke of Wellington that prince Albert should succeed him in the command of the army; but, from motives of strict duty, the offers repeatedly made to him were without hesitation and positively declined.

The prospect of war may have diminished the chances of success for the government reform bill. It certainly diverted from it in a great degree the attention of the public. It was urged that at such a time the introduction of such a measure was highly imprudent, while a change of ministry or a dissolution of parliament would be most dangerous. But lord Aberdeen, denying that the nation was already at war, said that the prospect of war must not be allowed to interfere with the fulfilment of pledges given to the country, and that the government was distinctly pledged to a measure of reform. Accordingly on the 13th of February, lord John Russell proposed the new measure by which he designed to remedy three main defects of the Reform Act. First, there were some boroughs which had not enough electors to justify their sending a member to parliament. A second defect lay in the manner in which the counties were divided; and this he proposed to remedy by the distribution of the sixty-two seats gained by the disfranchisement of the small boroughs, or by reduction in the number of members returned by them. Thirdly, in place of the uniform 10*l.* borough franchise, he proposed to make several new franchises common to counties and towns, by which votes would be given, among others, to those who had yearly salaries of 100*l.* a year, or paid 40*s.* a year to income or assessed taxes, or were graduates at any university in the United Kingdom. He proposed to give votes also to all persons rated above 6*l.* a year, with the condition of two years' and a half residence; and to disfranchise all 'freemen' of boroughs after the expiration of existing interests. The second reading of the bill was fixed for the 13th of March; but in the meanwhile strong efforts were made to have the measure withdrawn on account of the impending war. On the 3rd of March the government postponed the reading to the 27th of April; and finally on the 11th of April, lord John Russell announced the withdrawal of the measure. Maintaining that the government were bound to do their utmost to carry it into effect, he said that

they were not prepared to decline the responsibility which belonged to the war by pressing a measure on the success of which it might be necessary to stake the existence of the ministry. Thus, with the expressed determination of bringing it forward again at a better opportunity, ended the second attempt of lord John Russell to carry a new reform bill.

A bill to amend the law of bribery passed both houses in February, and was followed by the introduction of five separate bills by the attorney-general, for the prevention of bribery and corruption in the city of Canterbury, and the boroughs of Cambridge, Barnstaple, Kingston-upon-Hull, and Maldon. These, however, were withdrawn on the 29th of May, when a debate took place in which Mr. Disraeli taunted lord John Russell with retaining office after several of his measures had been successively defeated, and with some bitterness assailed the position of the government, for which Mr. Gladstone pleaded that it was altogether exceptional, and appealed to the measures of the last session.

Early in February, lord John Russell had brought forward a bill by which, in place of the oaths of allegiance, supremacy, and abjuration, one single oath should be substituted as simple and intelligible as possible. The measure was practically a bill for the admission of Jews to the power of sitting in parliament. The oath of allegiance was as binding now as ever; those of supremacy and abjuration applied to dangers which had long since ceased: and the declaration required of Roman Catholic members ought no longer to be insisted on, while the words 'on the true faith of a Christian' had been inserted not to exclude Jews but to bind Roman Catholics, and especially Jesuits, to the substance of the oath. It was, therefore, unjust to disable any class of subjects by the usual operations of law. When the second reading was moved on the 25th of May, sir F. Thesiger moved its postponement for six months, urging that, like Nero, lord John Russell had given the protestant safeguards of the country one neck in order to strike them all off at a single blow. In reply Mr. Gladstone insisted that the positive supremacy of the crown, in the oath of queen Elizabeth, had been altered, in the reign of William and Mary, to a negative declaration denying the rights and encroachments of the pope. At the present time the positive supremacy was denied, not by Roman catholics only, but by Protestant dissenters and Scotch presbyterians. He insisted further that the strength of this country and the rights of the crown lay not in oaths and declarations, but in the attachment of the people, and that lord John Russell had done well in handing over to the executioner a bundle of useless oaths which might be pitfalls to the scrupulous, but would never be regarded by those who wished to evade them. Mr. Disraeli remarked that the Jews could wait, and asked why their cause had been prejudiced by mixing it up with the gravest political problems? On a division the bill was thrown out by a majority of 4 against the government, the numbers being 251 against 247.

During this session a bill was passed for the amendment of the common law, although lord Lyndhurst had ineffectually urged the importance of a measure for the consolidation of the statutes in general. By another bill the navigation laws passed since the repeal of the Navigation Act were consolidated, and the coasting trade thrown open to foreign vessels. On the 24th of February the army and navy estimates were proposed by Mr. Sidney Herbert and sir J. Graham respectively. For the former, the increase of cost was about 270,000*l*., for the latter, 1,202,455*l*. On the 6th of March the chancellor of the exchequer brought forward the budget, and said that the revenue actually received for the year showed an improvement or excess over the estimates of 1,035,000*l*. As for the estimate for the war in the East, it was impossible to say that it would suffice for the wants of the whole year; and the measure which he proposed was to vote for extraordinary military expenditure a sum of 1,250,000*l*. Hence there was a deficiency of nearly three millions to be provided for, and even this was not the whole cost of the war; but while he hoped that this sum might be raised without returning to the higher duties on various articles which had recently been diminished, he urged strongly that it should not be raised by resorting to a loan, and so throwing the burden on posterity. Such a course was not required by the necessities of the country, and was therefore not worthy of its adoption. No country had played so much as England at this dangerous game of mortgaging the industry of future generations. It was right that those who make war should be prepared to make the sacrifices needed to carry it on; the necessity for so doing was a most useful check on mere lust of conquest, and would lead men to make war with the wish of realising the earliest prospects of an honourable peace. The means of raising the sum required were numerous. The income-tax had been shown to be capable of producing immense results, and he proposed now to raise it by one half, levying the whole addition for and in respect of the first moiety of the year, or, in other words, to double the tax for the half-year. This would not only meet the estimated expenditure, but leave a surplus of 467,000*l*. On the 20th of March, the resolution to this effect was passed in committee without discussion or division; but when the report was brought up on the following day, sir H. Willoughby proposed to omit the last clause, and so to spread the additional assessment over the whole year. Mr. Disraeli, while denouncing the war as one of coalition, and severely censuring Mr. Gladstone for allowing the exchequer balances to fall from about nine to four or five millions, still refused, by supporting the amendment, to add at such a time to the difficulties of the government. The same arguments were repeated by sir J. Pakington, on the 30th of March, when the bill was read for the third time and passed.

The stamp duties bill was subsequently passed with little alteration, while a separate set of resolutions, among other provisions, authorised the treasury to issue exchequer bonds to be paid off at par in May 1858, for a sum not exceeding 2,000,000*l*. The same issue (and with the same result), regarding the financial schemes of the chancellor of the exchequer, was raised in the debates on the malt tax; and the remainder of the budget was carried with but little discussion.

On the 17th of March lord John Russell introduced the government bill for reforming the university of Oxford, of which the chief features were a change in the governing body in the university, the extension of the university itself, the combination of the tutorial and professorial systems, and a more open competition for endowments which had been hitherto much restricted or confined to founders' kin. The question of the admission of dissenters to the universities he reserved for separate consideration, while he expressed his belief that the purpose of a university was not wholly fulfilled, as long as a large class of persons were hindered from entering it at all. On the second reading much discussion rose on an amendment to refer it to a select committee, which was negatived by 172 against 90. When the report was brought up on the 22nd of June, Mr. Heywood moved the insertion of a clause which abolished at matriculation all declarations or oaths except that of allegiance, and so left it open to dissenters to become members of the university as at Cambridge. Mr. Sidney Herbert thought that the insertion of such a clause would be impolitic, as, if forced upon the university, this part of the measure would probably be defeated indirectly. If, however, the university should refuse to act voluntarily in this direction, then a measure on the subject might be introduced into parliament. The motion was, however, carried, and Mr. Heywood immediately proposed another clause by which only the oath of allegiance would be required from any one on taking a degree. On this motion, lord John Russell said that after the vote just given he would not take a division: but Mr. Walpole insisted upon it, saying that the last motion gave to dissenters the right of admission, while this would make them part of the governing body in the university. The clause was negatived by 208 against 196, but on the third reading of the bill in June, it was carried in a modified form. After some amendments in the house of lords, it was finally passed on the 27th of July. On the 12th of August parliament was prorogued. During the session some changes had taken place in the cabinet; lord John Russell had been placed in a definite office as lord president of the council; and as the discharge of the duties of war minister had been found incompatible with those of the secretary of the colonies, a fourth secretaryship—for war—was created, and conferred on the duke of Newcastle. Parliament reassembled on the 12th of December, when debates took place in both houses on the conduct of the ministry and the management of the war. Lord Derby asserted that the ministers had been too late in all their measures, and that the number of troops sent out was quite insufficient to settle the great question of Russian supremacy. The duke of Newcastle, in repelling the charges of lord Derby, said that great good had been done in the Baltic campaign by the destruction of Bomarsund, which in a little while would have become a fortress far more formidable than those of Cronstadt or Sweaborg, and have made the gulf of Bothnia a Russian lake. In the house of commons, Mr. Disraeli charged the government with having invaded Russia with 2,500 men, and made no provision for their support, and urged strong doubts as to the sincerity and well meaning of Austria, which were combated by lord John Russell. On the 15th of December the thanks of both houses were unanimously voted to the officers and men of the army in the East, and to the French generals who had cooperated with them. The bill for the enlistment of foreigners roused a good deal of opposition. Lord Ellenborough protested against the drilling and training in this country of a number of foreigners who were to be substituted for an equal number of militiamen sent abroad, and against whom, if employed against an English mob, the nation would rise up in arms. Lord Aberdeen denied that they were to be used as substitutes for militiamen or to be employed in this country. Subsequently, the duke of Newcastle consented to reduce the numbers to be enlisted from 15,000 to 10,000. In the house of commons, lord John Russell stated that having recommended this, in conformity with many precedents, as one of the means of carrying on the war, ministers could not attempt to conduct it, if the bill were rejected; and lord Palmerston urged further, that with our voluntary system, every augmentation of the army was a slow and gradual process, while the enemy with whom we had to contend had an almost unlimited supply of men. The debate on the third reading was concluded by Mr. Bright, who said that in supporting the Porte against Russia we were fighting for a hopeless cause and a worthless ally. The bill was carried by a majority of 38, and the parliament adjourned on the 23rd of December.

The summer of this year was marked by a return of the cholera; but the total number of deaths, 26,722, fell short of the deaths from cholera in 1849 by one half. It raged more fiercely in towns than in the country, and caused great havoc along the valley of the Thames, especially at Oxford, where the deaths rose from 159 to 283. In Scotland its ravages were most felt at Glasgow, Edinburgh, Paisley, and Montrose. On the continent it was still more severe; but the disease reached its greatest height in the West Indies, where in the island of Barbadoes 17,000 persons fell victims to it; in this country its course showed that its attacks might generally be warded off by timely sanitary precautions; thus, at Liverpool, the numbers carried off were 953, as against 4,545 deaths in 1849.

A.D. 1855.—Before the close of this year the greatest enterprise in the war with Russia was brought to a successful issue by the fall of Sebastopol; but the events which had preceded it were received with no feelings of unmingled satisfaction in this country. The sufferings of the troops had roused painful sympathy, and gave rise to frequent charges of carelessness and maladministration in the commissariat. Hence the parliamentary history of this year exhibits sudden changes and frequent controversies, which powerfully agitated the country. The parliament had no sooner met on the 23rd of January, than notices were given of several motions relating to the conduct of the war. Lord Ellenborough demanded information on the condition of the army; Mr. Roebuck called for a wider and more searching enquiry; while lord Lyndhurst gave notice of a resolution distinctly affirming that the government was responsible for all the disasters which had taken place. Of these motions the two former were to have been discussed on the 25th of January; but on that day the parliament heard with astonishment of the resignation of lord John Russell. On the day following, he explained the reason for this step,—which arose from a feeling that Mr. Roebuck's motion could not be honestly opposed by the government, and from a dissatisfaction with existing arrangements, the faults of which he had pointed out to lord Aberdeen, urging that the seals of the war department should be transferred from the hands of the duke of Newcastle to those of lord Palmerston. It had seemed to him his duty to resign when this suggestion was not complied with; but he consented to retain office, and had done so until Mr. Roebuck's motion brought before the house a question to which he felt that he could not give the only answer which would stop enquiry. Lord Palmerston complained that the step was not in accordance with the practice of public men, and that he was not justified in thus embarrassing the government. The motion of Mr. Roebuck for a select committee was opposed by Mr. Sidney Herbert, who attributed much of the evils complained of to a want of experience in the field officers: the regimental system was perfect, but the field officers had never seen a brigade and knew not how to organise large bodies. Asserting that the condition of things was grossly exaggerated, and that much had been already done to improve it, he protested against the motion as likely to paralyse all action both at home and abroad. He was supported by sir George Grey, and opposed by Mr. Stafford, who drew a painful picture of the miseries of the English soldiers in the East. He spoke from personal knowledge; and he had seen hospitals containing 300 sick, yet without wine: he had seen soldiers asking in vain for their knapsacks, which were stowed away under the cargoes of ships: he had seen wounded men lying on bare boards, while in the passages were bedsteads that could have been put up immediately. There seemed to be but one alleviation to the picture, and that was in the ministrations of Miss Nightingale and other ladies who shared with her the labour of tending the wounded and the sick in the hospitals at Scutari. Mr. Stafford was followed by Mr. Bernal Osborne, who made a sweeping attack on the whole military system of the country, with which he placed his own department of the admiralty in very favourable contrast. Among the many other charges brought forward by other speakers, sir E. B. Lytton dwelt strongly on the folly shown in not taking Odessa, a defenceless town, where the troops might have wintered with ease and safety. Mr. Gladstone, in reply, said that Odessa, with its 100,000 inhabitants, and an army of 300,000 Russians in its neighbourhood, would not have furnished the most comfortable quarters for the British troops, and urged that great improvements were taking place in the camp before Sebastopol: he was further sure that within a year there would be a reaction in favour of the duke of Newcastle, on whom the blame was now chiefly laid. Mr. Disraeli charged lord John Russell with profligate intriguing, and was met by the answer that he had done no more than had been done during the administration of lord Grey. Towards the conclusion of the debate lord Palmerston deprecated Mr. Roebuck's select committee, and said that if there was a want of confidence in the government rather than in the conduct of the war, it would be better to say so openly. On a division of 305 against 148, a majority against the government appeared of no less than 157. On the 1st of February, therefore, in both houses, the resignation of the ministry was announced; and while lord Aberdeen promised his ready support to whatever administration might be formed, the duke of Newcastle defended himself eloquently against the charges of indolence and indifference, while he left the other charge of incapacity to the verdict of the parliament and of the nation. During the next few days unsuccessful attempts were made to form a ministry under the leadership of lord Derby, and afterwards of lord John Russell. Finally a ministry was not so much formed afresh as reconstructed, in which lord Palmerston became the first lord of the treasury; lord Clarendon, foreign secretary; lord Panmure, secretary for war; while Mr. Gladstone continued to be chancellor of the exchequer. On the 16th of February, lord Panmure proposed to remedy the evils complained of at Sebastopol by a bill for the enlistment of experienced men for shorter periods of two or three years. A large proportion of the forces sent to the Crimea were young and unseasoned recruits, who rapidly sickened and died off; he mentioned, also, many other measures which had been taken to remedy existing defects. In the house of commons, Mr. Layard stated that England was on the brink of ruin, and had become the laughing-stock of Europe, and contrasted with the conduct of the British parliament that of the French convention, who on the failure of their army sent out their own members, whose impartiality was soon rewarded by

the most brilliant and solid results. This language was strongly resented by lord Palmerston, who said that it would be well if Mr. Layard and his proposed committee could be sent out to the Crimea, and commanded to remain there during the rest of the session. But the government had hardly existed for a fortnight, when another crisis occurred, and it was announced that Mr. Gladstone, sir J. Graham, and Mr. Sidney Herbert had resigned their offices. In explanation sir J. Graham said that he could not assent to the appointment of a committee which included no member of the government: he objected further to a select committee. If secret, it could not be checked by public opinion: if it were open, the evidence brought before it would be immediately made public, and commented upon in ways highly injurious to the public service. In the same spirit Mr. Herbert said that he gave up his office, because, as a vote of censure the motion for a committee was valueless, while as an enquiry it would be a mere sham. With greater particularity, Mr. Gladstone urged, that the committee, being neither for punishment or remedy, must be for government, and could not fail to deprive the executive of its most important functions. The committee was, however, appointed, and the vacant places shortly filled up in the cabinet. Lord John Russell, already plenipotentiary at Vienna, was appointed secretary of state for the colonies. Sir J. Cornewall Lewis succeeded Mr. Gladstone as chancellor of the exchequer, and sir C. Wood followed sir J. Graham at the admiralty. On the 2nd of March news was received of the death of the emperor of Russia, and caused great sensation throughout the country. Owing to these tidings lord Lyndhurst consented to postpone a motion which had reference to the position of Prussia on the approaching negotiations at Vienna. In the house of commons an ineffectual attempt was made to make the Sebastopol committee a secret one.

On the 23rd of March the accession of Sardinia to the Anglo-French alliance was announced in parliament. By the terms of the treaty the king of Sardinia engaged to keep up a body of 15,000 men for the requirements of the war, in return for a loan of 1,000,000*l.* from the British government.

The death of the emperor Nicholas was generally regarded as the removal of an important obstacle in the way of peace; but the hopes of peace raised by the subsequent conferences at Vienna soon issued in disappointment. At the end of February lord John Russell was despatched as plenipotentiary in the hope of such a settlement of the eastern question as might put an end to the war. He had been instructed that the object of the negotiations must be the formal recognition of the Turkish empire as a member of the great European family of nations, and guaranteed by the abrogation of Russian supremacy in the Black Sea. It was manifestly useless to seek this end by proposing to maintain in the Black Sea an English and French fleet which might counterbalance that of Russia; as it was most unlikely that Great Britain would incur this expense for any length of time. It must therefore be attained by reducing the maritime force of Russia, and by opening the Black Sea, with the consent of Turkey, to the maritime forces of other nations. The conference was opened at Vienna on the 15th of March; and after two days' discussion it was agreed that Russia should abandon all exclusive protection over the Danubian principalities of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Servia; nor did any difficulty occur as to the next point which related to the free navigation of the Danube The third point regarded not only the relations of Turkey to the balance of European power (a matter which seemed to involve no serious difficulty), but the more delicate subject of the restrictions to be placed on the Russian force in the Black Sea. After some delays and adjournments, prince Gortschakoff, the Russian envoy, declared that Russia would not consent to the strength of her navy being restricted to any fixed number either by treaty or in any other way. It appeared, however, to the Turkish envoys that the difficulty might be met by a declaration of the contracting powers to respect the territorial integrity and independence of Turkey as an essential condition of the equilibrium. To this principle the Russian envoys assented, but added that they could not thereby pledge themselves to a territorial guarantee. To a suggestion that the Porte should enter into separate negotiations with Russia apart from the conference, the answer was given that such a course was impossible. On the 21st of April prince Gortschakoff again stated that Russia must decline, as derogatory to her dignity, any proposal which regulated the amount of her forces in the Black Sea; but he added that Russia would not be able to transport more than 20,000 troops, with the greatest developement of its navy, on any given point of the Ottoman territory in the space of about three weeks, and asked whether this involved any great danger, or justified the fears which were entertained of Russian aggression? He then proposed an arrangement to which lord John Russell and M. Drouyn de Lhuys objected as resting on a basis on which they were not authorised to treat. A similar result followed the meeting of the 26th of April, the Austrian plenipotentiary alone declaring that the Russian proposals admitted of discussion and contained elements of which Austria would endeavour to avail herself for an understanding. The conference was now virtually at an end, although Austria put forward some final proposals which appeared to M. Drouyn de Lhuys as well as to lord John Russell to hold out the prospect of an amicable arrangement of the question. Hence on his return the former resigned or was deprived of his office as minister of foreign affairs; and the latter withdrew shortly afterwards from the cabinet of lord Palmerston.

The formal close of the Vienna conferences was announced in the house of commons on the 4th of June; and was followed by

many debates in both houses on the conduct of the war, and on the policy of Russia and Austria in particular. Lord Lyndhurst urged that on the last war between Russia and Turkey, Prussia had acted in such subservience to the former as to appear scarcely an independent power, and that now no real aid could be expected from her, and throughout the policy of Austria had been tortuous and vacillating. She had not occupied the principalities till the Russians had retired beyond the Pruth, and while imposing distinct obligations on the allies, she had taken only vague and almost unintelligible obligations on herself. Lord Clarendon, complaining that the tone frequently adopted in this country towards Germany had alienated from us the sympathies of the German people, excused the reluctance of Austria from taking even now an active part in the war. Although one of the four points had been rejected by Russia, still the western powers had rejected other alternatives which to Austria seemed to furnish a fit basis for peace. In subsequent debates, an address to the crown was urged by lord Ellenborough and opposed by lord Panmure. In that of the 28th of May, lord Grey brought forward a motion that the proposals of Russia had been such as to afford a fair prospect of an honourable peace; he urged that to carry on a just war even for one hour after the cause of that war had ceased, was the greatest sin that could be committed, and in that sin every man had a share who wilfully neglected doing all that lay in his power to check what is so contrary to the laws of God. In reply lord Clarendon and lord Malmesbury insisted that the proposals of Russia were not such as could be relied upon or accepted with safety; on the other hand, the bishop of Oxford, while justifying war under certain necessities, argued that there was no principle in the present war after the concessions of Russia and the successes of the allies. In the house of commons, Mr. Layard proposed various expedients for improving the public service; and a long debate ensued on the merits and demerits of the several systems of open nomination and of open competition for appointments to public offices. At this time the publication of count Nesselrode's circular brought lord John Russell again prominently before the public. It had been rumoured previously that the cabinet of a government engaged in a war had one member who thought that war unnecessary: lord John Russell defended himself by saying that he had promised to put the Austrian propositions in such a light as he hoped might lead to their adoption. He had made this promise to count Buol at Vienna: he had fulfilled it on his return to England. The Austrian proposals were deliberately considered and rejected by the cabinet; and he felt that as a plenipotentiary he was bound to submit to the decision of the government, and that within the cabinet it was the duty of the minority to yield to the majority, if there was a majority and minority. Mr. Cobden severely blamed lord John Russell for thus sacrificing his judgment, and asserted that the war was odious in France. Lord Palmerston insisted in his reply on the enthusiasm felt throughout England for the war. Mr. Disraeli urged that when a minister who had not succeeded in his negotiations remained in a cabinet of which all the other members disagreed with him, the house had a right to ask what reasons the cabinet had for rejecting the views of their plenipotentiary. The debate was adjourned to the 12th of July, when lord John Russell explained further that, although he had urged the Austrian proposals, he felt now that there was no alternative but to prosecute the war with vigour. Still, as it seemed likely that a vote of censure would be carried against him, he announced that he had resigned his office. He stated at the same time that he had brought the Austrian propositions to London on the 29th of April, but that circumstances had occurred, quite independent of the merits of the propositions themselves, which made it impossible to agree to them. Hence, after their rejection, there was no other course but to carry on the war vigorously. Sir E. B. Lytton, however, maintained that lord John Russell could not separate his conduct from that of his colleagues, and charged lord Palmerston with having accepted office under the engagement of carrying out the foreign policy of lord Aberdeen, and then rejecting proposals which the latter would certainly have accepted. On the 17th of July, Mr. Roebuck proposed a motion, founded on the report of the Sebastopol committee, visiting with severe reprehension every member of that cabinet whose counsels had led to the disastrous results of which he complained; but after a debate of two days it was rejected in favour of an amendment proposed by general Peel, who contended that the house had not the means of judging the Crimean expedition. In another debate on the 3rd of August, Mr. Gladstone fixed on the ministers the whole responsibility of continuing the war after the rejection of the Austrian proposals. They had now no definite object, and having cast aside a basis of agreement to which all the plenipotentiaries at Vienna had agreed, they were making war now only for paltry differences. Our difficulties were increasing; Austria was gradually withdrawing from us; Turkey was an ally such as Anchises was to Æneas on his flight from Troy; Sardinia was dragging heavily through the conflict in mere dependence on England, and France was not likely to add 100,000,000*l.* sterling to her debt for a mere difference between limitation and counterpoise. Amidst such discussions the session drew towards its close. During its course few bills were passed of a purely social nature except those which have been named; and the Irish tenant-right bill, together with a bill for reforming the university of Cambridge, had been put off to another season.

A.D. 1856.—In England the prospect of an immediate peace, which might now be looked upon as almost certain, was far from causing universal satisfaction. The success of the allies at Sebastopol had in some

degree lessened the previous discontent; but there was a large party throughout the country who thought that if the war were continued the English army would achieve brilliant success and gain new glory for our arms; and this party laid great stress on the fact that, so far from being crippled by the war, the revenue had risen fully to the demands made upon it, and our commerce had seldom been more flourishing. On the meeting of parliament lord Derby complained that the government appeared to be rather claimants of peace from Russia than to be granting a peace on the petition of their enemies. He complained also of the omission of Sardinia and Turkey in the queen's speech, when reference was made to the negotiations then going on, and further that no mention had been made of the surrender of Kars to the Russians. In reply lord Clarendon denied that any overtures had been made by the allies, or that Austria had offered any mediation; all that she had done was to ascertain and make known at St. Petersburg the conditions on which the allies would grant a peace: to these terms she had required a simple negative or affirmative answer, and she had received the latter, when she threatened that unless the Russians gave a simple reply the Austrian embassy would be withdrawn from St. Petersburg. In the house of commons, on the 23th of April, Mr. Whiteside, in bringing forward a motion which imputed the fall of Kars to the want of foresight and energy on the part of the government, complained that general Williams had been sent to Kars to restore the efficiency of the Turkish army, but without authority to do anything. They had given him no powder and shot, but a plentiful supply of pen and ink. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe had failed in his duties, and yet he remained ambassador still. In a subsequent debate an amendment was proposed to defer all consideration of the fall of Kars until the terms of the peace had been made known; but to this sir Cornewall Lewis demurred as giving the go-by to Mr. Whiteside's motion, which the government were resolved to meet, and on which they confidently expected an acquittal. He maintained that Mr. Whiteside's speech was utterly irrelevant, and that the government had not been responsible for the defence or fall of Kars. To have withdrawn troops from before Sebastopol for the relief of that fortress would have endangered the essential enterprise of the war to attain a mere secondary object: in like manner, lord Palmerston denied that the government had ever undertaken to carry on the war in Asia, and imputed the loss of Kars to the misconduct of the pasha of Erzeroum, who, with an abundant supply of money to purchase provisions, had not paid the carriers, and the supplies fell into the hands of the Russians. After the rejection of the amendment, the motion of Mr. Whiteside was thrown out by a majority of 127 in favour of the government, the numbers being 303 to 176. In requital for his great services, a baronetcy with a pension of 1000*l.* a year was conferred on general Williams for his heroic defence of Kars.

But from his command in the Baltic sir Charles Napier had returned only to receive censure from the government and disapproval from the country. His appointment had been highly popular; and the failure of high-wrought expectations had been followed by a feeling of vexation which was not more rational or well founded. Sir Charles Napier had now been returned as member for Southwark, and on the 13th of March, he moved from his place in parliament, for a select committee to enquire into the operations of the British fleet in the Baltic during the two preceding years; and, taking the opportunity of explaining at length his own conduct during his period of command, he dwelt on the difficulties which had from the first been experienced from the want of pilots and the improper manning of the ships. His instructions with respect to the attacking of Cronstadt and Sweaborg were embarrassing; and the admiralty had approved of the delay in attacking Bomarsund until the arrival of the French troops. He insisted that the attack on Sweaborg with large ships only would have been an act of pure insanity, and, contrasting the sudden impatience of sir J. Graham with his previous caution, he censured the conduct of the government as being worse than negligent. Sir J. Graham in reply refuted the charge by reading, with the writer's permission, passages from the letters of sir Charles Napier, who, after some angry debate, withdrew his motion, being content to rest his case on the letters which he had brought forward.

On the 31st of March the signing of the treaty of peace was announced in both houses of parliament, and the news was followed by debates on the terms made between the allies and Russia. Lord Malmesbury complained that Russia had been allowed to resume possession of the Circassian coasts and to re-build her forts there, and urged that the allies should have insisted on the abandonment of the arsenal at Nicolaieff; if Russia was permitted to have only six ships of war in the Black Sea, she might build transports of any size at Sebastopol, and send them forth with troops to assail the Turkish coasts at her pleasure. Lord Clarendon in reply urged that the countries on the eastern coast of the Black Sea must either have been made independent or restored to Turkey. To the latter course they would not consent, while the assertion of the former would be a mere mockery. A debate of much the same character occurred on the same day in the house of commons, in the course of which Mr. Sidney Herbert said that the war had burst the bubble of Russian invincibility; but while he was sure that the policy of Russia was not the result of any long-cherished ambition, he held that it ought to be the more severely curbed because it arose from a necessity. Lord Palmerston believed that the objects of the war, viz., rescuing Turkey from diplomatic, military, and naval assaults, had, in the short period of two years, been fully accomplished. The thanks of both houses were then voted to the officers and men of the army and navy

who had taken part in the war, as well as to the officers and men of the militia. The duke of Cambridge spoke in high praise of the conduct of all who had been engaged in the struggle, and the motion was carried unanimously.

On the 30th of June the disputes which had arisen between the British government and that of the United States, on the Central American convention, and more especially on the Foreign Enlistment Act, were brought before parliament. Mr. Moore proposed a motion affirming that, in these differences, the conduct of the government had not entitled them to the approbation of the house, and accused Mr. Crampton, the British ambassador, of violating international law by secretly enlisting the subjects of the United States. The attorney-general denied that the persons enlisted were American citizens, and that if by their enlistment the municipal law of the States was not violated, the international law was assuredly not broken by it. Sir Frederick Thesiger, on the other hand, contended that the conduct of Mr. Crampton was a breach of the sovereign rights of the United States. Sir G. Grey said that it was not easy to determine in this case the precise charges brought against the government, but that if any offence had been committed, an apology had been made; at the same time the government could not distinctly admit that the acts done were contrary to the law, because they had no evidence to that effect. In the end, Mr. Moore's resolution was lost in a division of 274 to 80.

Among the subsequent debates of this session were some important conversations on the affairs of Italy. Lord Lyndhurst inveighed against the tyranny of Austria, which had extended her limits of occupation in Italy, not only over the legations, but over the duchy of Parma; and urged that as there were cases in which it was the bounden duty of foreign governments to interfere, there could be no doubt that the execrable disposition of the king of Naples called for such interference. In the house of commons, lord Palmerston stated it to be the wish of the French emperor, that the occupation of the Roman States by his troops should cease, if the consent of Austria could be obtained; but of this the Austrian representative at the Paris conference held out no hope. It might, however, be anticipated that the papal government would so regulate its own affairs, as soon to render all further foreign intervention unnecessary. To the king of Sardinia England was undoubtedly pledged to yield support and protection in any unprovoked attack, even though the force of Sardinia might itself be sufficient to repel it.

During the session the question of life-peerages called forth much debate. Baron Parke had been created a peer for life, under the title of lord Wensleydale, when lord Lyndhurst said it was clear from the circumstances of the case that he had been so appointed to make a precedent for the future. He doubted the legality of the act, and was sure that it was unconstitutional. In law, the crown might ennoble a whole troop of guards at once, but it would be a gross violation of the constitution. Lord Derby urged that if the precedent were admitted, the fall of the monarchy would be ultimately ensured. These arguments were met by counter-statements, but the controversy was finally settled by the conferring of an hereditary peerage on lord Wensleydale in the usual way. The failure of this measure was followed by the appellate-jurisdiction bill, which called to the house of lords, as accessory to the lord-chancellor in appeal, two officers who have held high judicial office for a period of five years. This bill, successful in the house of lords, was twice read in the house of commons, when a motion of Mr. Currie to refer the bill to a select committee, having been carried, stopped its further progress.

It had been agreed at the conference of Paris, that thereafter in war a neutral flag should cover an enemy's goods; in protest against this doctrine, lord Colchester, on the 22nd of May, moved a series of resolutions which affirmed that the maintenance of the right of capturing an enemy's goods on board of neutral vessels was of essential importance to a power whose main reliance is on her naval superiority. Lord Derby characterised the abandonment of this right as a surrender of the foundation of England's greatness. Lord Grey in answer said the principle must be judged by its working, and in practice it was found impossible to ascertain what was the property of an enemy in neutral ships. On a division there appeared against the resolutions a majority of 54. Towards the close of the session, a bill for the retirement of the bishops of London and Durham was introduced, and, although much contested at every stage, ultimately passed both houses. During the financial debates of the session, Mr. Muntz introduced a motion affirming the need of a readjustment of the income-tax, especially with regard to the rates levied on professional and industrial incomes as compared with those derived from fixed property. This motion was lost by a large majority.

On the 6th of March lord John Russell introduced the subject of national education in a series of resolutions by which, amongst other measures, it was provided that 80 sub-inspectors should be added to the existing number of inspectors; that the sub-inspectors should report on the available means for the education of the poor in each school district; that in order to extend such means, the powers of the commissioners of charitable trusts should be enlarged, and that the funds now useless or injurious to the public should be applied to the education of the middle and poorer classes of the community; that where such means are not available, the rate-payers should have the power of taxing themselves for the maintenance of schools; that employers of children between nine and fifteen years of age should be required to furnish certificates half-yearly of the attendance of such children at school and to pay for such instruction. Against these resolutions many objections were

urged in the debate of the 10th of April. Among others, sir J. Graham urged the benefits of the voluntary as compared with the compulsory system, while sir J. Pakington, complaining of the failure of this system, said that there were parts of England and Ireland where education was retrograding. In effect, lord John Russell withdrew some of the most important of the resolutions, and the rest were negatived on a division. But in committee of supply, on the 14th of June, a sum was voted in excess of the expenditure of the previous year in public education by 54,292*l*. A bill for the regulation of the university of Cambridge was likewise passed, and that for the withdrawal of the grant from the college of Maynooth was abandoned, owing to the lateness of the season.

During the session lord Albemarle presented a petition from the inhabitants of Madras, complaining of the infliction of torture by the officers of the East India Company, and urged that the tortures so complained of were only a sample of the modes in which the Company administered justice and collected its revenue. Enumerating four methods of torture, he expressed his belief that the practice was connived at, or tacitly tolerated by, European officers. The duke of Argyle admitted the facts, but said that the government were not responsible for a custom which had come down from preceding empires, and which they had done their utmost to abolish; he proposed some verbal alterations in the resolutions which expressed the reliance of the house that all persons in authority in this country, and in India, would strive to extirpate a practice disgraceful to the character of our government, and likely to render it odious to the people of India. Lord Clanricarde said the whole question was a matter of money: if the company paid fair wages, they would obtain, as collectors of revenue, men who would not employ torture as a means of extorting confessions.

On the 18th of April, the house of commons, unconscious of coming disasters, of which even the government in India foresaw no sign, was occupied with the discussion of Indian affairs, when sir E. Perry, complaining of the deficit in the finances of that country, said that it was owing not, as was alleged, to expenditure on public works, but to a series of wars which were not defensive, followed by annexations of territory. He inveighed especially against the annexation of Oude, and urged that the charges brought against the rulers of that kingdom were over-coloured, but that, even if true, they had reference to a state of things which was commenced by Warren Hastings. The statements of sir E. Perry were called in question, and on the 21st of July Mr. Vernon Smith, in the annual official statement, showed a decrease of more than 400,000*l*. on the deficit of the previous year, and said that it was caused by excess of expenditure in public works. The land revenue, he believed, could be increased by introducing a lower assessment, and the cultivation of cotton was greatly increased. The prospect on the whole was encouraging; but the difficulty might further be met by a reduction of expenditure. This, however, must not apply to the military expenses: he could not admit any reduction which was based on employing the native army more, and the queen's army less. He defended the annexation of Oude, and exhibited the progress made in laying down railways and electric telegraphs throughout India. After some further conversation, the government resolutions were agreed to.

Towards the close of the session, Mr. Disraeli, while moving for the number of bills discharged during its course, charged the government with deficient legislation and the large number of measures which they had been compelled to abandon, and expressed his belief that a large party looked with suspicion and dislike on the influence of landed property, on the union between church and state, and to all hereditary influence. Lord Palmerston, in reply, said that in attempting to introduce a schism into the liberal party, Mr. Disraeli had fallen into a contradiction. He had charged the government with abandoning liberal views, and yet in the same speech he accused them of inundating the house with more measures than it was possible to pass. If, however, many measures had been abandoned, the reason was obvious; the fact must be attributed to the obstacles placed in the way of the government by the opposition side of the house. He was far from being discontented with a state of things from which incalculable benefits were derived; but nevertheless this was the cause of the defects of which Mr. Disraeli had complained, and, in spite of these failures, he believed that the government had not lost the confidence of the house or the country. Parliament was prorogued by commission on the 29th of July.

For the differences which arose in the course of this year between the British government and the pasha of Persia, as well as with the Chinese empire, the reader is referred to the history of those countries respectively.

A.D. 1857.—At the commencement of this year it seemed as though the income-tax would be the chief subject of attention during the coming session of parliament; but that session itself was prematurely brought to a close by a dissolution caused by the differences which had arisen between the British and Chinese governments; and the Indian mutiny following immediately after, absorbed the attention of the nation to the exclusion, almost, of every other subject. But, in the debates which followed on the queen's speech, the income-tax furnished the most prominent topic. Lord Derby insisted that parliament would be wanting in its duty if it did not demand the fulfilment of the solemn pledge that the tax should definitely cease in 1860. And then subject of complaint arose out of the quarrel with Persia; but an amendment of lord Grey, that war ought not to have been declared against Persia without the consent of parliament, was negatived by a

large majority. In the house of commons, Mr. Gladstone urged that a strict scrutiny into the national expenditure must precede any discussion on taxation. At the same time he remembered the pledges given in 1853, and he should therefore strive to bring the fiscal arrangements of the country into a state which would not stand in the way of the fulfilment of those pledges in 1860. Lord Palmerston complained that there was a disposition to judge of the expenditure before the estimates were announced, and warned the house against being so led astray.

Soon after the beginning of the session the house of commons was occupied with an unpleasing task not often imposed upon it, in the expulsion of a member—Mr. James Sadleir, who had been charged with serious frauds in the management of the Tipperary bank. Leave was given to bring in bills relating to law reform, secondary punishments, the establishment of a separate and responsible department for the affairs of public justice; while a proposal of Mr. Locke King to extend to counties the 10*l.* borough franchise was lost in a division of 192 to 179, and Mr. Spooner's annual proposal to discontinue the endowment of Maynooth was defeated by a majority of 8. The financial statement of the chancellor of the exchequer was made early in the session. Sir G. Lewis estimated the expenditure of the coming year at about 63,000,000*l.* and the revenue at about 66,000,000*l.*, which, after providing for debts, would leave a surplus of nearly 900,000*l.* Mr. Disraeli took the opportunity to urge again the necessity of so reducing expenditure as to enable parliament to remit the income-tax altogether in 1860, while Mr. Gladstone urged that in four years six millions had been added to the expenses of the country quite apart from the war; and he protested especially against the increase of indirect taxation on such articles as tea and sugar. Lord John Russell thought, on the other hand, that the budget of the chancellor of the exchequer was likely to promote rather than to hinder the object which Mr. Gladstone had at heart. In the end Mr. Disraeli's resolutions were defeated by a majority of 80; and the income-tax bill, which reverted to the rate of 7*d.* in the pound for the ensuing year, passed the house of commons without any great opposition. But, in both houses alike, the excess of expenditure was attributed to the foreign policy of the government, which was also likely to outrage the feelings of every state brought into connection with it. Before this time, however, the government had announced their intention to dissolve the parliament, and lord Palmerston warned Mr. Disraeli that in the ensuing elections the people of England would not be led astray by any cry founded on the turbulent and aggressive policy of the ministry.

The circumstances which led to this resolution arose out of the quarrel with China in reference to the lorcha called the Arrow. This vessel, showing British colours, had been seized by the Chinese; and the question to be determined was its right to the protection of the British flag. Lord Derby insisted strongly that a vessel built in China, captured by pirates, and recaptured by Chinese, and afterwards manned, owned, and bought by Chinese, could have no such claim, and adduced two statements of sir John Bowring, that the license to carry the English flag had expired some time before. He further insisted that the quarrel had arisen entirely from sir J. Bowring's absorbing desire to bring about his own official reception in Canton. Lord Clarendon as strongly supported sir J. Bowring and the government; while lord Ellenborough maintained that there could be no peace for China while sir J. Bowring remained near Canton, and that he ought to be recalled as having made, with reference to the Arrow, statements which at time of making them he knew to be untrue. In the house of lords, the majority against lord Derby's motion was 36; a different issue followed the debate in the house of commons on the motion of Mr. Cobden, that the papers laid before parliament failed to explain satisfactorily the violent measures resorted to at Canton in the affair of the Arrow. Mr. Phillimore, speaking on the law of the case, denounced the whole transaction, while, apart from all legal technicalities, Mr. Sidney Herbert said that it had been admitted by Mr. Consul Parkes that even if the lorcha had been a British vessel, the reparation obtained was more than what was needed, and expressed his indignation at force exercised with so little mercy on pretexts so transparently fraudulent. Lord Palmerston in reply denied that we were at war with China, and said that the future policy of the government, while it must aim first at protecting British subjects in China, must be guided in great measure by the course of events. Still, on a division, it was found that the ministers were in a minority of 16; and lord Palmerston immediately made up his mind to appeal to the country. Admitting that in general it would, after such a defeat, be the duty of the government to resign, he thought it did not apply to the present case, as recent divisions pointed to anything but a want of confidence in the government. Mr. Cobden asked what, in the meanwhile, was to be done in the Chinese quarrel, suggesting that some one should be sent out forthwith authorised to supersede all British authority in China, and to act according to circumstances. The answer of sir J. Grey asserted generally that they would do all that lay in their power to protect British subjects and their property in China, and denied Mr. Cobden's right to impute to the government any desire to keep our relations with China on an unfriendly footing.

Before the dissolution of the parliament the speaker of the house of commons, Mr. Shaw Lefevre, announced his intention of resigning the office which he had held for 18 years. The thanks of the house were cordially and unanimously voted to him, and he was immediately afterwards raised to the peerage, with a pension of 4,000*l.* a year. The close of the Persian war was

announced by lord Clarendon, who stated that there was nothing in the treaty of peace derogatory to the Persian government. On the 21st of March the parliament was dissolved, and the new elections took up at once the whole attention of the country.

It was found that the new parliament had strengthened instead of weakening the government of lord Palmerston. In the place of Mr. Lefevre, Mr. E. B. Denison was elected speaker of the house of commons; and on the 7th of May the business of the session commenced. The intended marriage of the princess royal of England with prince Frederick William of Prussia, and a dowry and annuity to the princess, was agreed to by the house. After much opposition in the house of commons, and a narrow escape in the house of lords, a bill was passed which abolished the tax called ministers' money in Ireland. Its opponents maintained that it was simply a tax upon property, and that it belonged to the United Church, as much as any landed estate belonged to its proprietor, while its advocates denied that the government ever accepted the position that this property could not be alienated.

The city of London had again returned baron Rothschild to serve in parliament, and the subject of the admission of Jews to sit as members was brought forward with the greater force, as all the members had just had to take oaths with which they could not in every particular acquiesce. The bill introduced by lord Palmerston was carried by a very large majority, although a clause was subsequently inserted excluding them from the office of lord-chancellor, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and other high places. In the house of lords the bill was thrown out; and another effort was made by lord John Russell to substitute a solemn declaration in place of an oath, according to an act 5 and 6 Will. IV. c. 62; but it was found that the act was not applicable, and he contented himself with promising to introduce the subject again in the ensuing session.

The first tidings of the great Indian mutiny were received in this country in June; and the causes which led to this terrible outbreak, as well as the remedies which should be applied to it, were anxiously discussed in parliament. Lord Ellenborough attributed it in great measure to a dread on the part of the natives that the government purposed to interfere with their religion, and complained that not merely military men of high rank were mixed up with missionary operations, but that the governor-general himself largely subscribed to every society which has the conversion of the natives for its object. This he asserted to be one of the most dangerous things which could have happened for the security of our government in India. These arguments were, naturally, combated with much vehemence; and lord Granville declared that lord Canning, so far from lying open to such charges, had, by the first exercise of his power of veto, arrested a police bill because it might affect the religious feelings of the natives. Lord John Russell dwelt much on the oppression practised by the police of India and on the insufficient administration of justice. The succeeding mails brought darker tidings, and 14,000 troops were despatched from England; but while these and other measures were discussed, much controversy was expended on the former questions relating to the origin of the struggle. Lord Ellenborough was convinced that there must have been long-standing mismanagement to account for the mutiny of such noble troops and excellent soldiers as the 16th grenadiers and the 26th light infantry. Mr. Disraeli considered it a national revolt rather than a military rebellion, and set it down to three causes: 1. the forcible destruction of native authority in India; 2. the disturbance of settlements of property; 3. tampering with the religion of the people. The Hindoos had no dread of missionaries or of free discussion; what they feared was the union of missionary enterprise with the power of the government; and two recent acts (which provided that a Hindoo widow might marry a second husband, and that no man should lose his property because he changed his religion) had caused wide and deep alarm. To this must be added the annexation of Oude, which drove the Mahometan princes to make common cause with the Hindoos.

The necessity of providing for the defence of the country led to the introduction of a bill to enable the government to embody the militia, without having to call parliament together, as was now required, within a fortnight after so embodying them. This bill was passed just before the recess.

Some important social reforms were likewise made during this session. The testamentary jurisdiction bill established a new court of probate, of which the judge was to preside also in the matrimonial and divorce courts, and finally on the occurrence of a vacancy, in the court of admiralty, as it was the opinion of Dr. Lushington that the duties of these courts might all be discharged by one judge. But a measure which attracted far greater attention, and was met by a very strong opposition, was the divorce bill, for the passing of which the government expressed their most determined resolution. The lord-chancellor stated that, according to the present practice, to obtain a divorce *a vinculo matrimonii* a verdict must be obtained against the adulterer in the ecclesiastical courts, and the facts proved before the house of lords; and he proposed now to constitute one tribunal to try the whole case, to admit none but *viva voce* proceedings, and to permit actions for criminal conversation only *after* a divorce had been obtained. Lord Lyndhurst, complaining of the inequalities in the bill, hoped that desertion by the husband for five years would be held sufficient ground for a divorce; and he thought further, that to reverse the order with regard to the action for *crim. con.* would leave to the injured party in many cases no power of action at all. In committee, an amendment by the archbishop of Canterbury was carried which restricted the person against whom the divorce is pronounced from marrying his companion

in guilt. A further amendment was carried, that adultery with a married woman should be considered a misdemeanor. And finally lord Redesdale sought ineffectually to deprive the new court from granting any divorce *a vinculo*. In the house of commons, the bill was far more determinately opposed. The attorney-general pointed out the urgent necessity of the measure. The verdicts of the ecclesiastical courts, which would only grant separation, left the wife still entitled to dower, and the husband to the property of the wife. Hence cases frequently occurred, in which the husband, having been so separated, returned and seized the property of his wife, who, by her own industry, had raised herself to an independent position. Mr. Gladstone said that of the three alternatives,—viz. that of passing private acts, of ceasing to pass them, and of passing this bill, the last was far the most dangerous, and then urged strongly the theological objections to the bill. In committee of the house, an amendment to restrict the power to remarry to the person on whose petition the marriage had been dissolved, was firmly resisted by the government and negatived. But the government consented very reluctantly to admit another amendment, which left to the clergy the option of refusing to solemnise the marriage of any person who may have been divorced; a further amendment was, however, carried, which, on the refusal of the incumbent, gave power to any licensed clergyman of the diocese to perform the ceremony in the parish church. The bill so amended was returned to the lords, when a proposal of lord Redesdale, that the amendments of the commons should be discussed that day six months, was objected to as against all ordinary proceeding, and by a majority of 2 it was decided that they should be considered at once: and thus, with this narrow escape, and just at the close of the session, the bill became law. Another bill was also passed to make trustees criminally responsible for frauds or malversation of funds committed to their hands.

Among other measures of the session was one introduced by sir De Lacy Evans for improving military education by means of competitive examinations, and extending these to officers who might wish to qualify themselves for the staff,—and another by lord Goderich for extending the same system to the public departments of the foreign office, the India board, &c. in which it had not yet been adopted. Another bill for civil service superannuation had for its object the removal of a grievance which had been a general subject of complaint—the salaries of members of the civil service being subject to a certain annual deduction to furnish retiring pensions to superannuated members. It was contended that the funds so raised had been more than what was necessary for the purpose, and had been a source of profit to the government, and, as such, ought to be relinquished.

An arrangement was at this time made with the Danish government, by which, on receiving from Great Britain a sum of 1,125,206*l*., they agreed to abolish the Sound dues, and to maintain light-houses, &c., for the convenience of commerce; and this sum the house of commons granted out of the consolidated fund. It was further agreed that the existing duties on tea and sugar, confectionery and rice, should be continued from April 1858 to April 1860.

The monetary crisis which had caused the stoppage of several banks in the United States, and created a panic in this country, drove the directors of the Bank of England, as in 1847, to appeal to the ministers of the crown for authority to increase their issue of notes, and so to suspend the operation of the Bank Charter Act of 1844. The government without hesitation acceded to this request; but it became necessary to obtain from parliament a bill of indemnity; and the houses were accordingly assembled for a short session in December. With the necessary business connected with the Bank Act, there was much conversation on the subject of the Indian mutiny, which lord Panmure characterised as a purely military revolt, with which the people felt no sympathy. During the short session leave was again given to bring in a bill on the subject of Jewish disabilities, authorising the omission of the words 'on the true faith of a Christian,' when the oath was administered to Jews who might be returned as members to parliament; but an attempt to limit the liability of shareholders in joint-stock banks was unsuccessful.

A.D. 1858.—The session of 1858 had virtually commenced with the meeting of parliament in December 1857, but after that short session the houses were adjourned to the 4th of February 1858, when they resumed business. The congratulations of both houses to the queen on the marriage of the princess royal were followed by anxious debates on the affairs of India; and Mr Vernon Smith, the president of the board of control, asked leave to bring in a bill enabling the East India Company to raise a loan of 10,000,000*l*. It was admitted on all hands that the Indian government was in urgent need of money, but it was not so easy to determine into whose hands the money was to be paid, or who was to have the control over it. It was urged that the East India Company was a dying body, and that the responsibility of the loan must ultimately rest on the English exchequer. After much discussion, the amount of the loan was fixed at 8,000,000*l*. On the motion for a vote of thanks from both houses to the civil and military officers and the troops of India, as well as to persons not holding military rank, for their energy and ability in suppressing the mutiny, lord Derby, in the house of lords, and Mr. Disraeli, in the commons, objected to the mention of the name of lord Canning the governor-general, on the ground that parliament would thus be pledged to the approval of his policy, which they characterised as weak and vacillating; but on receiving the assurance that no such meaning could be attached to it, the objections were withdrawn, and the vote agreed to. The court of directors now resolved to anticipate the action of the government, and lord Grey presented to the

lords a petition from that body which was at the same time brought by Mr. Baring before the commons. Lord Grey urged that the interposition of the directors between the government and the Indian executive had been of much use in preventing many acts of injustice, and contended that their power was a moral influence which could not with safety be dispensed with. In introducing the bill for substituting, in place of the court of directors, the immediate government of the crown, lord Palmerston said, that being confined to the government at home, it would make no change in India. Instead of a court of directors and court of proprietors there would be a president and council, the former being a member of the cabinet. Local appointments would remain as they had been, except that the members of council in India would be nominated by the governor-general instead of by the home government. Writerships would be thrown open to competition, and cadetships divided between the president and members of the council. Mr. Baring then moved the postponement of all designs for such legislation, but was followed by sir Erskine Perry, who said that the time was most favourable for it, and that from his own personal knowledge he could affirm the government of the directors to be effete, cumbrous, and useless. In a speech of great power, sir Cornewall Lewis went more deeply into the matter, and said that the petition of the directors was a string of assumptions and fallacies. They had assumed that the Company had acquired our eastern empire, and that its government had been one of the best that ever existed. But the eastern empire was acquired in defiance of express and repeated orders of the Company, whose servants had from the first been an insubordinate and mutinous race. To such men as Clive and Warren Hastings the directors had always said, 'Be just, but do not forget our remittances!' and they knew that the easiest means of complying with this request was to be found in the plunder of a province. But further, the government of India had practically passed out of their hands in 1784, previous to which time there had never been a government 'more corrupt, more perfidious, more rapacious, than the government of the East India Company.' All, therefore, that the directors could allege in their favour had happened subsequently to 1784, and their present claims to merit arose from confounding the acts of two periods. In 1784, the Company was reduced to complete subordination by the establishment of the board of control; in 1813 they lost their monopoly of trade with India; in 1833 they were prohibited by law from trading; and so having entirely lost their original functions, they retained only a portion of sovereign power, in having certain subordinate capacities. In 1853 there was a further invasion of the original constitution, and one third of the court of directors was formed of nominees of the crown. There could not therefore be a more absurd fallacy than to regard as one and indivisible from the time of the battle of Plassey, a company which had exhibited as many phases as the English constitution from the days of the Heptarchy. To these assertions of the chancellor of the exchequer strong counter-statements were brought forward; but Mr. Disraeli raised another issue, when, expressing his readiness to support any measure which might draw the people of Hindostan nearer to this country, he doubted whether this bill would do so, and that the first question to be asked was, what were to be the financial relations between England and India; what were the resources of India, and how they would be managed. What was wanted was, in his opinion, a total change in the local administration of India itself. At this stage the debate was interrupted, and before it could be resumed, the government of lord Palmerston had ceased to exist.

The unsuccessful attempt made by Orsini in January, against the life of the French emperor, had roused in England a strong feeling of sympathy for the emperor, but that feeling in France linked itself with expressions of discontent, if not of indignation, against England, for allowing foreign refugees to concoct and mature in this country plots to be carried into execution elsewhere. These feelings came out prominently in the addresses of certain French colonels to the emperor, which were printed in the 'Moniteur.' Hints were thrown out that the law of England on this subject needed alteration: and the English people were not slow in resenting any such attempt to intimidate them into making or changing laws to suit the wishes of any foreign power. When, therefore, the house of commons met again, lord Palmerston said, in answer to a question of Mr. Roebuck, that the minister of foreign affairs at Paris had urged the government to take some measures in the matter, but without making any more definite suggestion. On the 8th of February he introduced a bill to amend the law of conspiracy with intent to murder. Denying that any special step could be taken in the matter, he yet believed that the law was defective, and now proposed to make conspiracy to murder a felony, punishable with penal servitude for five years, and to make the law uniform throughout the United Kingdom. Mr. Kinglake immediately moved an amendment that no change should be made till the correspondence between the two governments should be laid before the house, and maintained that the bill was either a mere piece of law reform, or a political action suggested from abroad. In the former case, it should have been left in the hands of the law officers of the crown. Mr. Roebuck retorted on the French emperor the payment which he had ordered of the legacy left by the first Napoleon to Cantillon who had conspired to kill the duke of Wellington. Lord Palmerston, however, received permission to bring in his bill by the large majority of 200. But when the matter again came before the commons, the position was changed. The effort of the speakers who favoured the measure was to describe it as one of law reform: its opponents insisted on keep-

ing the political aspect of the question prominently in view. Mr. Gibson's amendments expressed, (1) sympathy with the French emperor, (2) readiness to amend acknowledged legal defects at once, and (3) surprise that the government had not answered the despatch of count Walewski, before calling on the house to amend the law of conspiracy. Mr. Gladstone spoke strongly against any such change, in the interest of freedom throughout the world. They were but few spots on which institutions exist that may claim our sympathies; and these were but the holes and corners of Europe so far as material greatness was concerned, although in moral greatness they might be strong. The division on the second reading of the bill showed a majority of 19 against the government; and the ministers found that they had no alternative but to resign. It was felt, however, that it mattered little who held the reins of government, as the ascendency of liberal principles throughout the country was now so decided. The conservatives at the same time were well aware that if they now held back, or if when in office they should refuse to bring forward the measures, or make the concessions which were unmistakably called for by public opinion, they would, in effect, yield up a power which would be permanently resumed by their opponents. Lord Derby, therefore, formed a ministry, in which he was the first lord of the treasury, while lord Chelmsford (sir F. Thesiger) became lord-chancellor, lord Stanley colonial secretary, lord Ellenborough president of the board of control, and Mr. Disraeli chancellor of the exchequer. The discussion of Indian affairs was preceded by debates on what was asserted to be the illegal seizure of a vessel called the Cagliari by Neapolitan cruisers, and the imprisonment of two English engineers, whose release ultimately settled the affair. On the 20th of March Mr. Disraeli introduced what was called the Indian Bill No. 2, to distinguish it from the bill introduced by lord Palmerston and not yet abandoned. By this bill Mr. Disraeli proposed to appoint a president of the council of India, who should be a minister of the crown, and that the council should consist of 18 persons, half to be nominated by the crown, half to be elected. In the patronage of India and in the army there would be virtually no change, and the expenses of government would be fixed wholly on the revenues of India. Leave was given to bring in the bill, and the houses adjourned for the Easter recess. During its course the bill was discussed throughout the country and generally disapproved; the election of a portion of the members of council being especially denounced as a most imprudent anomaly, and an artifice designed simply to attract popularity for the government. The Indian Bill No. 2 seemed, therefore, to have no better prospects than the Indian Bill No. 1: and fears were strongly entertained, on the reassembling of parliament, that the ministry would again be shaken, when lord John Russell put the matter on a new issue, by proposing to take resolutions in a committee of the whole house instead of proceeding with either of the existing bills. This suggestion was so readily accepted by Mr. Disraeli, as to give rise to a rumour that the move was preconcerted. The house accordingly resolved itself into committee on the 30th of April, when an unsuccessful attempt was again made to postpone all present legislation on the subject. The resolution to transfer the government of India to the crown was then passed, as well as another which made the president of the Indian council a responsible minister of the crown. At this stage of the bill a crisis arose, which threatened the existence of the government itself. In May, an incomplete copy was published of a proclamation, by lord Canning, threatening confiscation to the insurgent landholders of Oude, to which lord Ellenborough returned immediately a severe condemnation. This reply of lord Ellenborough was laid before parliament with the admission that the government 'disapproved of the policy of the proclamation in every sense.' Its publication created great excitement. It was regarded on one side as an unwarranted censure cast on an absent officer who was contending with circumstances of extreme difficulty and danger; and on the other it was spoken of as too severe in its language, although substantially just in its remarks. It came out afterwards that Mr. Vernon Smith had, after resigning his office as president of the board of control, received a private letter from lord Canning, promising an explanation of his policy as soon as time permitted; and that this letter had not been shown to lord Ellenborough, who was therefore not aware that it had been written. But the danger which threatened the government was lessened by the voluntary resignation of lord Ellenborough; and the rejection of lord Shaftesbury's amendments relieved the government from censure in the house of lords. The debates in the house of commons were more important. Mr. Cardwell brought forward the amendments of lord Shaftesbury; and, after a speech from lord Stanley, lord John Russell said that the house was reduced to the alternative of censuring the government, or condemning lord Canning. One or two adjournments at this time greatly favoured the cause of the government, which was promoted still more by the news brought by the overland mail from India, that sir James Outram disapproved altogether of lord Canning's proclamation. Another adjournment brought the house nearly to Whitsuntide, and when Mr. Disraeli moved the adjournment for the holidays, an appeal was made to Mr. Cardwell not to press his motion to a division. The reply of the latter was, that he saw no reason for so doing; and Mr. Disraeli said that while the motion was a vote of censure, to the result of which the government looked without apprehension, he had reason to believe that lord Canning had given up his policy of confiscation. Mr. Cardwell's motion was then withdrawn, and so ended this great parliamentary conflict. It was evident that the opponents of government

had made a false move, and that the latter was firmly fixed for the remainder of the session. Lord Stanley, who had succeeded lord Ellenborough as president of the board of control, now applied himself earnestly to the task of Indian legislation; and after an ineffectual attempt made by Mr. Gladstone to put off all changes for another year, the house pronounced in favour of a council for India, and proceeded to discuss its constitution. A speech of Mr. Bright, in which he explained his view of the way in which India should be governed, had no practical effect on the house, and finally on the 8th of July the Indian bill was passed by the commons. It went speedily through the lords, and became law on the last day of the session.

It is unnecessary to dwell at any length on Mr. Disraeli's financial measures, which were generally approved, and of which the chief features were the repayment of the exchequer bonds, the equalisation of the spirit duties, and the introduction of a tax on bankers' cheques. The house passed a resolution of Mr. Milner Gibson, condemning as impolitic the permanent continuance of the paper duty.

The oaths' bill, again introduced by lord John Russell, brought up once more the controversy on the admission of Jews into parliament. It was passed in the commons, but the clause which permitted the admission of Jews by striking out the words 'on the true faith of a Christian,' was rejected by the lords, and a collision between the two houses was seriously anticipated. The motion to accept the amendment of the lords was rejected in a division of 263 to 150, and it was resolved to appoint a committee to draw up the reasons for this disagreement. A motion was then made that baron Rothschild should serve on this committee, and was carried by 251 to 196. When the reasons so drawn up were sent to the house of lords, an amendment was proposed by lord Lucan authorising either house by special resolution to modify the form of oath to be taken by a member. This amendment was carried; and when by the oaths' bill a short and simple declaration of allegiance to the reigning sovereign had been substituted in place of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy hitherto imposed, baron Rothschild was brought to the bar of the house, and declined on grounds of conscience to take the oath in the form in which it was tendered. Lord John Russell then proposed and carried a resolution simply stating this fact; and afterwards another, which gave to all Jews returned as members of parliament the power of taking the oaths, of leaving out the words 'on the true faith of a Christian.' The oath so tendered was taken by baron Rothschild, and the controversy of ten years between the two houses was by this compromise ended.

During this session sir J. Trelawney's bill for the abolition of church rates was again passed in the house of commons, and again defeated in the house of lords. A similar result followed the introduction in the lords of the bill for legalising marriage with a deceased wife's sister. A measure of much interest to the church of England was the abolition of the three services appended to the book of common prayer, for the 5th of November, the 30th of January, and the 29th of May.

In the month of June, news was received of some alleged outrages committed by English ships on vessels carrying the American flag, in prosecution of the right of search in suppression of the slave trade. The United States government had asked for explanations, and, without waiting to receive them, had increased its force in the gulf of Mexico. But the dangers apprehended were happily not realised. About this time the bishop of Oxford presented a petition from Jamaica, complaining that the Spanish government habitually violated the treaties which bound it to suppress the slave trade in Cuba. A misunderstanding similar to that which had threatened the peace between England and the United States, broke out also between the English and French governments on the case of the Regina Cœli, and gave rise to a resolution, which was proposed in the house of commons, to abolish the right of search on vessels suspected of being concerned in the slave trade. The house, however, negatived this resolution in a division of 223 to 24.

During this session also Mr. E. A. Glover, M.P. for Beverley, was convicted of having evaded the law relating to the property qualification for members returned to parliament, and was sentenced to three months' imprisonment. It was the last penalty inflicted under the act. Before the term of his imprisonment had come to an end, the qualification was abolished on the motion of Mr. Locke King, whose bill for a 10*l.* franchise in counties was carried through a second reading, and then dropped owing to the pressure of business towards the close of the session. The same result attended the bill for the abolition of the exemption which protected members of parliament from arrest for debt, as well as Mr. Berkeley's annual motion for the vote by ballot, which was lost in a division of 294 to 197. A bill to abolish the office of lord-lieutenant of Ireland was likewise rejected; and this was also the case with a bill which sought to divide the expenses connected with the cleansing of the river Thames between the metropolis and the country. Parliament was prorogued on the 3rd of August.

Before the commencement of the year 1859 it became more than probable that the peace of Europe would again be disturbed. For reasons which perhaps have never been fully ascertained, the French emperor resolved to espouse the cause of the king of Sardinia in his claim to unite Lombardy to Italy, and he was therefore fast drifting into a war with Austria. The attention of the English public was further occupied with lord Derby's promised measure of parliamentary reform. Throughout the recess, Mr. Bright had been conspicuous in his agitation for that subject, but his vehement advocacy had frightened or repelled the more moderate, and seemed rather to have injured than advanced his cause.

Parliament had not long met when sir Hugh Cairns, the solicitor-general, introduced two bills, one to simplify titles, the other to establish a registry of landed estates. The great evils attendant on the transfer of land lay in the length of time which passed between the bargain and the purchase, and the expense in investigating the title: and if money was to be raised on mortgage after the transfer, the whole process must be gone through again. In Ireland the landed estates court had been empowered to give relief in the case of unencumbered not less than of encumbered estates; and he saw no reason why a system so beneficial in the one country should not be applied, in part at least, in the other. These bills advanced as far as discussion in committee, but the session on the whole was characterised by ineffectual attempts at legislation: and the ministerial crisis, followed by the dissolution of parliament, proved as fatal to the bills of sir Hugh Cairns as to many others. Thus also a motion by Mr. Kinglake which reflected on the government for inertness in a dispute which arose between France and Portugal respecting a ship named the Charles et Georges, fell to the ground. But greater attention was given to the subject of the national defences, and sir J. Pakington found little difficulty in obtaining the vote for the increase of the navy. His estimate for the coming year amounted to 9,831,181*l.* against 8,851,377*l.* for the preceding year; and he proposed to add fifteen screw-liners and nine heavy frigates to the fleet by the conversion of sailing vessels and the building of new ones, while two iron-cased ships should be built on the best principles to match those which had been constructed for the French navy.

A long series of debates began on the 14th of February, with a speech by lord Stanley on the finances of India. He showed that at the time when the mutiny broke out, the revenue nearly balanced the expenditure: but for the last and the present year the total deficiency would be 21,600,000*l.*, exclusive of all compensation for the loss of private property. It was, however, clear that increased prosperity did not affect revenue in India as it does in England; the only present resource therefore must be found in diminished outlay: the deficiency complained of had been caused entirely by increased military expenditure owing to the mutiny, and the European force in India now was nearly double what it had been before the outbreak. Still he augured well for the future of India: her imports and exports had doubled themselves within the last twenty years, and the export of cotton had risen from 322,000,000 lbs. in 1842 to 863,000,000 lbs. in 1857, while many of the public works not only paid their own expenses but covered the cost of the less successful. He promised further that the country should be laid open to European colonisation by selling absolute ownership in the soil, which might be acquired by the native zemindars also on paying a commutation of the land tax. Sir C. Wood and sir Erskine Perry drew pictures by no means so encouraging; and Mr. Vernon Smith complained that lord Stanley's statement said nothing of the heavy compensations which must be made for the loss of private property. Nevertheless this India loan bill was one of the few measures which became law during the session which preceded the dissolution of parliament.

In spite of some opposition, the bill for legalising marriage with a deceased wife's sister was passed in the commons; but, in the house of lords, it experienced the same fate as in the previous session. On the subject of church rates sir J. Trelawney again brought in his former bill for their total abolition: but the government interposed with a bill, designed as a compromise, and explained by Mr. Walpole on the 21st of February. Instead of making the parishioners of every parish responsible for the maintenance of the parish church, it proposed to make the rate a landlord's rate, and to enable the owners of the land to charge it with a church rate, extending that power to tenants for life as well as to owners in fee: it also made provision for exempting dissenters from the rate; but all who so claimed exemption would be excluded from vestry meetings for imposing a church rate. This bill was thrown out by the passing of sir J. Trelawney's amendment to postpone it for six months. Another set of suggestions was then brought forward by sir A. Elton and withdrawn, and sir J. Trelawney's bill was carried through a second reading, and then laid aside owing to the ministerial crisis. On a proposition by Mr. Fitzgerald (who had been attorney-general for Ireland under lord Palmerston's administration) for placing Roman catholics on the same footing with regard to the oath taken by them as other members of parliament, the house agreed to go into committee on the subject, and leave was further obtained to bring in a bill substituting a new oath in place of that which was now taken by Roman catholics.

It had been the intention of the government to bring forward several important measures before introducing their reform bill. But to the charges of lukewarmness which were founded on this apparent reluctance to enter on the subject, they replied by fixing the 28th of February for the first reading of the bill. On that day Mr. Disraeli explained the measure, which was intended, not to alter the limits of the franchise, but to introduce into the borough a new kind of franchise founded upon personal property, and to give votes to persons receiving 10*l.* yearly from the funds, or 20*l.* in pensions, as well as to graduates in the universities, ministers of religion, members of the legal and medical profession and some other classes. It further recognised the principle of identity of suffrage between the counties and the towns, of which the effect would be to add 200,000 to the county constituency. To this bill lord John Russell objected that by it the freeholders in towns were no longer able to vote for the county, and that it said little or nothing for the working classes. Nor had the provisions of the bill satisfied

all the members of the government, and the resignation of Mr. Walpole and Mr. Henley was the result. In his explanation to the house the former said that he had joined the cabinet only on the stipulation that he might retire if he disapproved the government reform bill,—that he could not but disapprove it when in the reduction of the county franchise to a level with that of the boroughs, it set up a principle utterly contrary to any which the conservative party had ever maintained, and that the bill was one which, had it been brought in by their opponents, the government would have strongly resisted. Mr. Henley added further that he believed identity of suffrage to involve a principle fatal to the constitution of the country. Soon afterwards lord John Russell gave notice of a resolution which protested against the way in which the bill interfered with the existing freehold franchise of England and Wales, and that no readjustment would be satisfactory which does not provide for a greater extension of the suffrage than was at present contemplated. The debate on the second reading of the bill began on the 20th of March, and lasted seven nights, and a number of petitions were presented on the subject, but three only were in favour of the bill. Lord John Russell at once proposed his resolution. Lord Stanley endeavoured to meet the objection that it did not admit the working classes, while Mr. Horsman asserted that those who had spoken against it had not shown that it could not be amended in committee, and that if this opportunity was lost, a course of agitation would follow from which even Mr. Bright would be looked upon as a preserver. When at length the house proceeded to a division, the government was left in a minority of 39, and had no alternative but to resign or to dissolve parliament. In the house of lords lord Derby complained that the commons had met the bill by a resolution which, according to some authorities, was contrary to parliamentary practice, and said that if it had been proceeded with in committee, no false pride would have withheld the government from receiving any alteration which was proved to be admissible. Instead of thus settling the questions, the commons had preferred the interests of party to those of the country.

Under these circumstances the government determined to press only those matters in which there was urgent need of legislation; and among these was the India loan bill, which had passed through the stages of second reading and committee. Lord Stanley now came forward to say that he must demand a larger loan than that which he had hoped might suffice two months before, and that it would only mislead the house if he were to mention any specific sum until he received more accurate information from India. After the passing of this bill, some conversation took place on the affairs of France, Italy, and Austria, and lord Malmesbury detailed the proposed constitution of the congress of the five great powers which the emperor of Russia wished to convoke. He added that Austria and France had agreed to the principle of disarmament, but could not agree as to the time and mode of carrying it out. Lord Clarendon could not see the necessity for war, and expressed his strong conviction, that, if Lombardy should be taken from Austria and annexed to Piedmont, the people of Milan and Venice, so far from agreeing with those of Sardinia, would be even more discontented than they were now.

On the 23rd of April the parliament was dissolved; and when the houses reassembled for business on the 7th of June, the liberal party determined to make the debate in the house of commons on the address or answer to the queen's speech a trial of strength with the government. An amendment was therefore proposed, expressive of want of confidence in ministers. On a division it was found that the government was again in a minority of 13. There was therefore no help now but to resign. After an ineffectual attempt by lord Granville to form a cabinet, lord Palmerston undertook the task, aided by lord John Russell, who now became foreign secretary, Mr. Gladstone resigning the chancellorship of the exchequer, lord Campbell being lord-chancellor, sir C. Wood, secretary of state for India, and Mr. Sidney Herbert, secretary of state for war.

Among the first subjects discussed in the new parliament was the enrolment of the volunteer corps. On the one side it was maintained that the daily wish and nightly dream of every man and woman in France was to humble this country by invading it; on the other, that such fears were exaggerated, if not groundless. Lord Lyndhurst, in a speech of unquestionable power, said that if he were asked why he did not place reliance on the good faith of the emperor Napoleon, he must reply that he could not do so, because the emperor was in a situation in which he could not place reliance on himself. In the house of commons Mr. Herbert said, that if the volunteer corps turned out as useful as he expected them to be, they would become part of our permanent establishment, but that not a single regular soldier would be displaced for twenty or even for a hundred volunteers. On a motion by sir De Lacy Evans for a commission to enquire into the national defences (which was negatived), Mr. Cobden took the opportunity to express his belief that France never pretended to have the same naval strength with England,—that the matter might be adjusted by amicable explanation, and that if, after this, France persisted in maintaining a naval rivalry, he would cheerfully vote increased estimates.

On the reintroduction of sir J. Trelawney's bill for the abolition of church rates, fresh efforts were ineffectually made to obtain a postponement of the measure. The house also negatived an amendment by which Mr. Newdegate proposed to substitute, in place of church rates, a charge on all hereditaments for the occupancy of which church

rates had been paid during the last seven years. But although the house went into committee, very little progress was made with the bill, which, owing to the shortness of the session, was postponed for a more convenient time. A bill enabling Roman Catholics to hold the office of chancellor of Ireland, was also brought forward without any result.

The financial statements of Mr. Gladstone involved important consequences. As there was a gross deficiency of revenue, as compared with expenditure, of 4,867,000*l.*, it became necessary to determine how this was to be supplied. He protested against all borrowing in time of peace, and saw little room for meeting it by indirect taxation. There remained the income-tax, which was to expire in 1860; but this tax was provided to facilitate salutary fiscal changes, and to meet sudden exigencies; and the present time fell under the latter head, the excess being almost entirely due to the increased charges for the army and navy. He proposed therefore to raise the deficiency by increasing the income-tax from 5*d.* to 9*d.* in the pound on incomes above 150*l.* yearly, while incomes under that sum should pay 1½*d.* extra; and to obtain this sum by a single payment on the first assessment or charge after the resolution should be adopted by the house. When it was proposed to go into committee of ways and means, Mr. Disraeli began a debate which extended from finance to foreign policy. He protested against the continuance of the present enormous expenditure, which rendered it necessary to fritter away the treasure of the income-tax. He insisted that the nation could not go on raising 70,000,000*l.* a year, and demanded that France and England should mutually prove, with no hypocrisy but by the unanswerable evidence of reduced armaments, that they really desired peace; and such an agreement would at once render practicable the promised termination of the income-tax in 1860. Mr. Bright, while giving a qualified approval of Mr. Gladstone's financial scheme, said that the income-tax ought not to be indefinitely prolonged until a distinction was drawn between permanent and precarious incomes.

After the passing of Mr. Gladstone's budget, sir C. Wood brought forward the finances of India, and said that the total deficiency to be provided for was 23,220,000*l.*, and while the expenditure for 1859-60 would be 46,000,000*l.*, the revenue would be about 36,000,000*l.* This state of things could be met only by increasing the revenue, or decreasing the expenses. But no great reduction could be made in the civil establishments, and only a small one on public works; the great item to be reduced must therefore be the military expenditure, and this, he thought, might be reduced by about 3,000,000*l.*, although it was impossible to say how soon this reduction could take place. A sum of about 6,000,000*l.* must therefore be provided by parliament, and he therefore moved a resolution enabling the government to raise in England the sum of 5,000,000*l.* for the service of the government of India. In the debate which followed, Mr. Bright laid great stress on his own remedy for the present derangement of Indian affairs, viz., the decentralisation of the government and the establishment of electoral councils for Bombay and Madras. He saw no hope of improvement for India, unless the government of each presidency received more independent powers than at present they possessed. A subsequent bill introduced by sir C. Wood sought to limit the number of European troops to be employed in India at 30,000. Very probably the whole of this number would not be raised, but provision was made that it should not be exceeded.

During their sitting on the 12th of July, parliament received the news that the war in Italy was at an end, and that the basis of the peace was the formation of an Italian confederacy, to be under the presidency of the pope, the cession of Lombardy from Austria to France, and by France transferred to Sardinia,—Venetia although an integral part of the Italian confederation, being still reserved to Austria. With regard to this cession and transfer, lord John Russell stated, on the 28th of July, that the English government had no right to interfere; and although he thought that a confederation would be a wise thing, he doubted whether it was at present practicable, or whether one was desirable of which the pope would be head and the emperor of Austria a member. The session was, however, brought to an end on the 13th of August, and it was stated in the queen's speech, that, although proposals had been made, after the peace of Villafranca, to induce the British government to send a plenipotentiary to the proposed conference of the great powers, sufficient information had not yet been received to enable them to determine whether they should take any part in it, or not.

A.D. 1860.—If the year 1860 is not marked by any striking events in English history, and if the session of parliament was characterised by many abortive attempts at legislation, it must still be remembered as a time of some most important measures affecting the finances and the national defences of the country, as well as the foreign policy of Great Britain. Before the meeting of parliament the rumour that France proposed to annex Savoy and Nice had gained great publicity and strength, and strong opinions were expressed on the character of the transaction. The houses met on the 24th of January, and motions were soon brought forward protesting against the annexation. Among the reasons urged for such a protest was the treaty between Switzerland and Piedmont, binding the latter never to cede Savoy,—a treaty which could not be set aside without violating the international law of Europe. It was said by some that in the present state of European feeling, the annexation of Savoy to France was an impossibility, while at the same time others insisted that a secret arrangement had been entered into for the cession, although count Walewski had assured lord Cowley that no 'treaty' whatever existed with that view. Lord John Russell expressed his belief that

it was a course of policy which the emperor of the French would hesitate long before he adopted. Nevertheless, it was soon asserted as a fact, that he had adopted this policy; and the only question for discussion was, the attitude which ought to be assumed by Great Britain with regard to it. Mr. Bright, not contenting himself with a mere recommendation of neutrality, incurred criticisms of no slight severity, for the well-remembered expressions in which he avowed that he would rather say 'perish Savoy' than that the house should involve the government in a war with France, for matters in which we had not the remotest interest. But although some suggestions were offered, the discussions terminated without drawing forth any more positive statement than that the aim of the government had been to secure to the Italian people the power of managing their own affairs.

The financial affairs of the country involved topics of nearer interest. The statement of the chancellor of the exchequer was, owing to his illness, postponed for some days; but on the 10th of February Mr. Gladstone laid before the house the features of his budget for the ensuing year, for which the charges would be 70,100,000*l.*, leaving an apparent deficit over the estimated revenue of 9,400,000*l.* To meet this deficit, he proposed to renew the tea and sugar duties, as they now stood for fifteen months, to take up the credit now allowed in the payment of the malt duties, and to impose an income-tax of 10*d.* in the pound over 150*l.* a year, and 7*d.* in the pound under that sum. The commercial treaty which had been entered into with France for 10 years, would entail an immediate loss to the revenue, as the duty on brandy, for example, was to be reduced from 15*s.* to 8*s.*2*d.*, on wine from 5*s.*10*d.* to 3*s.*, these and other remissions amounting in all to 1,119,000*l.* On the 17th of February, Mr. Du Cane postponed his own motion on the policy of the budget, to enable Mr. Disraeli to propose a resolution refusing to take into consideration the repeal of duties until the house had first considered and passed judgement on the treaty itself. This motion was negatived by 293 to 230; and the next impediment placed in the way of the measure was the motion of Mr. Du Cane, which affirmed the inexpediency of any remission of duties, and the disappointment which would be caused throughout the country by the reimposition of the income-tax at an unnecessarily high rate. This reimposition Mr. Hubbard characterised as a high price to pay for the lesson on political economy given by Mr. Cobden to the emperor of the French; and in its injurious and unequal action, he described the tax in its existing form as a disgrace to the intelligence of the age. Mr. Du Cane's motion was, however, rejected by the very large majority of 116, which virtually decided the success of the budget as well as of the French treaty; and it was agreed in both houses that addresses should be presented to the crown expressing the readiness of parliament to give the utmost aid towards carrying out the stipulations of the treaty. But the details of Mr. Gladstone's financial scheme were still subjected to a severe criticism, which greatly prolonged the passage of the measure through the house of commons; and this opposition was based chiefly on the four points, of the remission of wine duties, the abolition of some import duties which had survived the preceding measures of free trade, the repeal of the excise duty on paper, and the reimposition of the income-tax. On this last topic very great stress was laid on the vehemence with which Mr. Gladstone had in past years inveighed against the permanence of the tax. But the efforts to defeat it still failed of success; and motions to reduce the tax from 10*d.* to 9*d.*, and to fix it at the latter sum for Ireland, were alike defeated. A stronger resistance was furnished to the repeal of the paper duty, and this resistance was increased when the bill came to the third reading; and an amendment by sir Stafford Northcote, which maintained the inexpediency of the measure under present circumstances, was lost by the narrow majority of 219 against 210. But the bill, although passed by the commons, was rejected in the lords by a majority of 89; and the decision roused two sets of considerations which had each their own distinct influence. There was first the constitutional question as to the right of the house of lords to reject a bill of the commons on the subject of taxation; and that such a rejection, if sustained, would establish a marked precedent for the future; but there was also a very general feeling that the decision of the lords was wise and prudent, and a disposition to regard it from the practical rather than the legal point of view. The house of commons appointed a committee, who drew up a report on historical precedents in the matter, and lord Palmerston, on the 6th of July, proposed a fresh resolution which maintained that all limitations of the matter, manner, measure, and time of all grants for supplies belong to the commons alone; but he added that, as the lords had been encouraged by the diminution of the majority in the lower house — which from 53 on the second had sunk to 9 on the third reading — it would be better for the house to satisfy themselves with a mere declaration of their constitutional privileges. The other resolutions, which were also passed, declared that although the lords had sometimes rejected bills of taxation by negativing the whole, yet the house of commons regarded that power with peculiar jealousy, and was determined to retain its own privilege in all matters of taxation inviolate. A later resolution, by which lord Fermoy sought to bring the house to adopt 'practical measures' for the vindication of its rights was negatived, and it became clear that for this session at least, the paper duties would not be abolished. Mr. Gladstone, therefore, could only protest against the interference of the lords with his financial arrangements, and proposed, in accordance with the stipulations of the French treaty, to reduce the import duties on printed books, papers, prints, &c. This measure was violently

resisted by the paper-makers, who urged that their trade would thus be exposed to unequal competition with the foreign manufacturer. To this Mr. Gladstone replied that this was merely the old question which, in the controversies on free trade, the house had again and again decided between the producer and the consumer. An amendment to postpone the reduction of these duties was lost, and with the exception of the excise on paper, the budget became law.

Once more, in this session, the question of parliamentary reform came before the house, only to be again, and this time indefinitely postponed. It was said, with whatever degree of truth, that the public interest in the measure was at its lowest ebb, and did not rise even to a feeling of curiosity. On the 1st of March lord John Russell asked leave to bring in the government measure, which simply proposed to supply the omissions and remedy the defects of the act of 1832: this, however, was not to be taken as an admission of the failure of that act, which he believed to have been singularly free from faults. It proposed to add to the 10*l.* occupation franchise, in counties, a security that would make it a *bonâ fide* franchise, and to introduce a 6*l.* franchise in towns. Mr. Cardwell at the same time obtained leave to introduce a similar measure for Ireland. But it was not till the 3rd of May that the debate on the second reading took place. On that day, Mr. Disraeli attacked the bill on the ground that, while it proposed to extend the suffrage and to redistribute seats, it said nothing of the primary and necessary topics of regulation and facilities for voting. The bill of the late government had looked not so much to an increase of members as to the fitness of those who were to receive the suffrage; lord John Russell's bill proposed to add about 200,000 to the borough constituency, and these would form one homogeneous class,—a source of great danger, inasmuch as, having the same interest, they would neutralise the present borough constituencies. It further erred in allowing freeholders in towns to vote for districts with which they had no local sympathy or connection. Sir Cornewall Lewis said that the act of 1832 was to remedy evils arising from the representation of towns almost uninhabited, and from the nonrepresentation of populous counties and large manufacturing towns: the second measure was a precaution against evils which were now slight but which were increasing, and the government were satisfied that it was a safe and moderate measure. The chancellor of the exchequer said that the government would not hear of withdrawing the bill, and besought the house not to pursue a course of delay, which would render legislation on the subject impossible. After so lengthy a debate, the motion for the second reading was adopted without a division. In the house of lords, a committee was appointed to ascertain the probable increase in the number of electors if the franchise were reduced. The 4th of June had been fixed as the day on which the commons should go into committee on the bill; and lord John Russell then stated that the English reform bill must first be passed, while it could not be expected that those for Ireland and Scotland should be considered during the present session. As to waiting, according to the proposal of some, for the returns of the approaching census, that would be to postpone all reform for at least three years; and that if the government received the lateness of the time as a reason for not proceeding with the bill, it would be set down to a desire to get rid of the bill without the manliness to avow it. A motion was, however, made to await the next census before legislating, when the house was adjourned, and on the resumption of the debate, sir J. Fergusson again moved adjournment, avowing his wish to delay the discussion of the English bill, until the reform for the whole kingdom could be discussed together. Against this motion, the government had a majority of 21. It became, however, daily more evident that the measure could not be passed during that session: and it caused no surprise, when, on the 11th of June, lord John Russell said that he would not agree to an amendment which would indefinitely postpone the reform bill; but as 250 members desired to postpone it for the present, the government felt bound to consider the question and their own duty to the house and country. The session might indeed be prolonged, but there did not appear to be that earnest demand which would justify them in prolonging it, and therefore the bill must be withdrawn, with the intention, however, of introducing another at the earliest opportunity. There were not a few throughout the country to whom this decision brought a sensible relief. It may be mentioned here that Mr. Berkeley's annual motion for the ballot was defeated by a majority of 107.

The military and naval estimates were larger than for the preceding year, the former being for 143,362 men, exclusive of 92,410 for India. In the estimates for the civil service the house showed more reluctance to acquiesce; and on the motion of Mr. Wise, it carried the appointment of a select committee to enquire into the miscellaneous civil service expenditure of the previous year, the division being 121 to 93. The subject of the army was brought before the house of lords by lord Panmure, who dwelt on the advantages of the system of promotion by purchase, and refuted the objections brought against it, while the duke of Somerset thought it intolerable that the lives of men and the honour of the country should be intrusted to an incapable officer, simply because he had money instead of brains. The subject of flogging in the navy was brought up in the house of commons, when much strong feeling was expressed on the necessity of abolishing the lash in both services, and it was admitted on all sides that it should be as sparingly used as possible.

The great question of the national defences still remained to be determined. On the 23rd of July, lord Palmerston proposed

the resolutions which were to carry into effect the recommendations of the royal commission which had early in the year reported the defects of the present system, and the means and capabilities of defence. He maintained that, although we were right in resting on our former strength as long as our fleet depended on wind and weather alone, the case was widely altered when the introduction of steam had practically bridged over the Channel. The proposals of the commissioners would involve an outlay of 11,000,000*l.* including about 1,500,000*l.* for armaments. These proposals, he thought, should be carried out at once, but, not to lay on the country a larger burden than was absolutely necessary, the sum needed should be raised by means of terminable annuities. To the commercial treaty he looked as a guarantee for the preservation of peace; but that treaty alone would be a frail security for a country so open to attack as Great Britain. For the present year he asked 2,000,000*l.*, and applications would from time to time be made for the remainder, as it became necessary, while the annuities which would expire in 1867 would more than suffice to cover the interest on this loan. Mr. Bright at once protested against the bringing forward of resolutions on so momentous a subject without notice, and said that the expenditure would probably turn out to be twice 12,000,000*l.*, before all the designs were carried out. A week later Mr. Lindsay moved an amendment, that as our main defence was an efficient navy, it was unwise to spend large sums on permanent land fortifications; and at the same time he ridiculed the idea of an invasion from France. Mr. Bright again urged his belief that the outlay would prove to be fully twice the amount proposed, and scouted the insane and wicked policy by which this enormous amount of taxation was abstracted from the labour of the people. The amendment was negatived by the very large majority of 268 to 39. A bill, founded on the resolution, was brought in, and having passed the house of commons, excited little discussion or opposition in the house of lords.

Our quarrel with China caused some discussion in both houses; and the disasters which had taken place were by some attributed entirely to the demand made by lord Elgin in 1858, to have a resident British minister at Pekin—a demand intolerable to the Chinese, and extorted only from their fears. It was further urged by sir M. Seymour, that China, a country essentially weak, had never recovered from the effects of the first war, and that, if hostile measures were now carried beyond what was absolutely necessary, we might have vainly to deplore the result in the ruin and desolation of that empire. Lord Elgin rested the demand on its merits, and said that if we were to have pacific relations with China, we must have direct intercourse with the government at Pekin. In a more formal debate, sir De Lacy Evans expressed his belief that a march to Pekin would not be necessary, and looked for instructions to this effect from lord John Russell, who said that it would be unwise to prescribe instructions by which the officers commanding might find themselves hampered by the necessity of implicit obedience. Mr. Sidney Herbert said, that although the treaty of Tientsin imposed conditions not very acceptable to the Chinese, still it had been adopted both by the late and the present governments, and its ratification must be insisted upon. Without a division, the sum of 850,000*l.* was voted on account of the intended expedition. But another sum of double that amount had been voted by the house of commons in February, before it was known that hostile operations were necessary. Hence it became necessary to lay a further burden on the country, and it was supposed that a supplemental budget would be necessary. However, Mr. Gladstone explained on the 14th of July how he proposed to meet this unexpected outlay. The whole sum needed was 3,800,000*l.*: the surplus revenue, with the paper duty, &c., would amount to 1,464,000*l.*: of the remaining sum of 2,336,000*l.* he proposed to obtain 1,000,000*l.* by an additional duty upon ardent spirits of 1*s.* 11*d.* per gallon; the remainder must be provided for out of the balances in the exchequer, which would admit of the withdrawal of even 2,000,000*l.* These resolutions were agreed to.

In the autumn of 1859, Mr. James Wilson went to India as financial member of the legislative council of India, and there prepared a plan for retrenchment, by which he hoped soon to equalise income and expenditure. His schemes were generally approved both there and in England, but sir C. Trevelyan, the governor of Madras, taking an opposite view, regarded them as not only injurious, but impracticable; and the government, seeing the necessity for immediate action, promptly recalled him from his government. On the 29th of March, the earl of Ellenborough, agreeing generally with sir C. Trevelyan, said that Mr. Wilson's speech in the council, although showing great ability, gave no information on the receipts of the Indian government. Economical reform, he felt sure, could only be carried out by a thorough reconciliation between the people and the government, and in the way of such a result, a graduated tax on all persons connected with trade must prove a grievous hindrance. In the house of commons, sir C. Wood admitted that the minute, for which sir C. Trevelyan was recalled, was a most valuable document, but the prudence of its publication was quite another matter; and that an act so subversive of all authority as the mutiny of one governor against another, could not possibly be passed over. In his usual annual statement, sir C. Wood admitted that in his previous estimate he had been wrong both as to receipts and expenditure; they were both large, but they had so far kept pace as to leave the deficit much as he had stated it. Not much could be expected this year from the new taxes, which in 1861-62 might be expected to yield 3,500,000*l.*; this would, however, leave still a deficiency of 3,110,000*l.*, which he believed would be met eventually by a reduction of

expenditure; so that at the end of 1862, the expenditure and the revenue would be equalised. The resolutions were agreed to.

The bill for the reorganisation of the Indian army was a necessary consequence of the transfer of the Indian government from the Company to the Crown. To this step the newly constituted Indian council were greatly opposed; but the question was whether a European force should be maintained specially for India, or whether the whole force employed in India should be made disposable for general service as a part of the queen's army. On this question the secretary of state for India and the cabinet generally were agreed in adopting the latter alternative. But lord Stanley urged that by the removal of a local European force, the Indian government would lose the valuable assistance of some thousand officers immediately attached to the local government. On the second reading the bill underwent much opposition from a small but resolute minority. Sir J. Elphinstone said that the events which were alleged as justifying the bill could only by gross exaggeration be called a mutiny: the men had preferred only just and proper claims, and had never gone beyond insubordination. The debate was prolonged by many proposals for adjournment, most of which were negatived, as well as some resolutions to postpone immediate legislation on the subject. But the opposition which retarded could not prevent the passing of the bill, which became law before the close of the session.

Sir John Trelawney's bill for abolishing church rates was again introduced in February; but it was accompanied by a mass of petitions most of which were against the measure, one of these being signed by no less than sixty-four archdeacons. Mr. Newdegate's amendment, as brought forward last year, was again put and negatived, and the bill passed the house of commons, only to be thrown out again in the house of lords. Mr. Spooner's annual motion for doing away with the grant to the college of Maynooth was lost by a majority of 58 against it; and a motion by lord Ebury for altering the Book of Common Prayer was negatived in the house of lords without a division. A bill was introduced towards the close of the session for authorising the usual decennial census: it had been intended that the returns should embrace the religious profession of the people, but a violent opposition was organised against it, and sir G. Lewis acquiesced in the withdrawal of the words. A large majority likewise threw out a motion by Mr. Butt, who maintained that the theory of national education was disapproved of by the people of Ireland, that it was not just to that country or consistent with our free institutions. A bill for reforming the corporation of London was, from pressure of business, laid aside, and the same fate attended a bill for the reform and consolidation of the bankruptcy and insolvency laws. The recent massacres of Christians in Syria gave rise to one of the last debates in the session. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe admitted that he placed but small reliance on the securities which the Porte might give, as it had shown great remissness, if not actual connivance in the matter: as long as Turkey failed to put in practice the reforms which she had promised, it would be useless for foreign powers to patch up a question which might at any time give rise to a war. It was announced that an agreement had been made by which a force of 12,000 European troops should be sent to Syria for a time not exceeding six months; of these France was immediately to furnish 6,000, while the rest, if required, should be furnished by such one of the contracting powers as might be deemed expedient. There was, however, the usual conflict of opinions, one side maintaining that the stability of Turkey was of the greatest importance to Europe, and ought to be maintained at all hazards, the other urging that vigorous measures ought to be taken with a government so thoroughly effete as that of the Ottoman Turks. The great results of this long session, which was closed on the 28th of August, were the fiscal and commercial reforms, of which even now it is scarcely possible fairly to judge the results, and which will probably make the session which passed them appear an important one in aftertimes.

Before the commencement of the year 1861 foreign politics had acquired a greater interest than any topic of home government. The question of Italian unity and the tokens of the coming struggle between the Northern and Southern portions of the United States of America had thrust aside the subject of parliamentary reform, in which a few only were found still to express an interest. The harvest of the preceding year had been far below the average; but the growth of free trade checked or averted the evils which might have been caused by a scarcity of food, and removed an extraordinary pressure from the working classes. The attention of the country was therefore fixed mainly on Italy and America; but it was manifest that in either case the nation was determined to uphold the policy of non-interference. Parliament met on the 15th of February, when lord John Russell at once announced the abandonment of the idea of reform, and called forth strong expressions of regret and warning from Mr. Bright. Early in the session a committee was appointed to consider whether any changes might be made by which time might be saved in conducting the business of the house; on their report Thursday was substituted for Friday as a government night, and Tuesday was taken as a supply night; and this last measure was thought to have had a sensible effect in accelerating business.

On the 14th of February the houses agreed to the vote of thanks to the officers and men who had been engaged in the recent war in China. Lord Herbert spoke in terms of great praise of the vigour with which the Peiho and Taku forts had been occupied or taken, and of the bravery and ability shown in the action before Tientsin. That the barbarities of the Chinese to many of the prisoners who had fallen into their hands,

called for some signal punishment, was allowed on all hands; but some difference of opinion arose on the wisdom of fixing on the burning of the emperor's summer palace as that penalty. It was justified as being a punishment which would fall on the instigators of these cruelties and not on the people, who had not been in any way concerned in them.

The death of the duchess of Kent took place on the 16th of March; and the warmest sympathy for the queen was expressed both in parliament and throughout the country. In both houses addresses of condolence on the loss which the queen had sustained were voted unanimously.

Although the idea of a government measure of reform had been abandoned, several attempts (all, with one exception, unsuccessful) were made to improve special points in the electoral system. Mr. Locke King introduced again his bill, to reduce the county franchise to a 10*l.* qualification: but the bill miscarried, and a like fate befell a motion of Mr. Baines to extend the borough franchise in England. The only bill introduced by the government was one which redistributed the seats vacated by the disfranchisement of Sudbury and St. Albans, by assigning two to the West Riding of Yorkshire and South Lancashire respectively, while it proposed to give the third to Chelsea and Kensington and the fourth to Birkenhead. Much opposition, however, was raised by the proposition to make Chelsea and Kensington a new borough, and so to add to the representation of London; and finally it was determined that the West Riding of Yorkshire should be divided into two parts, each part having its own member. An experiment not hitherto tried was proposed by Mr. Dodson, who moved that for university elections voting papers might be used and sent by post. It was carried by large majorities in both houses, although in each some opposition was offered on the principle of proxy voting, and on the undue preponderance which it would give to non-resident over resident voters.

The question of church rates was again revived by sir John Trelawney, who, as before, introduced his bill for the simple extinction of the rates. On a proposition to defer a consideration of the bill for six months, the chancellor of the exchequer said that the credit of the legislature demanded an immediate settlement of the question. On the order of the day for going into committee being moved, after the second reading, Mr. Newdegate again proposed his scheme for substituting, in place of the present church rates, a charge on all landed property on which these rates had been paid for the preceding seven years. This amendment was withdrawn, and the bill passed through committee. But on the motion for the third reading, the numbers on each side in the division were 274, and it became the duty of the speaker to give a casting vote; and this vote was given with the 'noes,' on the ground that the general opinion of the house seemed to the speaker to be in favour of some settlement different from that which was contained in this bill; and that by so deciding, he should, instead of taking the responsibility on himself, leave it to the house to adopt this or any other measure hereafter, as it might think fit.

On the 15th of April, Mr. Gladstone made his financial statement, in which he said that the revenue showed a decrease of 806,000*l.* as compared with that of the preceding year, while the expenditure caused a deficiency apparently of two and a half millions, but really of only 855,000*l.* For the coming year he estimated the expenditure at 70,000,000*l.*, the revenue at 71,823,000*l.* assuming the continuance of the tea and sugar duties, and an income-tax; and he had to ask for the renewal of these taxes to adjust the expenditure with the revenue, while he proposed to apply a portion of the surplus revenue in giving up the tenth penny of the income-tax, and repealing the paper duty. The income-tax itself he affirmed to be a mere question of expenditure; if the nation was content to be governed at a cost of 60,000,000*l.*, it might at once be dispensed with; but otherwise it must be retained. He then explained his intention of bringing all these questions before the house in a series of resolutions, and said that the danger of the day lay in a tendency to an excessive expenditure, which ought to be steadily resisted. In the debate which followed, Mr. Horsman spoke strongly against the design of proceeding by a series of resolutions, instead of separate bills, as depriving the house of lords of the right of independent judgment, by compelling them to accept or reject the financial policy of the government as a whole. Mr. Bright strenuously defended the chancellor of the exchequer; and in a committee of ways and means, the income-tax was agreed to without a division. But when the house arrived at the fourth clause which repealed the paper duty, the discussion was opened afresh, and it was contended, among other arguments, that the war duties on tea and sugar had a prior and stronger claim than a tax, the abandonment of which would benefit simply the proprietors of the penny newspapers. In the division which followed, the government had a majority of 15, the numbers being 296 to 281. In the house of lords, when the motion was made by lord Granville, the duke of Rutland moved an amendment to postpone the reading of the bill for six months, but withdrew it on the earnest remonstrance of lord Derby. The bill was then read a second time without any opposition, and the financial measures of the government were thus carried. Mr. Gladstone was not less successful in defeating some attempts made to obtain the remission of particular taxes, before he made his financial statement. Among these, Mr. Hubbard's motion for a select committee to enquire into the mode of assessing and collecting the income-tax, was carried against the government by a majority of 131 to 127; but the report of the committee did not favour Mr. Hubbard's scheme for modifying the tax, and no further result followed this motion

than others which were defeated at the outset.

In the navy estimates for this year, a decrease of 601,205*l.* was announced, and, it was further stated that this decrease would have been greater but for the necessity of purchasing a large store of timber. But when reference was made to the numbers of the French navy, which, it was said, could in a short time muster not far short of 85,000 men, Mr. Bright replied that alarms had been raised on monstrous falsehoods, and that the government seized on times of popular delusion to add to the expenditure of the country. Lord Palmerston appealed to facts, and stated, as an instance of French policy, that sixteen innocent mail packets had been built, and, as had been foreseen, were by a stroke of the pen, afterwards added to the French navy. An important debate took place in the house of commons on the 11th of April on the subject of iron ships of war, on the motion of Mr. Lindsay to defer any further construction or conversion of wooden line-of-battle ships. The reply to Mr. Lindsay's arguments was that, although the English estimates exceeded the French by nearly one half, the French expenditure from 1852 to 1856 inclusive, was 31,691,621*l.*, while the estimates for that time amounted to no more than 19,807,000*l.* Mr. Lindsay's motion was therefore withdrawn. To the proposal for a convention with France binding England to reduce her navy as soon as the French was reduced, lord Palmerston answered that the navy of England must be formed with a reference not to France only but to any possible combination of other powers: and his conclusion that any such arrangement would be seriously likely to endanger peace, was received by the house with great approbation.

The debates on the Italian question called up much angry feeling. Sir G. Bowyer eulogised the king of Naples as a gallant young man fighting in defence of his rights against piracy and rebellion; and the chancellor of the exchequer accepted the issue. He wished to ascertain whether the people of Naples were really devoted to their sovereign or were governed by good laws wisely administered, and he entered into details which showed the atrocious character of the Neapolitan system as well as of that of the papal government, asserting finally that Italian unity had been created not by England or France or even by Victor Emmanuel so much as by the conduct of Austria towards Italy. Lord John Russell asserted simply the principle of nonintervention: the people of Naples might be wrong in wishing to have Victor Emmanuel for their king, but they were at liberty to choose what government they pleased; and the same remark must apply to the Venetians in reference to their subjection to Austria.

The death of count Cavour created a nearer and more personal interest; but when sir R. Peel proposed that the house of commons should record its sympathy with the Italian nation under this heavy loss, lord Palmerston expressed his fear that any formal vote might involve difficulties hereafter: he pronounced, however, an eloquent eulogy on the illustrious statesman who more than any other man had promoted the cause of Italian unity, and who, though his death was premature, had not died too soon for his glory and his fame.

Towards the close of the session, on an enquiry by Mr. Kinglake, whether the governments of Italy and France still denied that there was any project on foot for ceding the island of Sardinia to the French emperor, lord John Russell gave it as his opinion that the latter was not likely to brave the consequences which would follow the annexation. The secession of the southern states of the American union created a more anxious interest, but the government deprecated any debates which might tend to compromise the neutrality of the country. The law officers of the crown determined that the southern states must be treated as a belligerent; but it was decided that the policy of strict neutrality should be maintained on the part of this country. On the 14th of May a proclamation was issued, announcing the neutrality of the government, and forbidding all British subjects from aiding either side directly or indirectly. Orders were issued to prohibit armed ships of the belligerents from carrying their prizes into any British port, and to despatch a force of 3,000 men for the protection of Canada. To the latter measure some objected that it was inadequate for defence and large enough for provocation: but the objection was overruled, and no encouragement was given to Mr. Gregory's motion for considering the immediate recognition of the confederate states.

The subject of Indian affairs continued much to occupy the attention of parliament, but the prospect on the whole appeared more encouraging. The premature death of Mr. Wilson had indeed prevented the full accomplishment of his plans; but his successor Mr. Laing had carried out the same line of policy, and there seemed to be a nearer hope of balancing the revenue and expenditure. In the previous year sir C. Wood had spoken of this immediate balancing of the two as certain, unless some unforeseen event occurred to prevent it. Such an event had occurred, in the shape of an Indian drought which had caused a famine, but the utmost deficiency would not exceed 2,000,000*l.* Reductions in military expenditure to the extent of nearly 3,500,000*l.* was announced, and it was stated that the loan required for India was mainly for extending railway communication in the country. In making his general statement on Indian finance, on the 25th of July, sir C. Wood said that on a comparison of the receipts and expenditure of the last year with those of the year next preceding, a reduction was seen of, in round numbers, 4,400,000*l.* The expenditure included a charge of 1,773,000*l.* as guaranteed interest on railways, less traffic receipts, and another of 600,000*l.* for the famine, neither of which was of course permanent. The force in the native regiments, including the military police, had since 1859 been re

duced by not less than 200,000 men. On the famine he remarked that although the dearth of 1837-8 had been far more severe, the price of grain never reached the enormous amount which it reached last year. The bad feeling between the indigo-planters and the ryots involved another difficulty in Indian government, the cultivation of the plant during the last year having ceased to a great extent. But a subject of even greater importance at the present time was the cultivation of cotton in India. While the war in America endangered the supplies on which we had hitherto depended, we had in India a field, which, if proper measures were taken, would render this country in a great measure independent of every other During the last year a million of bales had been either received or despatched from India, a number exceeding that of any previous year by 320,000. For the general government three measures of importance were passed,—the first, appointing as an additional member of council a lawyer who should be competent to assist the governor-general and his council in framing laws; the second, establishing high courts of judicature in India, by the consolidation of the supreme courts with the sudder courts, or courts of appeal from the courts in the provinces; the third, confirming and legalising certain appointments in India which had been made contrary to law, and to amend the law of the civil service by providing that, notwithstanding any restrictions in force, such appointments might still be made with certain exceptions.

Among the more important legislative measures of this session must be mentioned the bankruptcy and insolvency bill, introduced by the attorney-general. This bill abolished the distinctions of the certificates given to bankrupts, and enabled the judge, in certain specified cases of misconduct, either to refuse the certificate, or to suspend the order for discharge, or to commit the bankrupt to fine or imprisonment for a term not exceeding a year. These forms applied to trader debtors: in the case of non-traders, it placed the law of insolvency on the same footing with that of bankruptcy, abolishing the term of imprisonment before an insolvent could obtain relief from the court, as a provision which could not benefit the creditor, while it was a gross injustice to the non-trader. It stated that the insolvent should in all cases be obliged to give up his property to his creditors, but it provided that the latter should not be entitled to more than an equal distribution of his property at that time, and should not retain the power of pursuing him through life. Another important measure was a bill for consolidating the statute criminal law of England and Ireland, which was followed by another repealing a large number of obsolete or expired acts passed since the eleventh year of the reign of George III.

An attempt to legalise marriage with a deceased wife's sister was defeated by a division on an amendment, which affirmed the injudiciousness and inconvenience of placing the law of marriage on a different footing in different parts of the kingdom. The subject of public education raised some controversy in reference to ragged schools, which were declared by the report of the commissioners to be 'not proper objects for public assistance.' It was admitted that these schools had done great good; but the objection was that they were taken advantage of by a class who did not so much need the assistance. Sir John Pakington pointed out that the estimates contained a sum of 100,000*l.* for the improvement of science and art, while 15,000 schools were languishing for want of succour. Mr. Lowe, having stated that it was not the intention of government to interfere with the principles of the present system, detailed the measures by which he proposed to remedy its defects, which were these—that the education was superficial and imperfect, that the number of schools was not sufficient for the wants of the country, and that the system was too complicated. Parliament was prorogued on the 6th of August after a session which had produced a fair amount of useful and important measures, although the organic changes which for so many sessions had been contemplated were postponed with the tacit consent of all parties.

Before the close of the year the English government found itself all but involved in a war with the United States of America. The Trent, a packet belonging to the British Mail Steamship Company, and being therefore a neutral vessel, had taken on board at Havannah (a neutral port), four passengers, who were envoys from the confederate states to London and Paris. They embarked, however, simply as private passengers. On the 7th of November the ship was stopped in the old Bahama channel by the United States' steamer San Jacinto commanded by captain Wilkes, who demanded to see the list of the passengers. This was refused: and he then announced that his orders were to take Messrs. Slidell, and Mason, Curtis and M'Farland, who were known to be on board. They were taken by force on board the San Jacinto, in spite of their own protest and that of the British admiralty agent, commander Williams, R.N. This violation of national rights involved a strange dilemma. If captain Wilkes was right in searching the vessel, the southern states were belligerents; if they were not belligerents but simply insurgents, the San Jacinto had no right to search for contraband of war, as there was no war. If simply traitors and rebels, the commissioners were protected from seizure by being on board an English ship. The risk of war between the two countries seemed to be imminent; but after some delay the commissioners were surrendered, when it was found that the British government were determined to accept no compromise. The popular opinion of Europe was unanimous in condemning the act of captain Wilkes; and the only effect of the delay was to create a causeless irritation on both sides. The prospect of a war of this nature, and for such a cause, produced no little gloom in this country, although the nation never

exhibited a more consistent and determined attitude in the vindication of its just rights; but the depression was increased a hundredfold by an event which, while it plunged the queen and her family in the greatest sorrow, was felt as a personal bereavement throughout the land. Early in December it was announced that the prince consort was suffering from fever, which, although not serious, might be of long continuance; on the 14th the news of his death spread mourning everywhere. During the twenty years which had passed since he became the husband of the queen, he had for one or two brief seasons to face some little misrepresentation, but throughout he had so lived as to win the respect and esteem of all who knew him, and for many years past his popularity had been steadily on the increase. For a memoir of the prince the reader is referred to the 'Biographical Treasury.'

Both in and out of parliament the year 1862 was singularly uneventful. The prospect of a war with the United States of America was removed early in January; and there were apparently no subjects on which political agitation could fasten at home. It seemed as though, in the face of the great struggle which was going on in America, political parties had agreed to suspend their animosities. No attempts were made in parliament to introduce the question of parliamentary reform; the efforts made to induce the government to interfere in the American quarrel completely failed; and a despatch from earl Russell to the French emperor declared that at the least the time for mediation had not yet come.

As the year 1862 was the bicentenary of the expulsion of nonconformist ministers consequent on the Act of Uniformity, great efforts were made by the leaders of dissenting sects to make use of the commemoration in disparaging the principle of church-establishment. They were more successful in collecting money than in rousing any vehement animosity among the dissenters towards the church of England.

In the midst of this general tranquillity the condition of Ireland presented a strange contrast to that of other parts of the kingdom. Since the establishment of the kingdom of Italy, the pressure from their ultramontane superiors seems to have repressed, if not extinguished, the general feeling of loyalty which had been expressed by the Irish catholic priesthood. The language of the press became seditious; the clergy preserved an ominous silence on the violent crimes which were perpetrated almost with impunity. Landlords were murdered without regard to their religion or their nationality. The French catholic was struck down not less than the English protestant; and the old sympathy for the murderers was in every case determinately shown by the Irish peasantry.

During this year, the Great International Exhibition displayed to the public a marvellous collection of treasures of every kind. The taste which guided the arrangement of them was not equal to their value; and it may be probably said with truth that its defects would have been lessened, if not removed, had the exhibition taken place a year earlier or later. But the circumstances attending it were very different from those of the first exhibition of 1851. Then the union of nations in contributing the products of science, art, and trade was looked upon as no slight guarantee for the continuance of a general peace. The exhibition of 1862 opened in the midst of the fearful civil war in America; and the feelings of satisfaction or pride with which it might otherwise have been regarded were miserably damped by the cotton famine, which deprived half a million workmen in Lancashire of all means of support. Slowly, but surely, the dearth of cotton resulting from the American blockade had been increasing in intensity until, in the autumn of 1862, the dreadful extent of the calamity forced itself on the whole nation. Never was a distress which it is impossible to exaggerate more nobly borne. Not an expression of discontent was heard; and the efforts of agitators to create it were utterly impotent. But while ruin was spreading on every side, the nation was making a determined effort to arrest the evil. All that was needed to save the noble workmen of Lancashire not merely from starvation but from pinching distress was cheerfully given; and the relief so obtained was administered with a singular wisdom. Nor must it be forgotten that, in the midst of their own anxieties and dangers, the merchants of New York contributed largely to relieve the sufferings of the Lancashire workmen.

On the subject of National Education the committee of council had, at the beginning of the previous recess of parliament, issued a minute, which ordered that in place of the former appropriated grants made to schools a capitation grant should be substituted of one penny per head for each attendance over 100, subject to a favourable report from the inspector, who was not to grant it unless the children, grouped according to age, succeeded in attaining a certain standard in reading, writing, and arithmetic. Failure in any one of these branches would be followed by a loss of one third of the allowance, and on a failure in all the allowance would be withdrawn altogether. In support of this measure and in opposition to the objections raised to it on the ground of its probable religious results, it was urged that there was no danger, so long as the inspectors were clergymen appointed with the sanction of the archbishop. Against the former system it was urged, that whereas 2,000,000 children ought to be brought into the inspected schools, the number actually brought did not exceed 920,000, of whom only one-fourth received adequate instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic. If the blow struck at the training colleges was sudden and serious, it was to be remembered that the aid granted to these establishments averaged no less than sixty-eight per cent. of the whole expense, thus showing how little voluntary

efforts were roused by these grants. The opinion on the report of the royal commission had been decisive against any vested rights possessed by the certificated masters: but it had been determined that no school should receive any aid unless the master was certificated and duly paid, or in other words, unless he received from the managers three times the amount of the present augmented grant. The strenuous opposition to this measure in both houses led to modifications which considerably altered its character, and it was finally agreed that the sum of 4*s.* a-year was to be given on the average yearly attendance of each pupil, who should attend 200 times, with the deduction of 1*s.* 3*d.* in case of failure of attendance, while the education grant was to be made answerable for any deficiency in the stipends of the pupil teachers, and any future revision of the code was to be submitted to parliament at least one month before the time of its coming into operation.

Of sir John Trelawny's annual motion for the abolition of church rates it is enough to say that the majority against it was reduced this year to one. A majority of ten rejected a bill brought in by Mr. Bouverie, for relieving clergymen of the church of England, who might secede from it, from the restrictions and penalties to which they were now exposed.

Although the struggle in America failed to bring about any new legislation in this country, it led to important discussions on the possibility of obtaining adequate cotton supplies from other countries, and on the practicability of exempting all private property from capture at sea. A proposal to lessen the misery caused by the terrible cotton famine, by enabling the boards of guardians in certain counties to meet extraordinary demands for aid rapidly, became law. By this measure, which was to continue in force only till March 1, 1863, parishes overburdened by extraordinary local distress might claim a contribution from the common fund of the union, or under certain circumstances one union might call for a contribution from other unions in the county.

Mr. Gladstone's financial scheme for this year was characterised by a modification of the wine duties and by the substitution of a licence for brewing in place of the duties on hops. It was carried in spite of an earnest opposition; but Mr. Hubbard's resolution, affirming the injustice of applying the same rate of taxation to incomes derived from fixed property and to those of precarious tenure, had not the same success. Among other measures carried during this session the most noteworthy is the bill providing a system of registration for titles to landed property and thus tending to furnish both security of title and facility of transfer.

The distress in the cotton-manufacturing districts was the only conspicuous drawback from the general prosperity of the country at the beginning of 1863. But it had failed to affect the revenue; it had been fairly met by private benevolence; and thus the expectations grounded on the dearth of cotton among statesmen, whether in this country or in the Confederate States of America, were wholly disappointed. The supply of cotton from other quarters became larger, and the recognition of the seceding Confederacy became a question which must be settled on other considerations. The leanings of many might be for the South, but the nation determined to persist in maintaining its attitude of strict neutrality in the great struggle between the States of the American Union.

But this contest probably had its effect on the action of political parties; and the singular cooling down of all agitation for constitutional reforms and changes, which characterised this year, may have been the result of the fearful expenditure of blood and treasure in America, on which the popular attention was now fixed. But from whatever cause, the government of lord Palmerston was supported, apparently not only by their own party, but by a large number of those who would formally be ranked among their opponents. The house of commons readily made the grants proposed for the establishment of the prince of Wales on the occasion of his marriage, which took place in March, with the princess Alexandra, daughter of prince Christian of Denmark; and the cession of the Ionian islands was left to be decided by the answer which the Ionians might themselves give to their proposed annexation to the kingdom of Greece.

The financial scheme of Mr. Gladstone showed a probable surplus of revenue over expenditure which, with new sources for taxation, would amount to 3,741,000*l.* With this surplus he proposed to lower the duties on tea to 1*s.* in the pound, to continue the duties on sugar only till the next year, and to mitigate the objections brought against the working of the income tax by keeping only one rate, but allowing all persons with incomes between 100*l.* and 200*l.* a-year to deduct 60*l.* from their taxable incomes. The proposal to subject charitable endowments to the action of the tax was abandoned, owing to the very strong pressure brought to bear against it.

An important measure passed during the present session was the bill introduced by sir George Grey, for giving to the inmates of prisons, not being members of the established church, the benefit of the attendance of ministers of their own persuasions. The annual proposal for the abolition of church rates was negatived this year by a majority of ten.

The debates which took place on the subject of the insurrection in Poland showed how deeply the feelings of the country were stirred, if they were not productive of any tangible results. On June 17, lord Russell forwarded to St. Petersburg the recommendations of the British government in concert with those of France and Austria. These comprised a general amnesty, a national representation for Poland, the appointment of Poles only to public offices, and the use of the Polish language in all public transactions. It is scarcely necessary to say that these recommendations

were summarily disregarded as the advice of persons who show that they have no power to enforce their wishes, if these are treated with contempt.

In its general character the year 1864 much resembled its predecessor. There was little expressed desire for political changes, and no measures of exceptional importance were proposed or carried in parliament. The improvement in revenue and trade and the general condition of the country seemed to have satisfied the people that little would be gained by throwing over the government of lord Palmerston. Among the most prominent topics of discussion was the foreign policy of England with regard to Poland, Japan, and other countries; but it is unnecessary to enter here into discussions of events which will be found recorded under the history of the several nations whom they affected.

The financial statement of the chancellor of the exchequer showed that the revenue was steadily increasing at the rate of more than a million a-year, and that the general trade of the country had reached a sum amounting to three times what it had been in 1842. With the surplus of revenue over expenditure Mr. Gladstone proposed partly to lessen the duties on sugar, to reduce the income tax to 7*d.* in the pound, leaving the malt tax untouched, and to lessen the duty on fire insurance.

The measures proposed by the government with regard to the war between Prussia and Denmark led to a debate in July upon resolutions which amounted to a vote of censure on lord Palmerston and his colleagues. Great stress was laid on the violation of the treaty of London of 1852, as a bad precedent, which might be quoted by way of excuse for any act of violence or wrong, and on the alleged fact that Denmark had been allowed to expect material aid from this country in support of the objects of the treaty of 1852. The resolution adverse to the government was carried in the lords by a majority of nine, but an immense majority on the other side in the house of commons deprived the decision of the lords of all its significance.

Among the many difficulties in which the war in America involved the English government may be mentioned the steam rams seized at Liverpool on the charge that they were being built for the use of the Confederates. This measure became the subject for keen debate in both houses, but the matter was at last settled by the British government purchasing these vessels on its own account, the sum required for the purpose being included in a supplementary naval estimate.

Of miscellaneous measures proposed, the most prominent was Mr. Dodson's bill for the abolition of the tests required on the taking of degrees at Oxford, negatived finally by a majority of two. The annual motion for the ballot was rejected by a large majority. On the proposition of Mr. Baines for a 6*l.* rental in place of the 10*l.* standard in boroughs, as a condition for the franchise, Mr. Gladstone declared himself strongly in favour of the principle of extension. He insisted that the absence of agitation was no reason for declining to discuss the question, and that this extension would tend to advance that unity of classes on which the well-being of the country depended.

The irregular war between the English colonists and the natives of New Zealand alone broke the peace of the British empire at the beginning of 1865. In parliament a long debate on the general condition of Ireland was followed by a motion of Mr. Dilwyn, affirming that the present position of the Irish church establishment was unsatisfactory, and called for the early attention of government. The debate on this motion was adjourned, nor was it resumed during the session; and it is unnecessary to give a summary of arguments on a subject which is now (1869) foremost for discussion under the premiership of Mr. Gladstone. The budget of this year showed an estimated surplus of revenue over expenditure exceeding 4,000,000*l.* This surplus the chancellor of the exchequer proposed to expend partly by remitting 6*d.* per pound on the tea duty, partly by reducing the income tax to 4*d.* in the pound, and establishing a uniform rate of 1*s.* 6*d.* on fire insurances, and the substitution of a penny stamp in place of the shilling duty on insurance policies. Naturally but little opposition was made to such a scheme as this; and a large party in the house and country regarded with still greater satisfaction the decreasing expenditure on the army and navy estimates. A demand of 200,000*l.* for the defence of Canada called forth many debates on the military relations of the mother country with the colonies and of the British and American governments.

Another debate on the treatment of certain British subjects in Abyssinia was the precursor of a war with the Abyssinian king Theodore. In July 1862, Captain Cameron was received as consul by that sovereign, who expressed a wish to renew the treaty with the British government which had fallen through in 1849. Captain Cameron forwarded an autograph letter from the king, which was not received here until February 1863. An invasion of northern Abyssinia by the Egyptians taking place soon after this, Captain Cameron tried to settle the dispute, but being obliged to desist by the remonstrances of the Egyptian authorities, became an object of suspicion to the king, who took further offence at expressions used by one of the interpreters of Mr. Stern, a missionary. This man was beaten to death: and Mr. Stern for expressing his disgust at the deed was himself beaten, and the other missionaries, with several ladies, were sent to a distant prison and heavily fettered. Soon afterwards, the other Europeans in the country, with consul Cameron, were also imprisoned and chained. The king in council tried the prisoners, who were found guilty of treason, but he was withheld from inflicting the penalty of death. Just at this time there arrived a letter from England, which, instead of being any acknowledgment of the king's autograph letter, simply ordered

the consul to return to his post and to interfere no more in the Egyptian dispute. For the present the matter went no further than a suggestion from sir Hugh Cairns that a mission, of a character likely to be acceptable to the king, might now be sent to obtain the release of the prisoners.

On the subject of religious tests an important measure substituted a new declaration on the part of the clergy of the established church for the old form which pledged their assent and consent to all and everything in the prayer book and articles. The new form simply declared their assent to these forms, and their belief that the doctrine of the church of England as set forth therein was agreeable to the word of God. A bill introduced by Mr. Goschen for enabling university degrees to be conferred without reference to religious tests was withdrawn after the second reading, owing to the lateness of the time. In all quarters, indeed, it seemed that the opinion of speaker Onslow—that the imposition of oaths could be of very little use to a government—was becoming more widely prevalent. A bill introduced by Mr. Monsell, to substitute a new and more general declaration in place of the one hitherto required from Roman Catholic members, was carried, after vigorous debate, through the house of commons, but lost by twenty-one votes in the lords.

Mr. Baines's bill for reducing the borough franchise to six pounds was rejected on the second reading: but an important measure introduced by Mr. Villiers, after long and earnest discussions, became law. This 'union chargeability bill' practically did away with the former law of settlement, by providing that the union fund should hereafter bear the maintenance of all the poor within the union, and by transferring the power of removal from overseers to guardians, and abolishing removability from parish to parish in the same union.

The death of Mr. Cobden this year was a great loss to the country; but in a special sense he still lived in his work. He had striven for the establishment of principles which were daily being more widely recognised, and of which it was impossible to forecast the full results. The effects of the measures carried chiefly by his influence have been felt more and more in the increasing prosperity of the trade and the people, not only of this, but of other countries. He has fairly earned the title of the first international statesman.

The tidings of the murder of president Lincoln called forth an outburst of indignation and sorrow throughout the whole land, and both houses of parliament joined unanimously in an address expressing a deep sympathy with the government and the people of the United States.

The revelations made with regard to the retirement of Mr. Edmunds, clerk to the commissioners of patents, and the practices of the Leeds court of bankruptcy, led to a declaration on the part of the house of commons, which amounted to a vote of censure on the lord chancellor. The proposer, Mr. Warde Hunt, while he was careful to say that he did not impute personal corruption to lord Westbury, asserted that he had not displayed that vigilance and anxiety for the public interest which they had a right to expect at his hands; and on lord Westbury's resignation, which was at once tendered, the seals were again entrusted to lord Cranworth, to whom lord Westbury left the great measure which he had at heart—the formation of a digest of the entire law.

On the 6th of July parliament was prorogued, and being now within nine months of its utmost legal duration, was immediately afterwards dissolved. In the elections which followed Mr. Gladstone lost his seat for the university of Oxford, and was returned for south Lancashire. But before parliament could meet, lord Palmerston died, and earl Russell became premier in his stead, the leadership of the house of commons devolving on Mr. Gladstone.

The year 1865 was also marked by the breaking out of the cattle plague, or rather, by its importation into this country. Its course had long been watched, and its arrival was no surprise; but the disease itself, which was in almost all instances fatal, baffled all efforts of medical science, and all measures of policy. Of the many remedies proposed none had the least permanent success; and the government shrank from the extreme measures which many in their alarm wished to urge upon them. It was pronounced to be the same as the rinder-pest, or steppe-murrain, and the same also as the disease which had swept over cattle in this country at various times in the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries.

In Ireland the peace of the country was seriously threatened by an outbreak of the conspiracy commonly known as the Fenian. This association, which had its chief seat in the United States, had for its object the expulsion of all non-Irish owners from Irish soil, and the substitution of the old Irish laws or customs, if they may be so called, of tenure. It had been maintained in great part by Irish emigrants in America, and the close of the great civil war let loose large bodies of men whom a military career had disinclined for the uneventful life of trade or agriculture, and who were ready to engage in any adventure which promised both excitement and plunder. But unlike former Irish conspirators, the Fenians showed as little liking for the Roman Catholic as for the established church. Nor was any love wasted on them by the Roman Catholic clergy, who denounced their schemes in the strongest terms. When the proper time seemed to be come, lord Wodehouse, the viceroy, took stringent measures. The editors of some seditious newspapers were apprehended on the 15th of September in Dublin. Other Fenians were arrested in Cork. The police also laid hands on a personage termed the head-centre of the Fenians in Ireland, an officer second in rank only to John O'Mahoney, the head-centre of the Fenians in America. This man, James Stephens, was committed for trial, and

lodged in Richmond gaol, whence he made his escape on the 24th of November in a manner which clearly showed that he was aided by persons within the prison. The special commission for the trial of the prisoners was opened on the 27th of November. Not much difficulty was found in convicting most of them; there is seldom a lack of informers in Ireland when political cases are to be tried, and the present time furnished no exception to the rule. The worst offenders were sentenced to periods of penal servitude varying from five to twenty years.

A more terrible calamity was the negro outbreak in Jamaica during the month of October. It began on the 7th of that month with the murder of baron von Ketelholdt, the custos of the district of Kingston. This was followed by the massacre of the volunteers who came forward to restore order; and an inflammatory proclamation, signed by Paul Bogle and others, called on all the negroes to rise up and exterminate the whites. On receiving the news governor Eyre proclaimed martial law throughout the whole of the county of Surrey, except in Kingston itself. He went in person to Morant bay, the scene of the outbreak, and having taken all possible measures for suppressing the insurrection, returned to Kingston on the 17th. He then stated that in his opinion it would be inexpedient at present to extend martial law to Kingston: but that there was one very important matter to be decided upon. He had found everywhere on his tour what appeared to him complete evidence that Mr. George William Gordon, a coloured member of the house of assembly, was the chief cause and origin of the whole rebellion. Gordon was now in Kingston. What was to be done with him? The custos, being called on by the governor, issued a warrant for his capture, which for some time he managed to evade: but finding this inevitable, he went voluntarily and gave himself up to general O'Connor. Mr. Eyre at once had him placed on board the Wolverine for safe custody and conveyance to Morant bay, and started with his prisoner on the afternoon of the 17th for that place. This is the account of the matter, as given by Mr. Eyre himself. It is further stated on his behalf, that although Gordon was in Kingston at the time, still his house was in the proclaimed district, and that his accidental absence from home did not affect the matter if it could be shown that he had really excited the outbreak. The sequel was speedy. Gordon was tried on the 18th by a military tribunal, found guilty of treason, and executed within an hour or two from the passing of the sentence. He had time to write a letter to his wife, in which he said that he had never advised or taken part in any insurrection, or ever done more than to recommend the people who complained to seek redress in a legitimate way. Of Paul Bogle he denied all knowledge. Troops were now sent out; many blacks were scourged, shot, or hanged; and the insurrection effectually put down. At the subsequent opening of the chambers, Mr. Eyre spoke of the outbreak as a most savage and cruel butchery, only to be paralleled by the atrocities of the Indian mutiny, adding that one moment's hesitation, one single reverse, might have lit the torch which would have blazed in rebellion from one end of the island to the other. The result was, that the chambers passed a bill abolishing the constitution of Jamaica, and giving the crown power to substitute whatever kind of government it thought fit.

The excitement caused by the tidings of these events in this country was neither slight nor transient. The government determined to issue a commission of enquiry, and in the meantime to suspend governor Eyre by sending out sir Henry Storks, as temporary governor. The commissioners, who followed him, were Mr. Russell Gurney, recorder of London, and Mr. Marsh, recorder of Leeds.

Soon after the meeting of parliament in 1866, the home secretary introduced a bill into the house of commons, empowering local authorities to order cattle to be killed and to prevent their removal by road or rail except by licences, and then only by daylight, during the prevalence of the cattle plague, and granting certain other powers for carrying out measures likely to check or to crush the disease. Compensation, to be provided by a charge on the county and borough rate, was to be made to those persons whose cattle were killed by orders issued in accordance with the act.

The question already raised by Mr. Monsell's bill for relieving Roman Catholic members of parliament from taking a special oath was again discussed in this session, and the result was the substitution of one oath to be taken by all members alike, declaring simply faithful allegiance to the crown, and the maintenance of the succession according to the act of William III.

The multiplication of Fenian arrests in Ireland, and the wide and rapid spreading of disaffection, compelled the government to propose the suspension of the habeas corpus act in Ireland. This measure (which was renewed in August) was so quickly carried, that it was working as law within three days of the time of its being proposed by lord Russell. The discussions on the subject brought out some strong and clear expressions of opinion from speakers like Mr. Bright and thinkers like Mr. J. S. Mill who declared their belief that there was a mode of rendering Ireland contented, and laying on the government and parliament of England the responsibility of discovering it. To clear away some at least of the difficulties surrounding the subject, sir John Gray moved a resolution that the position of the established church in Ireland was a just cause of dissatisfaction to the people of that country. This motion was not destined to bear fruit at the time. The debate was adjourned, and the pressure of other business furnished a plea for not resuming it. The same fate attended Mr. Fortescue's bill for enabling owners of lands in Ireland to grant leases of thirty-one or sixty-one years, and to give to tenants, in cases of permanent improve

ments, a title to a lump sum by way of compensation, equivalent to the increased letting value of the lands, to be found by a valuator appointed by the commissioners of public works. In opposition to this, it was chiefly urged that compensation should be granted only for improvements made with the consent of the landlord. Mr. Lowe went further, and asserted that the measure went beyond the province of law, for that, if both parties knew of the compulsory term introduced into their voluntary contract, provision would be made against it, and if one were ignorant, a fraud would be committed on him. He added, that the desire for a change of the present law arose really from the wish to perpetuate small holdings, in which the priesthood naturally had a great interest, and pointed out the great danger of relaxing, in Ireland, laws of property which were still held just and right for other portions of the country. Hereon Mr. J. S. Mill directly joined issue. In his belief the exceptional country was not Ireland but England. Was there any other country, he asked, on the face of the earth, where, as a general rule, the land was held in large patches, and was farmed by a capitalist at a rent fixed by contract, while the mass of the people were entirely detached from it, and simply received their day's wages? In all countries where the cultivators of the soil had emerged from the state of slavery, or from serfdom, the tillers of the land held that land direct from the landlord. The capitalist farmer did not exist, or existed only as a middle class. In this respect, then, Ireland resembled the rest of the world: it was England that was peculiar. The inference was obvious.

Of Mr. Gladstone's financial scheme for this year, it may be enough to say that it exhibited a surplus of revenue over charge amounting to 1,350,000*l*. With this he proposed to repeal the duty on timber, and to equalise the duty on wine whether in the bottle or in the wood; but more particularly he was anxious to introduce a plan for reducing the national debt by means of annuities terminable in 1885. 24,000,000*l*. of savings bank stock were to be thus converted; and by reinvesting the spare dividends, nearly 50,000,000*l*. would be extinguished by 1905. The budget as thus proposed was carried, with the exception of this last measure, which advanced no further than the second reading.

The publication of their report by the Jamaica commissioners on their return to this country removed a check which had hitherto been placed on the discussion of Mr. Eyre's conduct. Mr. Buxton accordingly proposed the following resolutions: 'that the house deplores the excessive punishments which followed the suppressing of the disturbances of October last in the parish of St. Thomas, and especially the unnecessary frequency with which the punishment of death was inflicted; that, while approving the course taken by her majesty's government in dismissing Mr. Eyre from the governorship of the island, the house at the same time concurs in the view expressed by the late colonial secretary, that while any very minute endeavour to punish acts which may now be the subject of regret would not be expedient, still great offences ought to be punished: and that grave excesses of severity on the part of any civil, military, or naval officers ought not to be passed over with impunity: that it is the duty of her majesty's government to award compensation to those whose property was wantonly and entirely destroyed, and to the families of those who were put to death illegally; and that since considerably more than a thousand persons are found to have been executed or severely flogged on the charge of participating in these disturbances, all further punishment on account of them ought to be remitted.' On these propositions Mr. Adderley moved the previous question, while Mr. J. S. Mill brought forward an amendment, that, as the lives of certain persons had admittedly been taken wrongfully, a criminal court alone was competent to deal with that culpability. In the end the first resolution only was agreed to.

Of the events of continental history for this year it is unnecessary here to speak, as, whatever may have been the differences of opinion expressed, the government and nation resolved that they would have nothing to do with the quarrels which seemed likely to array Prussia and Italy against Austria.

The question of parliamentary reform, which for so many sessions had seemingly lost its zest, was revived this year. A bill introduced by Mr. Clay, for conferring the franchise on all persons who before the civil service commissioners should undergo a satisfactory examination in reading, writing, spelling, and the four rules of arithmetic, was received at first with some favour, but failing to win the approval of Mr. Gladstone as well as of many leading members of the opposition, was withdrawn. Mr. Gladstone then brought forward the government scheme, which proposed to reduce the county franchise to 14*l*. of value, applying equally to house and land, provided the rental of either or both was not less than that sum per annum. It was further proposed to give a vote to all adult males who had deposited 50*l*. in a savings bank for two years. By the abolition of the rate-paying clauses of the reform act it was thought that 25,000 voters would be admitted above the line of 10*l*. The compound householder, it was proposed, should be treated exactly as the ratepaying householder, if the rent of their house be of such a scale as to make them suitable persons to be enfranchised. In these ways, it was thought, the number of new voters would amount to 400,000, one half of whom would belong to the working classes, the other to what might be termed a new middle class. It was further proposed to disfranchise the labourers in the dockyards.

The reception of this scheme was at first not very decided. By Mr. Bright, Mr. Baines, Mr. Fawcett, and some other liberal members, it was accepted as a tolerably satisfactory measure. By some four

or five members, as by lord Cranborne, it was denounced as democratic and dangerous. It was blamed on the same grounds by a section of the liberal party, among whom Mr. Horsman and Mr. Lowe were most prominent. Mr. Lowe was indeed most vehement in his opposition to a measure which, he affirmed, would increase the expense of elections and lead to extensive changes in the distribution of political power. To Mr. Lowe's depreciation of the working classes, Mr. Fawcett replied by asking whether Mr. Lowe had not himself declared that no government was worthy of the confidence of the country unless it reduced the borough franchise, and whether he was not a member of a government which came into office especially to carry an extension of the franchise. From Mr. Bright the tactics of Mr. Horsman received a name which clung to those who joined his section. He, Mr. Bright said, was the first of the new party who expressed his great grief, who had retired into what might be called his political cave of Adullam, and there called about him every one that was in distress, and every one that was discontented: he had made efforts to bring over members to his party, or cabal, and at last had succeeded in hooking Mr. Lowe. The opposition of these 'Adullamites' led to Mr. Disraeli's accession to power. Another check was given by one of this new party, lord Grosvenor, who gave notice that on the second reading he should submit an amendment to the effect that it was inexpedient to consider the subject of the franchise until the house had before it the whole government plan for the redistribution of seats. Mr. Gladstone replied that the government would meet this amendment by a direct negative, as being distinctly a vote of want of confidence in ministers.

The great debate on the franchise bill began on the 12th of April, and lasted over eight nights. The several lines taken by the foremost speakers on the different sides have already been indicated. The result of the division (318, 313) was a majority of five for the government. On the 30th of April Mr. Gladstone announced that the government did not see in the division any reason or warning against persisting in the effort they were engaged in. A week later the bill for the redistribution of seats was introduced. No boroughs were to be absolutely extinguished, but a grouping of some boroughs would leave several seats for new constituencies. These would amount to forty-nine, to be gained first by withdrawing one member from every borough having a population under 8,000, leaving them one member each, and placing thirty seats at the disposal of parliament. The rest would be yielded by the grouped boroughs for which there would be one member where the population was less than 15,000, and two where it exceeded this number. Of the seats thus gained, the government proposed to give twenty-six to counties in England, first by dividing the southern division of Lancashire and giving three members to each division; next, by giving an additional member to every county or division of a county which, with a population above 150,000, had now only two members—Middlesex being excepted, as having an affinity to the metropolis rather than to the rest of the country. This would take twenty-three seats. It was further proposed to give a third member to Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds, and a second member to Salford. The borough of the Tower Hamlets would be divided into two sections, each with two members, while Chelsea and Kensington would be united into one borough returning two members. There would then remain eight seats, one to be given to the University of London, the remainder to Scotland, an additional member being given to each of the three counties Ayr, Lanark, and Aberdeen, a third member to Glasgow and Edinburgh severally, a second to Dundee, and one to the Scottish universities.

The Scotch reform bill proposed a qualification of 7*l.* in the boroughs, and 14*l.* in the counties, and a reduction of the property franchise in counties from 10*l.* to 5*l.*, with the condition of personal residence. By the Irish bill it was proposed to reduce the rating occupation franchise from 8*l.* to 6*l.*, and to introduce a lodger and savings bank franchise, as in the English bill. A member would be given to the queen's university, and an additional member to Dublin city and Cork county. To provide these three seats, Bandon would be grouped with Kinsale, Athlone with Portarlington, and Dungannon with Enniskillen.

On going into committee, it was agreed that the franchise and the redistribution bills should be referred to the same committee, and also that they should be consolidated into one bill. On this, sir R. Knightley moved that it be an instruction to the committee to provide for the better prevention of bribery and corruption at elections. On this motion, which was opposed by the government as really aiming at the destruction of the bill, there was a division of 248 votes in its favour to 238 votes against it. With regard to this, Mr. Gladstone merely said that ministers would of course wait for the production of the scheme which sir R. Knightley had doubtless formed for dealing with bribery and corruption. Meanwhile, they would go on with their bill. Captain Hayter then moved, that the system of grouping proposed by the government was neither convenient nor equitable, nor sufficiently matured to form the basis of a satisfactory measure. This amendment was negatived, after a debate of four nights.

The bill was now debated clause by clause, and new elements of discord showed themselves. Mr. Walpole proposed to fix the county occupation franchise at 20*l.* instead of 14*l.*; which Mr. Gladstone opposed, on the ground that its acceptance would put an end to the virtual agreement with the reforming party. It was negatived by a majority of fourteen.

Shortly after this lord Dunkellin moved to substitute the principle of rating for

that of rental in the boroughs. This was also opposed by the government, but on this point the division yielded a majority against them of eleven (315, 304). The ministers at once resigned, and after some hesitation their resignation was accepted, and lord Derby succeeded earl Russell as first lord of the Treasury, having Mr. Disraeli as chancellor of the exchequer and Mr. Walpole as home secretary. Nothing, however, could be undertaken by a ministry coming in so late in the session beyond the carrying through of the necessary routine business, and some conversations on the subject of the Hyde Park riots of July were followed at once by the prorogation of parliament.

These riots followed on a prohibition issued to the committee of the reform league to make use of the park for the purpose of holding a great reform meeting. The force employed was not equal to the task of keeping out the public. At five o'clock the gates were closed; and a dense mass of people had gathered at the Marble Arch. The leaders of the meeting, headed by Mr. Beales, presented themselves at the gate, and being refused admittance withdrew to hold a meeting in Trafalgar square. Their injunctions to the people to do no violence had, however, no great effect. The gates were strong, but the palings were weak, and a vigorous push soon made a breach in the latter. Presently there were many openings, and the crowd now got in freely. There was a good deal of scuffling, with some wounding; and about fifty persons were arrested. At the various meetings held within the park strong resolutions against tyranny were passed; and it was not until ten o'clock that the park was again quiet.

During this year the cattle plague gradually abated; but the loss to property was reckoned at three millions and a half. In the course of the summer cholera also made its appearance and was severely felt in the east of London. It was at its height from the 4th of July to the 4th of August; but, taken at its worst, the ravages of the disease in this country could scarcely be placed in comparison with those from which the continent had suffered.

The financial collapse and panic in the spring was in one sense a more disastrous calamity. Much mischief had been done by the bubble companies which had been started under shelter of the limited liability act; and the advertisement of the sale of most of the stock of a certain notorious railway company indicated a pressure of which the effects would probably be widely felt. On the 10th of May the sudden stoppage of the great discount house of Overend and Gurney caused a terrible panic. Its engagements at the time of stoppage amounted to 19,000,000*l.*; and so fearful was the shock that the government was compelled, as in 1847 and 1857, to authorise the bank of England to issue notes beyond the legal limit. The Agra and Masterman's bank, with some others, failed within the week; and the ten per cent. rate of discount at the bank of England lasted till the 17th of August; but although it then rapidly declined, there was very little rise in the price of funds and in railway and joint stock shares. English credit passed under a cloud on the continent; and the indirect effects of the panic, by the withdrawal of money from trades which administer to pleasure or luxury, did not tend to lighten the difficulties felt throughout the country. But these disasters did not affect the revenue, although a harvest below the average had greatly raised the prices of meat and provisions.

The session of 1867 was in great part taken up with discussing the conservative measure of reform. This measure was carried, with what results to the conservative party it might be hard to say. If it satisfied lord Derby and Mr Disraeli, it failed to satisfy some whose honesty and singleness of purpose their opponents valued more highly. The judgment of these men went far to justify the sarcasm put into the mouth of a member of the Carlton club, who, when asked by a little boy on the steps of that building whether it was the Reform club, replied, 'No, this is not the Reform club: it is the Revolution.' To this great subject of reform at home even the confederation of the North American provinces of Great Britain was necessarily a subordinate matter: but enough was said and done to show that the formation of that confederation was an event of the greatest significance.

On the subject of the reform bill Mr. Disraeli made in the house of commons a proposal hardly expected by the opposition. This plan was, to proceed by resolutions, and thus to settle each difficulty as it might arise. This method might also subserve the purpose which, as he afterwards admitted elsewhere, he had long had at heart and to which he had devoted his best energies, namely that of educating his party up to the point of carrying measures far in advance of those which the liberal party had ventured to propose. These resolutions, thirteen in number, merely stated certain principles or facts, but pledged the government to no particular details. It committed them to the propositions that the number of voters ought to be increased; and that this extension would be best carried into effect by reducing the value of the qualifying tenement as well as in other ways. They further urged that the occupation franchise should be based on the principle of rating, and that the principle of the plurality of votes would facilitate the settlement of the borough franchise on an extensive basis. No efforts on the other side could induce Mr. Disraeli to give any information about the plans of the government, until the time had arrived for discussing the resolutions. He then stated that it was proposed to have four new franchises: (1) educational, as for persons who had taken a degree, ministers of religion, and others; (2) savings banks, the limit being a deposit of 30*l.*, retained for one year; (3) the possession of 50*l.* in the public funds; (4) the payment of 20*s.* in

direct taxation. The first of these franchises would bring in 10,000 new voters, the second 35,000, the third 7,000, and the fourth 30,000. For boroughs he proposed a 6*l.* rating franchise, which would probably yield 130,000 new voters. The four new franchises would be extended to the counties, in which the occupation franchise would be reduced from 50*l.* to 20*l.* The whole number of new voters added in boroughs and counties would be about 400,000. By disfranchising, on the score of gross corruption, the boroughs of Great Yarmouth, Lancaster, Totnes, and Reigate, seven seats would be gained. The towns to which he proposed to grant members were Hartlepool, Darlington, Burnley, Stalybridge, St. Helen's, Dewsbury, Barnsley, Middlesborough, Croydon, Gravesend, Torquay, and one town to be named in what was called the black country. The Tower Hamlets were to be divided, each division having two members. The counties of north Lancashire, north Lincolnshire, west Kent, east Surrey, Middlesex, south Staffordshire, and south Devon were to be so divided that in every case there would be a population of 100,000 irrespective of the borough population. Of the thirty seats with which it was proposed to deal, twenty-eight were thus provided for. Of the other two, one was to be given to South Lancashire, and one to the University of London. But so far he had only seven seats at his disposal; the remaining twenty-three must be supplied by taking away one member from twenty-three boroughs with populations under 7,000. He also proposed to assimilate the registration of voters in counties to that in boroughs, and to provide more polling places, and urged that the adoption of voting papers would do away with the necessity of bringing voters from a distance at a fabulous cost.

Mr. Lowe at once delivered himself of a very strong condemnation of Mr. Disraeli's plans and method of procedure, in which he was joined by Mr. Bright, who, having pointed out that one of Mr. Disraeli's fancy franchises would give a vote to a ratcatcher who kept four dogs, added that there was an essential and perilous difference between a reform bill and reform. Mr. Bright further demanded, that if any measure was to be passed, it should be one which should release him and other members who were in favour of reform, from further discussion and agitation of the question during their parliamentary life. The opposition was so firm that, with his usual tact, Mr. Disraeli, averring that he saw the house was quite ready to give his proposals fair and candid consideration, which was all that the resolutions were intended to gain, agreed to the introduction of a bill. This bill he promised to bring in within a week; but before that time had passed three members of the cabinet—the earl of Carnarvon, lord Cranborne, and general Peel—resigned office on account of differences of opinion on the subject of reform, and the bringing in of the bill was postponed to the 18th of March. The resignation of these three ministers caused much discussion; but at length general Peel, when he received permission to make the disclosure, said that he dissented from his colleagues on the plurality of votes, and because he found that the measures proposed would swamp the present constituency in small boroughs. Lord Cranborne stated, that in his opinion the bill would practically reduce the franchise in boroughs to household suffrage, and, therefore, had tendered his resignation.

When, on the 18th of March, Mr. Disraeli explained his measure to the house, it was found to have undergone already some modifications. It was now proposed, that every householder paying rates in houses under 10*l.* should, on two years' residence, have a vote. Persons paying 1*l.* in direct taxation might have a vote on this ground as well as for occupation as householders. This was the much-talked-of plan of dual voting. To this modified plan the opposition was not less strenuous, and Mr. Gladstone denounced the dual vote as a gigantic instrument of fraud, and a proclamation of a war of classes. The second reading of the bill was moved on the 25th of March; and Mr. Gladstone at once stated that the following alterations must be insisted on:—A lodger franchise must be inserted; means provided for preventing traffic in the votes of the lowest classes of householders; the distinction between the several classes of ratepaying householders abolished; the taxpaying franchise and the dual vote abandoned; the redistribution scheme enlarged; the county franchise reduced, and voting papers dropped.

The clause conferring the dual vote was at once abandoned, and the battle was now waged on the requirement of the payment of rates. This would exclude the compound householders—in other words, all persons living in houses of small value, the rates upon which were paid, in accordance with certain acts of parliament, not by the tenants but by the landlords, who were allowed a certain abatement from the full rates on consideration of the liability which they undertook. This restriction Mr. Gladstone condemned as an injustice which made the bill illusory by taking away the boon with one hand while professing to dispense it largely with the other. It was proposed at first to meet it by an amendment, providing that the occupiers of tenements in boroughs below a given rateable value should be relieved from liability to personal rating; but on this point it turned out that the liberal party was disunited, and the discovery greatly strengthened the government. The house being resolved into committee, Mr. Gladstone moved to insert in the qualifying clause the words, 'Whether he in person, or his landlord, be rated to the relief of the poor.' On this amendment there was a majority for government of twenty-one. On the resumption of the bill after the Easter recess, Mr. Ayrton carried, by a majority of eighty-one, an important amendment, substituting 'twelve months' for the two years' residence required by the bill. This necessitated a dissolution of parliament in 1868, and in

effect defined the term of the conservative, or so-called conservative, administration. It was further settled, that the occupiers of lodgings which would let at 10*l.* a year, unfurnished, should, after a year's residence, be entitled to vote. The matter of the compound householder was at last happily settled by the proposition of Mr. Hodgkinson, 'that no person other than the occupier shall be rated to parochial rates in respect of premises occupied by him within the limits of a parliamentary borough, all acts to the contrary notwithstanding.' This provision was inserted in the bill; but an amendment by Mr. J. S. Mill, to confer votes on women as taxpayers, was negatived by 196 to 73. The occupation franchise in counties was set down at 12*l.* The fancy-franchise soon gave way; but another amendment by Mr. Mill, advocating Mr. Hare's plan for the representation of minorities, was not more successful. By this plan, persons who declined to vote for the candidates of the locality might bestow their votes on one who was a candidate for parliament generally; and if there were found in the whole country a sufficient number who had fixed their choice on the same person, he would be elected. At present the minority, he said, were as completely blotted out as if they were expressly disfranchised.

Another important modification was effected on the motion of Mr. Laing, who proposed to take away one member from every borough with a population of 10,000 which now returned two. This would give thirty-eight seats; seven more seats would be gained by grouping some of the smaller boroughs, and seven more by the disfranchisement of the corrupt boroughs already agreed upon. But the addition to the representation of Scotland was to be made, not by taking away from that of England or Ireland, but by a slight addition to the members of the house. He further proposed, that six towns with more than 150,000 inhabitants should have three instead of two members, and that towns with a population exceeding 50,000 which now had one member should henceforth have two. Having substantially accepted this amendment, Mr. Disraeli said the government had thought it better to consider the whole question *de novo*. They now proposed to increase the representation of London by four members, two of which would be given to the Tower Hamlets, which would be divided into two boroughs, one to be called the borough of Hackney, and each returning two members. The other two would be given to a new metropolitan borough, comprising Chelsea and the parts adjacent. To the towns mentioned in the former bill as entitled to one member, he now proposed to add those of Stockton, Keighley, and Luton. He proposed also an additional member for the two boroughs of Salford and Merthyr Tydvil. The member given to the university of London might also represent that of Durham. The remaining twenty-four seats he proposed to give to counties, west Kent, north Lancashire, south Lancashire, and east Surrey being each divided, and taking seven additional members. He proposed also to divide Lincolnshire, Derbyshire, Devonshire, Somersetshire, the west riding of Yorkshire, Cheshire, Norfolk, Staffordshire, and Essex, each into three parts, to be represented by two members.

In subsequent meetings the proposal for connecting the universities of London and Durham was rejected, and the proposal relating to voting papers underwent the same fate. A new principle was at this stage put forth by Mr. Lowe, who proposed that at any contested election every voter should be entitled to a number of votes equal to the number of vacant seats, and might give all such votes to one candidate, or distribute them among the candidates, as he might think fit. Mr. Bright's reply to this proposal was, that the minority in one constituency is represented by the majority in another. The clause was lost by a majority of 141.

The third reading of the bill was moved on the 15th of July, when lord Cranborne expressed his astonishment at hearing it described as a conservative triumph. It had been modified at the dictation of Mr. Gladstone, and had adopted the principles of Mr. Bright. If this were a triumph, then the conservative party had assuredly never won any so signal as this. Mr. Lowe, in less measured tones, said that he should have tried to prevail on his master to learn his letters before entrusting him with so much power. As things were, he could only urge upon the house the necessity of educating the people in order to avert the consequences of a measure which every honest and educated Englishman regarded with shame, scorn, and indignation.

The bill was now carried to the upper house, where lord Cairns carried an amendment raising the qualification of the lodger franchise to 15*l.* An amendment by lord Harrowby, to raise the copyhold franchise from 5*l.* to 10*l.*, was also adopted. A third amendment was carried by lord Cairns, who proposed that in constituencies returning three members, the voters should be respectively entitled to vote for two candidates only. The clause relating to voting papers was adopted by 114 to 36. But lord Cairns' proposal with regard to the lodger franchise was abandoned when the report of the committee came under consideration. On the third reading of the bill, lord Derby said, that no doubt they were making a great experiment, and taking a leap in the dark.

In the house of commons, Mr. Disraeli recommended the adoption of the amendments carried by the lords; but the house reduced again the copyhold and leasehold qualification to 5*l.*, and rejected the amendment for voting papers, agreeing only with lord Cairns' proposal respecting the representation of minorities.

So ended the debates on this important measure. The reform bill for England was settled and became law; the bills for Scotland and Ireland were put off to a more convenient season.

The budget of this year showed a surplus of revenue over charge of 1,900,000*l.*—a

fact which was fairly pronounced by the chancellor of the exchequer to be very encouraging, when the financial disasters of the previous year were taken into account. With this surplus he did not propose to reduce taxation. Within the last ten years taxes had been remitted to the amount of 11,000,000*l.* a year; it was not easy, therefore, to fix upon any tax so severe and unjust that all sides would unite in calling for its removal. What Mr. Disraeli wished was to carry out Mr. Gladstone's plan of sinking a certain amount of the national debt by terminable annuities, and this plan the house adopted, the result being a complete cancelling of 24,000,000*l.* of debt by an increased charge to the nation of a sum not amounting to half-a-million a-year until 1885. A motion by Mr. H. B. Sheridan, to devote the surplus to a further reduction of the duty on fire insurance, was opposed by Mr. Gladstone, on the ground that there were many taxes which ought to be repealed before that on fire insurance. One was the tax on corn, which kept this country from being what it should be—the greatest entrepôt of corn from all parts of the world. The proposal was negatived; and there was practically no further opposition made to the budget.

The vote for the army brought up the question of flogging; and on this subject Mr. Otway carried, by a majority of one, a resolution that the punishment ought not to be inflicted in time of peace. But the government refused to recognise so small a majority as deciding the question, and inserted in the mutiny bill the usual clause, which, however, was modified by limiting the penalty to two offences, viz. mutiny, and insubordination accompanied by personal-violence.

Twice during the session of 1867, in February and again in May, was the habeas corpus act suspended for Ireland, the first time for three months, the second till March 1868. The subject of land tenure in that island was touched, but without any legislative results. Some debates in both houses on the subject of the Irish church and its revenues led to the issuing of a royal commission, which was to go thoroughly into the whole question.

The insurrection of the Greeks in Crete against their Turkish masters called forth only conversations in parliament. The dispute respecting the duchy and fortress of Luxemburg led to the meeting of a conference in London, in which a treaty was signed, declaring that the duchy should, for all future time, be considered as neutral territory, and placed under the collective guarantee of all the powers parties to the treaty, and also that the Prussian garrison should be withdrawn from the fortress, which was to be dismantled to such an extent as to satisfy the king of Holland. Objections were raised to this in parliament, on the ground that the guarantee might impose on this country an obligation to go to war if the territory should be violated; but lord Stanley stated in reply, that a collective guarantee must be essentially different from a separate guarantee, and had rather the character of a moral sanction than a contingent liability to go to war. Lord Derby further explained in the house of lords, that, by a collective guarantee, if there was a difference of opinion between the parties to it, no one party was called upon to undertake the duty of enforcing it: it depended on the union of all parties.

The murder of Maximilian, ex-emperor of Mexico, by men who may have been quite justified in fighting against him, caused the greatest indignation in parliament and throughout this country; but it was felt that the former could do nothing officially in the matter. A conversation which had a more practical result, turned on the condition of the British captives in Abyssinia; and while some members deprecated any idea of trying to rescue them by force, others strongly maintained that the attempt ought to be made, and that the task, though arduous, was by no means impossible. Nothing more was done for the present; but the question was destined to lead to a second session of parliament in November.

A bill for abolishing church rates, introduced this year by Mr. Hardcastle, passed the house of commons, but was rejected by the lords. Another measure was carried in part, for enabling Roman Catholic mayors and judges to attend their own places of worship in their robes of office, and for substituting, in place of the oaths required of Roman Catholics on taking office, the oath now taken by members of parliament of that persuasion. It had been proposed by this bill, that a Roman Catholic might also hold the office of lord lieutenant; but this clause was struck out by a close majority of 143 against 140. Another measure did away with the oath against transubstantiation hitherto required from the holders of civil offices. Mr. Coleridge renewed his attempt to abolish religious tests in the university of Oxford, with better success in the house of commons; but the bill was rejected on the second reading in the house of lords. An interesting discussion took place on a bill introduced by Mr. H. A. Bruce, to substitute a rating system for the education of the people in place of the one now in operation; but the bill was not pressed beyond its second reading. A remedy was, however, applied to the frightful abuses of that which is known as the gang system for the employment of labourers in the agricultural districts, especially of the eastern counties. It now became known, that in parts of the country which had only lately been reclaimed from marsh, fen, or wilderness, boys and girls were made to march daily, sometimes many miles, to and from the place where they worked, under the absolute control of a gang master, who farmed out their labour. The physical injury thus caused was very great; the moral injury was much worse: and it was acknowledged both in and out of parliament that a stop must be put to a state of things which was very little better than slavery.

The meeting to be held in Hyde Park on the 6th of May, by Mr. Beales, the O'Donoghue, Colonel Dickson, and other extreme reformers, led to a discussion in parliament

on the uses to which the public parks might be put. Mr. Bright asserted that Mr. Beales and his friends were quite justified in what they proposed to do: it was not unlawful, he said, for people to enter the park and to stand shoulder to shoulder if they were numerous, nor was it unlawful for them to speak in a loud voice and for others to listen. To this the home secretary replied by saying, that he had no wish to prevent political meetings in proper places; he only contended that the parks were intended for public recreation, and for this purpose only. He accordingly issued a notice, warning all persons not to attend the meeting; but the prohibition, as may be supposed, was disregarded. The meeting was held, and happily passed off without the slightest mischief. Still it was felt that the action of the government had been vacillating, and Mr. Walpole accordingly resigned. But the efforts of ministers to get a bill passed, declaring it to be illegal to hold meetings for political purposes in the parks, were ineffectual.

Three days after the conversation of July in parliament on the Abyssinian affair, the news came that king Theodore refused to give up his prisoners, and that the governor of Bombay regarded an expedition for their recovery as in every way practicable. Parliament was therefore called together again in November, and for the sake of convenience it was determined that the session of 1867–8 should then begin. The discussions which took place on the subject tended to justify the government in their action when the difficulties with king Theodore had become serious; but they scarcely touched the prudence or wisdom of having diplomatic relations with a people who were practically savages. The house accordingly agreed to the vote of 2,000,000*l.* for the war, this sum to be raised by an additional penny on the income tax. At the same time it was determined, on sir Stafford Northcote's motion, that the ordinary pay of the Indian troops and shipping employed in the Abyssinian expedition should be charged on the revenues of India.

In the course of this year a commission was issued to enquire into the principles and operations of the trades' unions; and the disclosures thus brought about, of ruffianly terrorism brought to bear on the relations of the men to their employers and to one another, the machinery employed to cripple the former and to maintain a dead level of monotony among the latter, abundantly showed that means must be devised for upholding the supremacy of law, and putting an end to a state of things which was really more hurtful to the workmen than it could be for the capitalists who paid them.

The troubles in Ireland still continued. The Fenians, who it was thought had been well-nigh put down at the beginning of the year, adopted the plan of breaking out simultaneously in different parts of the country, with the purpose of keeping the army dispersed. These tactics followed the failure of the Fenian conspirators in February to seize the arsenal at Chester: but they were promptly met; and of all the prisoners convicted in consequence, not one was sentenced to death. This fact may have led them to suppose that the capital penalty would in no case be inflicted on any such offenders; but this hope was disappointed when the ringleaders in an attack on a prison van at Manchester, in which a policeman was shot, were tried in the autumn and executed. The next step of the conspirators roused even more vehement indignation. Some Fenians were confined in Clerkenwell prison; and to set them free, some of their colleagues blew up a large portion of the wall with gunpowder. The prisoners were not rescued, but many men, women, and children, who had nothing to do in the matter, were slain, and many lost much of their property, or even all that they had. Special constables were at once enrolled, and the number who came forward amply sufficed to scare these ruffians from making any like attempts again.

In the commercial world the effects of the catastrophe of 1866 were still felt; but felt in a wholesome way. Money was exceptionally cheap, that is, to those whose credit was thoroughly to be trusted, and for the purposes of legitimate trade. To all others it was so dear as to be practically inaccessible. Nor was the condition of the railway world such as to remove or to lessen suspicion. It was found that the Brighton railway company had been carrying on a delusive financial system; that the accounts of the North British had been 'cooked;' that the Great Eastern and Great Western were in serious difficulties; and that the London, Chatham, and Dover was hopelessly insolvent. To this was added a harvest which fell below the average, and caused great distress among the poorer classes.

It should be mentioned that an act was passed in March of this year, for the union of the provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and providing for the election of the new legislature. This new Canadian parliament was opened at Ottawa, the capital of the confederation, by lord Monck, the governor-general.

In the spring of 1868 lord Derby was compelled to resign the premiership, and Mr. Disraeli became first lord of the treasury in his place. He acceded to power under great difficulties. In the preceding autumn lord Stanley had declared the question of Ireland to be the question of the day, and Mr. Disraeli had announced that the ministry had a definite policy for that country. When it came to the test, it seemed that there was none; and Mr. Gladstone at once stepped forward with a series of resolutions, affirming that the established church of Ireland ought to cease to exist as an establishment, that ecclesiastical vacancies in Ireland should not be filled up until the final decision of parliament, and that the queen should be asked to place her interest in the temporalities at the disposal of parliament. Lord Stanley proposed as an amendment, that all action with regard to the Irish church

was for the moment inopportune; but at the same time he confessed that not one educated man in a hundred would defend the Irish church in its present condition, and that no mere redistribution of its revenues would suffice to settle the matter. Mr. Hardy thereupon declared that he would be no party to a mean surrender, while Mr. Disraeli, taking his cue seemingly from the member for the university of Oxford, raised the cry of 'no popery,' and in a letter to a clergyman named Baker, dated on Maundy Thursday, declared that the ritualists were in league with Mr. Gladstone to overturn the throne and introduce an evil worse than a foreign conquest. A majority of sixty-five adopted Mr. Gladstone's first resolution; but Mr. Disraeli, having consulted the queen, declared that it was her wish that he should remain where he was. On the other hand, the words of the duke of Richmond in the lords implied that the ministry were free to resign whenever they chose to do so. The greatest excitement was felt in the house of commons at the use which had been made of the queen's name. No further opposition was offered to the resolution, and the suspensory bill passed the second reading by a majority of fifty-four. In the lords it was rejected on the 9th of June by a majority of about two to one. On this issue the ministry determined to dissolve; and Mr. Disraeli asserted that the result of the elections would be to add greatly to the strength of the government.

The issue was, however, very different from that which he anticipated, and different also from that which his opponents expected. The counties declared themselves largely in favour of the government: the boroughs were more decidedly liberal. Altogether, the working liberal majority was about 100, and the ministers, on learning this, took the rather unusual course of resigning at once. Mr. Gladstone then became premier before the meeting of the new parliament.

The Abyssinian expedition was wonderfully successful. The failure of an attack on the British troops by the Abyssinians on Good Friday led king Theodore to send a message to sir R. Napier, saying that if he would withdraw his troops he would restore the captives. Sir R. Napier refused unless the king also surrendered himself. Nevertheless Theodore sent in the captives on that and the following day, but he would do no more. On Easter Monday, Magdala was stormed, and Theodore was found dead. It was supposed that he had killed himself, when he found that escape was hopeless. The British army was at once withdrawn; and sir R. Napier returned to England, to be rewarded with a peerage as lord Napier of Magdala.

The Jamaica prosecution so far failed that Mr. Eyre was not put upon his trial; but it drew from the chief justice an exposition of the greatest value on the nature and supposed extent of martial law.

The elections of 1868 were virtually a declaration on the part of the English people that the question of the Irish church establishment must be dealt with at once. The policy of Mr. Gladstone thus became the one absorbing subject of the session, and the supporters of his government followed him with an enthusiastic acquiescence, which in no small degree detracted from the interest of the debates in the commons. The large majority which was proposed to adopt whatever measures might be proposed by the premier seemed simply to carry out a foregone conclusion, while the strenuous opposition offered to it in the house of lords was beaten down in the commons with a persistency which showed that the old independence of the upper house was rather a shadow than a reality.

On March 1, Mr. Gladstone laid before the commons the details of his measures. The Irish church was to be immediately disendowed; its disestablishment would be postponed till January 1, 1871. At that date the ecclesiastical courts would cease, and ecclesiastical laws would be binding only as voluntary engagements contracted by the members of the church. But although the peerage rights of the Irish bishops were to be taken away at once, vested interests generally would be carefully respected. Incumbents, so long as they continued to discharge their duties, would continue to receive their income, or, at their own request, they might have this income commuted to a life annuity. But justice required that the measure meted out to the Irish church should be extended to other religious societies in Ireland; and by the same principle the grant to Maynooth, and the *Regium Donum* enjoyed by Presbyterian ministers, would be valued at 14 years' purchase of the capital amount annually voted for these two purposes. The financial result would be that, after the satisfaction of all claims of the clergy, there would remain a surplus of seven or eight millions, the income arising from which Mr. Gladstone proposed to bestow as annual payments (in relief of "unavoidable calamities and suffering" not provided for by the poor law) to lunatic and idiot asylums, to training schools for the deaf, dumb, and blind, to reformatories, and county infirmaries, and for the training of nurses.

To this decisive and final measure the opposition of conservative statesmen was overruled at almost every point. That of sir Roundell Palmer was remarkable as coming from an earnest follower of Mr. Gladstone, who, by refusing his sanction to this proposal, had for the time sacrificed, probably, his seat on the woolsack. His main plea was that the bill was founded on the false assumption that the property of the church was national property of which the state might dispose;

and this plea was effectually met by the rejoinder that the house of commons was not a tribunal for interpreting the law, but an assembly for making it. The second reading of the bill was carried by a majority of 118.

Meanwhile, discussions in the house of lords showed the extreme repugnance which some of its members felt for the measure. It was declared on the one side to be inconsistent with the sovereign's coronation oath, while on the other it was maintained that this oath is imposed on the sovereign in his executive, and not in his legislative, capacity,—in other words, that the form of the oath has followed legislation, and not legislation the form of oath. In the house of commons, after the Easter recess, a majority of 126 decided on going into committee; and in spite of protests and denunciations, a majority of 114 carried the third reading. The house of lords decided by a majority of 33 that the bill should be read a second time; but in committee a number of amendments were carried, which so largely altered the character of the measure as to excite the indignation of the supporters of the government in the house of commons. Some of these amendments affirmed that the existing Irish bishops should retain their peerage rights; others dealt with the incomes and annuities of the clergy, with the redemption of the tithe-rent charge, and with the appropriation of the surplus, which was to be reserved for future distribution according to the judgment of parliament. This last amendment involved, in fact, a radical change in the character of the bill, which in this form was sent down from the lords, who had accepted it by a majority of 7, under protest from 44 temporal and 2 spiritual peers. Angry debates in the lower house at the turn thus given to the matter were accompanied by comments equally severe out of doors, and the possible consequences of a dead-lock between the two houses were warmly discussed. As before, large majorities rejected the lords' amendments relating to the disposal of the surplus, and reserving the question for future settlement; and if a few minor points were conceded, the breach between the two houses seemed to be ominously wide, when lord Cairns proposed in the upper house a compromise as the result of a conference held with lord Granville. This compromise was in substance accepted by the house, and Mr. Gladstone brought the controversy to an end, by proposing that the commons should adopt the lords' amendments as now returned without exception and without reservation. The concessions thus made excited some dissatisfaction among the more vehement members of both parties; by the rest the measure was welcomed with hopes of its beneficial influence on Ireland, which for the present at least, were to be very imperfectly realised.

The cost of the Abyssinian expedition in the preceding year had exceeded the sum estimated for it by nearly five millions; and the task of providing the difference might well seem a heavy burden for the new chancellor of the exchequer (Mr Lowe), who had to face it at a time when the revenue was slightly declining. There were, further, some duties in force which in their working were purely mischievous, and the remission of these would increase the deficit. Having by these statements prepared the house for the imposition of new taxes, Mr. Lowe brought before them a more agreeable picture. The money needed must be got; but it could be furnished in great part by a reform in the collection of the revenue, and in part also by inforcing the payment of certain taxes at the beginning of the year, so as to bring them within the current financial year, instead of leaving them for the returns of the following year, according to the existing system of payment. The ingenuity and soundness of Mr. Lowe's plan made so favourable an impression, that the budget was accepted by the house substantially as he proposed it. Another large sum was this year paid for the purchase of the undertakings of the various telegraph companies. The scheme had been resolved upon in 1868; it only remained now to lay down the purchase-money, which, after an abatement of £1,320,930, amounted to £5,715,047.

Among the measures passed during this session, Mr. Forster's bill for the regulation of endowed schools throughout the country was both useful and necessary. The net income of the 3000 schools dealt with by the bill was not less than £340,000; and this large revenue was to a great extent wasted. The remedy proposed was the establishment of competitive examinations for entrance into these schools, while the fixing of the age at which the boys should leave would prevent the rich from turning this reform to their own advantage.

The year was not to close without further troubles in Ireland. If any had supposed that the disestablishment of the Irish church would bring about at once a better state of things, they were soon disappointed. Early in the year the government, having allowed the Habeas Corpus suspension act to expire, sought still further to conciliate the Irish people by ordering the release of some Fenian convicts then under sentence. No sooner were they released than they began to use the most violent language against the government, while a loud demand was made for the immediate release of all the other Fenian convicts. The demand was refused; in fact, without infatuation, it could not have been complied with, but the refusal was used as a reason for using seditious, if not treasonable, language; and the mayor of Cork was pre-eminent in his eulogies of the noble Irishman who had

done his best to murder the duke of Edinburgh in Australia. The report of this speech, delivered at a banquet in honour of some of the liberated Fenians, caused so much indignation in England, that the house of commons resolved, in the lack of other means for dealing with him speedily, to pass a bill degrading him from his office. Happily, the mayor, by offering to resign, made it unnecessary to enact this unusual and repulsive penal measure. Nor was the prospect in the west for the present much more encouraging. Between the people of England and that of the United States there was clearly a friendly and even cordial feeling; but for the time this was put out of sight by noisy orators, and the rejection, by congress, of Mr. Reverdy Johnson's treaty respecting the Alabama claims seemed to threaten angry controversy. Little, however, was said this year on the subject in England, as diplomatic negotiations were still going on in reference to it between the governments of the two countries.

1870. The following year opened with the prospect of continued peace, and for some months the political atmosphere was so quiet as to give some colour to the thought that the age of great wars was passing, or had passed, away. Yet this was to be the year in which the mighty struggle between France and Germany was to hurl the French emperor from his throne, and see the German armies pressing steadily westwards to the siege of Paris. These great events, during the latter portion of the year, absorbed the attention of this country almost as much as that of the nations which were concerned in the strife; and our troubles in Ireland were dwarfed by the vast proportions of the contest which was being fought out on the fields of France.

In this country, the people had shown its determination to act towards Ireland on the principles of recent legislation. Regardless of the objection that they might be giving a premium to sedition, parliament enacted the Irish land bill, which legalised the Ulster custom of compensation to tenants, and conferred on tenants new rights to compensation for disturbance by the act of the landlord, as well as for improvements made during the tenancy. Nor was the purpose of the government shaken when it became known that some men were visiting farmers in the county Mayo, for the purpose of compelling them to pledge themselves to break up their pasture lands. The evil was met, not by withdrawing the land from pasture, but by the immediate passing of an act for the repression of agrarian crime.

At home the most important question was that of popular education. It was well known that in many school-districts the apparatus for education was lamentably inadequate, that in London and in other large towns armies of children were growing up in utter ignorance within the area of one or two square miles; in one case, at least, to the number of nearly 30,000 on one square mile. The want of a better system was widely and deeply felt; but there could be no doubt that the system of what is called purely secular education was not desired by the country. Accordingly, in the bill which this year became law, Mr. Forster sought to supply the want partly through voluntary schools already existing or to be thereafter established, and in part by establishing rate-supported schools under public school boards. The great objects of this measure were to secure the least possible expenditure of public money, and to avoid injuring existing and efficient schools, or encouraging parents to neglect their children. In the matter of religious instruction the suggestion of Mr. Cowper Temple was adopted, which excluded from all rate-built schools every catechism and formulary distinctive of denominational creeds, and severed altogether the relation between the local school boards and the denominational schools, leaving the latter to be aided solely by the central grants. In the same spirit an order in council, dated June 4, directed that all entrance appointments to situations in all civil departments of the state, except the foreign office and posts requiring professional knowledge, should be thrown open to public competition.

For the terrible war which was now ravaging France, it is enough to say that public opinion was at first strongly in favour of Germany, but that the strict neutrality of England soon offended the Germans, whose violent language rapidly modified the popular feeling. The irritation on either side went no further than words. The German chancellor Bismarck probably felt that he had enough on his hands already; and when Russia announced suddenly that she would no longer be bound by the obligations to which she had pledged herself after the Crimean war, count Bismarck declared that he had nothing to do with a step which was a breach of the law of nations. The Russian declaration was rejected in this country: but a proposal was accepted, both by Russia and England, that a conference of the powers should be held in London for the settlement of the question, on the one condition that it should assemble without foregone conclusions.

1871. The result of this conference, held in the following year, was that the neutralisation of the Black Sea was abandoned, and the sultan was allowed to open the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus to the fleets of friendly and allied powers, if he should feel such a measure necessary for the maintenance of the treaty of 1856. The English government had insisted that Russia had no power to withdraw from her engagement on her own sole fiat; the representative of Russia had maintained not less stoutly that circumstances ren

dered the immediate taking of this step imperatively necessary; but the threatening difficulty had been overcome by the admission that Russia had no desire to uphold a foregone conclusion, and that the conference was at liberty to record any opinion on the question of principle as applied to the interpretation of treaties.

In this country the progress of the Franco German war had tended greatly to excite a general feeling that the condition of the British army needed reform, and that this reform should include the abolition of purchase. A bill, introduced for this purpose, laid down the details of the mode in which officers should be compensated for purchases already made. The sum to be so spent was to be not less than seven or eight millions; but this vast price the nation seemed ready cheerfully to pay. While all injustice to existing interests would be avoided by paying not merely the regulation but even the over-regulation prices, the admissions into the army would, for the future, be determined by the result of competitive examinations. The measure, having passed the commons, met with a resistance so strenuous in the house of lords, that the secretary of war felt himself called upon to hint, that instead of paying the over-regulation prices parliament might go a shorter way to work by proceeding against them as illegal. The decision gave a majority of 25 against the government; and it might fairly have been supposed that this circumstance would have had the effect of postponing the bill to another session. But, in fact, this was not necessary. Purchase in the army had had its origin under the misgovernment of the Stuarts; and, although the payment of certain definite prices for commissions had been recognised by the law-courts as legal, still the practice rested not on an act of parliament, but on a royal warrant which the sovereign was at liberty to withdraw. The queen was advised to do so in the present instance, and when the commons met, under the impression that nothing could be done in the current session, Mr. Gladstone informed them that the system of purchase had already been abolished, and would in a few months come to an end. But the lords, it was said, had not refused to pass the second reading of the bill. They had asked only for further information; and the more moderate among them strongly urged the carrying of the measure as a guarantee that officers who had paid for their commissions should not be deprived of adequate and even generous compensation. With a violent vote of censure on the part of the upper house the bill became law. The phrase *coup d'etat*, of which, happily, no English equivalent is in use, was applied by some to the premier; but the history of purchase showed the thorough injustice of the imputation.

The attempt to carry the ballot bill was less successful, in spite of the conversion of Mr. Gladstone, who, having for five and thirty years denounced the principle of secret voting, now declared that the bill must be carried during the present session. The bill was thrown out in the lords. A proposal, made by Mr. Miall for the disestablishment of the English church, was rejected more summarily, before it could be carried to the upper house. O' Ireland it is enough to say that in the disaffected portions disaffection seemed to run higher than ever, and that the menacing demands for home rule, accompanied by crimes of atrocious violence, for which it would seem that juries could scarcely be brought to convict, constrained Mr Gladstone to speak out with a decisiveness by no means agreeable to Fenian agitators. These had probably supposed that for the premier reconciliation was a policy to be pursued at all hazards and at every sacrifice,—in other words, that they had only to make noise enough to get all that they wanted. They now found themselves mistaken. Speaking at Aberdeen, Mr. Gladstone maintained that the Irish plea for home rule might be urged with equal force by Scotchmen and Welshmen, and he asked whether any rational man could suppose that, at this time of day, we were going to disintegrate the capital institutions of this country, for the purpose of making ourselves ridiculous in the sight of all mankind, and of crippling any power which we may possess for bestowing benefits through legislation on the country to which we belong.

In the preceding year, Mr Lowe's budget had been more than moderately successful. In this year his proposal to raise about the fourth part of a deficiency of two millions by a duty on matches created so much dissatisfaction in the house, and so much angry feeling outside, that the government at once withdrew the obnoxious tax. To make up the necessary amount of revenue, an addition of 2d. in the pound was made to the income-tax.

Among the other events of the year was the passing of the University Tests bill, which admitted all lay students, of whatever religious creed, on equal terms. The Alabama controversy was referred by the British government to arbitration, the treaty for this purpose being signed on the 8th of May. The education act of the previous year had now led to the establishment of nearly 300 school boards, and the means of education were being extended by a reform of the grammar schools. The angry discussions on the contagious diseases act drew out nothing for the present beyond the fact, that while the nation was far from wishing to encourage vice, it was anxious to save innocent persons from the evil effects of those vices. The census for the year showed an increase in the whole population of 2,637,884; but of this increase nearly one-half was within the boundaries of parliamentary boroughs, and while in 83

of the 95 counties there had been an increase, the population in the remaining 12 had gone down by 25,071. Lastly, on the retirement of Mr. Denison, Mr. Brand was elected speaker of the house of commons.

In the following year (1872), an education bill for Scotland, passed with little discussion, established a school board in every parish and every borough, to be elected by all ratepayers. Under these boards the existing schools were placed at once, while the country was left to settle the religious difficulty for itself. In England the attempt to censure the government for the alleged failure of their English scheme was defeated by the mere statement of facts, which pointed already to substantial improvements, and gave promise of still better things for the future.

With as little discussion the house of commons accepted the budget which, on the strength of an unexpected surplus of more than two millions, remitted the extra 2d. on the pound which had been imposed in the preceding year, and extended to yearly incomes of £300 the abatement of tax hitherto granted on £60 of that sum, which was now to be raised to £80. Far more warmly and eagerly debated was the bill which this year substituted secret for open voting at elections for members of parliament. In this case liberals were found to be opposed to their own party, and more opposed to the secret vote than some amongst the ranks of the conservatives. The ballot bill proposed to punish as a serious crime the exposure of a ballot-paper by the voter; and by some this compulsion to vote secretly, when a man wished to give an open vote, was regarded as an unbearable novelty and tyranny, while on the other side it was argued that the ballot, being employed for the repression of intimidation and bribery, would be perfectly useless if the voter should show how he had voted. It sought to meet yet another evil by abolishing the nomination-day. In the lords an amendment was carried, making the use of the ballot optional; in the commons Mr. Disraeli urged that, like the riot act for rioting, it should be adopted only as a degrading punishment for the excesses of electoral society, and naturally drew from Mr. Gladstone the retort that in this case he must regard the ballot as an efficient remedy against bribery and corruption. Thus was effected by a decisive majority a grave change in the political action of the country, in favour of which George Grote had fought for years almost single-handed.

The evils with which the ballot bill was designed to grapple were encountered in some degree by the licensing bill, which not merely regulated the mode in which licences should be obtained, but placed further limitations on the hours during which beer-houses might be kept open.

Whatever doubt there might be as to England, there could be none as to the need of some remedy for intimidation in Ireland, if in his celebrated Galway judgment, which unseated captain Nolan and gave his seat to captain Trench, judge Keogh was right in saying that in Galway an organised system of terror pervaded every quarter, barony, town, and place. We may question the taste which led him to speak of the vile tongues of audacious and mendacious priests, or "of the followers of that obscene monster, Pat Barrett;" but the substance of his judgment was fully justified by the invectives of those whom it touched, and by the strong addresses which all the grand juries presented in its favour when next he went on circuit. The judge himself, speaking in the court of common pleas, declared that he had delivered judgment under very terrible denunciations, public and private; and even those who elsewhere most vehemently condemned it were obliged to admit that captain Nolan had been justly unseated.

This year saw the end of the dispute known as the Alabama controversy. Provided that the indirect claims (which would make Great Britain responsible for half the cost of the great civil war of the United States) were abandoned, the government of this country expressed its readiness to submit the matter to arbitration. After much correspondence and long disputing this point was carried, and the court which was to decide the question met at Geneva. On the side of Great Britain was sir A. Cockburn, the lord chief justice of England. The United States sent Mr. Adams; the other arbitrators being the Italian count Sclopis, the Brazilian viscount of Itajuba, and the president of the Swiss confederation, Staempfli. The result was that Great Britain was amerced in a sum of fifteen millions and a half of dollars, for culpable neglect in the escape of the "Alabama" and "Florida" from English ports, but was acquitted in respect of the other vessels, for whose operations the United States government sought to make her responsible.

A serious retrogression in the commercial world seemed to be threatened by the notice from the French government for winding up the treaty of 1860. The notice was made to rest wholly on the fact that all possible resources would be needed to enable the French to meet the extraordinary burdens which their last war had imposed upon them. It soon became clear that their scheme was one for conciliating the farmers by placing duties on raw materials, and the merchants and shippers by duties on foreign shipping. The result would, of course, be a serious rise of prices, which would fall on the consumer, and which was to be sedulously laid to the charge of the Prussians. But the plan was found to be even at the outset impracticable. The manufacturers insisted that duties on raw materials (as cotton, silks, wool, &c.) would ruin their export trade, and even the ports which were to be benefited by the imposts on foreign ship-

ping were vehement in their protests against them. The assembly accordingly proposed a more moderate plan, with lighter duties; and negotiations were opened for a new treaty, the provisions of which, as regards import duties, were to remain in force till January 1, 1877, and those relating to navigation till July 15, 1879. Against this treaty the Manchester chamber of commerce argued that no temporary advantage can justify a departure from well-ascertained principles, and that the true commercial progress of nations can be based only on the pure and unmodified doctrines of free trade. But in spite of this opposition the treaty was received with general approval in this country.

A sign of great coming social changes was presented by the new sight of an agricultural strike in Warwickshire. The claim of the labourers to higher wages was scarcely disputed by the farmers; the case was altered when the labourers went on to claim a share in the property of the land which they tilled. In the great towns the controversy was taken up by the workmen in the building trades, and this was settled by an arrangement which would involve loss both to masters and men, while the former would indemnify themselves by charging higher prices to their customers, thus leaving the public to bear the expenses of the strike.

1873. The following year opened with portents of disaster which were happily falsified. The iron-workers of South Wales struck against a decrease in their wages, which the masters declared themselves ready to raise to their former amount with a possible addition, as soon as the state of trade should enable them to do so. The men, however, refused to be contented, except by an instant return to former prices, or by a reference to arbitration.

The session of parliament began with the introduction of a bill by Mr. Gladstone for the reformation of Trinity college, Dublin, which was to be separated from the Dublin university, and, indeed, to be affiliated or subordinated to it, together with the Queen's colleges at Belfast, Cork, and Galway; the revenues for the professorships in the university so formed being furnished in great part out of the revenues of Trinity college, which, even after this sacrifice, would remain probably the richest college in Christendom. But on the second reading the bill was thrown out by a majority of three; and Mr. Gladstone's ministry at once resigned. Mr. Disraeli was, however, not prepared to form a ministry at a time when a dissolution must be put off for some months; and after some days of suspense the members of the old government took their seats upon the treasury bench. Thenceforth the session ran on in a comparatively uneventful course, marked chiefly by the passing of Lord Selborne's Judicature bill, which brought law and equity into one single administration in the superior courts of the realm, which again were all to be united in one supreme court, with two permanent branches or divisions, the one, a high court of justice, the other, a court of appellate jurisdiction, to be called the court of appeal. It was not proposed that the bill should affect either Scotland or Ireland; but it was necessary that the house of lords should withdraw their real or fancied claims to an appellate power; and when the house of commons made Ireland and Scotland subject to the one supreme court of appeal, this real or supposed appellate jurisdiction was at once annulled, the English appeals having been already taken from them. This gave a technical offence to the lords, who were willing to resign what they would not allow to be touched by the act of others. The additional clause was, therefore, withdrawn, and the new court of appeal was left to exercise an exclusive jurisdiction in all English, Indian, and Colonial cases.

The budget of this year was to excite but little discussion. The financial returns were, indeed, singularly satisfactory. The expenditure of the last twelve months had fallen short of the grants by £1,167,000, while, during the same period, the actual revenue had exceeded the estimated revenue by £4,781,770, so that the surplus to be dealt with amounted to nearly six millions. Of this surplus a portion was devoted to reducing, by one-half, the existing duties on sugar; by taking a penny off the income-tax, and by paying one-half of the Alabama indemnity, the other half being raised on exchequer bills or bonds.

The thought of what had been done in Ireland led Mr. Miall to make another effort to bring about disestablishment in England. This effort was defeated by a majority (of 356 to 61), which probably accepted Mr. Gladstone's position that the cases of the two churches were wholly dissimilar, and that it would be scarcely prudent to start a voluntary community with ninety millions at its disposal. With regard to the recent act on national education, the speech of Mr. Bright at Birmingham seemed to point to a growing dissatisfaction with the 25th clause, which, as upholding the denominational system, brought the schools under the control of the church.

Out of England, there was little to call for notice, beyond the outbreak of a war with the savages of Ashantee, who resented their exclusion from the coast consequent on the cession of Elmina by the Dutch to the English. This inglorious but necessary war cost the lives of some brave officers and men; but a more destructive enemy threatened India in the form of a famine, while many professed to see further peril to our Indian empire in the proposed advance of the Russians to Khiva.

1874. Not many days of the following year had run out, when Mr. Gladstone unexpectedly announced the immediate dissolution of parliament. The defeat, which the ministry had experienced in their bill on Irish university education, had weakened their position; and, although they had consented to retain office, the subsequent history of the session had shown a lack of confidence which made an appeal to the nation necessary. Accordingly, he made this appeal, expressing at the same time his opinion that the income-tax might now be advantageously done away with, as an impost which should be retained only as long as its retention was indispensable. But the result of the elections, made by ballot, seemed to be in favour of the conservative rather than of the liberal party. Confronted by this fact, the ministry at once resigned, and Mr. Disraeli became premier, with lord Cairns as the lord chancellor, and sir Stafford Northcote as chancellor of the exchequer.

The first anxious subject which engaged the attention of the new parliament was the famine in India. This was dealt with in a way which reduced to the smallest dimensions what must otherwise have been an appalling calamity. February brought the more welcome news that the war in Ashantee was at an end. With some loss of brave English officers and men, the cruel savages who defiled their land with blood had been compelled to make their submission; and the officers and troops received the thanks of parliament on the same night on which the secretary of war addressed to the house the annual statement relating to the army. Its condition was satisfactory, he said, in every respect except that of desertions, the proportion of which to the numbers brought in by recruiting was nearly 33 per cent. of the whole. The lesson taught by this fact was obviously the need of making the soldier's calling more attractive by making it more lucrative and more permanent.

When the house first met, Mr. Gladstone had already said that the need of rest must interfere with his acting as the leader of the liberal party, to which, however, he should still gladly give such help as might be in his power. But if his party was thus nominally without a leader, the government showed itself to be really without a policy. Mr. Disraeli had recently accused the former ministry of "plundering and blundering;" but now, when a member blamed Mr. Gladstone for his precipitate dissolution, the premier came forward to say that the attack had been made without consultation. As Mr. Gladstone had calculated, the surplus for this year was found to be five millions and a half, or, including the interest on advances during the past year, fully six millions. Sir Stafford Northcote's budget, which was accepted substantially as he proposed it, devoted this interest, together with the advances repaid for terminable annuities, as a fund to be yearly used for the reduction of the national debt. The income-tax he reduced by a penny on the pound, while the sugar duties were abolished, together with the duties on horses.

The Scotch church patronage bill, introduced in this session, abolished the system of lay patronage in the established kirk, and made it over to the congregation. The measure experienced less opposition among the lords than among the commons. Mr. Baxter in the lower house had moved an amendment, declaring it inexpedient to legislate without further information, when Mr. Gladstone, appearing unexpectedly in the house, denounced the principle of the bill as an injustice towards the multitudes who had of late years left the establishment simply on account of the very grievance which this bill sought to remove. He wished to know what the general assembly had done towards reuniting to itself bodies which it had turned out because they held the views which formed the basis of this present measure; and insisted that if the bill failed to recognise for every practical purpose those who had been thus compelled to become dissenters, they would be deliberately provoking an agitation of the great question of disestablishment and disendowment generally. In spite of this protest the second reading was carried by a majority of 307 votes against 109.

A measure which excited a more prolonged and angry discussion in both houses was the public worship regulation bill, introduced in its first form by the two archbishops, with an intention, it was said, of operating not against any one party only, but against all who offended, whether by adding to church ceremonies, or by unduly neglecting the rubrics. The bill was opposed at the outset, as giving far too much arbitrary power to the bishops. It was urged by some that penal enactments were of little use so long as the law to be inforced was vague or obscure, while lord Shaftesbury declared that if he could be sure even of having only low church bishops for half a century to come, he would not confer on them the discretion granted to them by this bill. Lord Salisbury, in his turn, warned the house against any legislation tending to bring about secessions which could not fail to injure, if not to ruin, the establishment. In the lower house, the second reading of the bill was proposed by Mr. Russell Gurney, while Mr. Gladstone spoke against it as an unnecessary and imprudent attempt to substitute uniformity for unity. The bill might glorify discipline, but it would do so at the expense of what is better than discipline, namely, freedom. His convictions were expressed in six resolutions:

the first of which took note of the variations of practice which had existed for many generations; the second deprecated the placing in the hands of the bishops an arbitrary power for the purpose of bringing about a rigid uniformity; the third acknowledged the indebtedness of the house to the clergy for their devotion and self-sacrifice; the fourth sought to provide securities against any neglect of, or departure from, law, which might betray a design of altering the spirit or substance of the established religion; the sixth desired the concurrence of the ecclesiastical authorities in the introduction of any laws affecting the church of England.

This appeal for freedom without anarchy was met by sir W. V. Harcourt with the retort that that church was based on a series of acts of uniformity; that Cranmer, "the great author of the reformation," had, in the preface to the Book of Common Prayer, insisted that there should be only one use throughout the whole kingdom in place of the many which had thus far prevailed; and that Mr. Gladstone's liberty was only a specious name for licence. The example thus set was followed by Mr. Disraeli who, setting apart an early night for the discussion of the resolutions, maintained that the object of the bill was the "putting down of ritualism," and expressed a hope that by the assistance of the house it might become law. So strongly had the feeling of the house been aroused, that the second reading was carried without a division, and Mr. Gladstone, seeing that further contest would be useless, withdrew his resolutions. The bill, in fact, was like a ship sailing with a strong breeze in its favour; and it was but a slight hindrance, interposed to its course, when the lords refused to accept the amendment carried in the house of commons, which granted an appeal to the archbishop in cases in which the bishop might refuse to institute proceedings. So vehement was the feeling in favour of some action rather than none, that the amendment was withdrawn, and the measure became law. Lord Penzance was appointed to be the new ecclesiastical judge with a salary of £3000 a year.

Mr. Gladstone had raised his voice against the attempt to repress any one of the parties which had existed during the whole history of the reformed church. He now spoke out not less clearly on the subject of the decrees of the Vatican council, so far as they affected the civil relations of Roman Catholics in this empire. He felt bound, he said, to go into the matter, because his long-continued efforts to maintain and extend the civil rights of Roman Catholics had left something like a general impression that he was too ardent in the pursuit of that policy. Of all that he had done he regretted nothing, and he recanted nothing; but he insisted on the paramount need of receiving plain answers to the questions, whether the recent Vatican decrees made any claim on Roman Catholics which would impair the integrity of their civil allegiance, and whether, if such claims were made, they would be rejected by all members of the church of Rome, who were subjects of the British crown. To this challenge archbishop Manning replied by saying that the allegiance of Catholics was no more divided than that of any other Christians, and that as all these believed in God, they were aware that cases might arise in which they were to obey God rather than man. The answer of lord Acton was virtually an assertion that Catholics, unquestionably orthodox, might cast the Vatican decree of infallibility to the winds; and he was borne out in this assertion by lord Camoys, and Mr. Henry Petre. In short, Mr. Gladstone's letter brought to light a large amount of disunion in the Roman camp, and Roman Catholic lawyers were found to declare that the doctrine of the personal infallibility of the pope, having been only promulgated by the pope with the approbation of the council, and not, as it should have been, declared by the council under the sanction of its own anathema, was informal and had no binding force. The upshot was the issuing of a circular by archbishop Manning, who pronounced that Catholics who thought as lord Acton and lord Camoys thought had made shipwreck of the faith, and were self-excommunicated.

The spectacle of division thus furnished had its parallel in the divisions of the commercial world. The lessened demand for iron was followed by a decrease of wages for the iron-workers. The workmen of Aston Hall colliery had not only declined to admit any compromise, but had refused to resume work altogether, unless some non-union men, who had continued to work during the strike, were dismissed. Here Mr. Gladstone, appearing as arbitrator, expressed himself with an emphatic clearness which left no room for any misunderstanding. "If we have come," he said, "in this country to the day when the majority shall endeavour to put down the minority, and refuse freedom of opinion to those who are fewer in numbers, the country will in my opinion be one of which, I should say, the sooner we are out of it the better." The miners, impressed by his words, happily withdrew their resolution against the non-union men. A strike amongst the agricultural labourers in Lincolnshire and Suffolk involved a large amount of suffering; and after months of struggle, the discovery that their services were not indispensable to the farmers led the union at last to confess that their powers of resistance were exhausted, and that henceforth their aid must be confined to helping the labourers to emigrate, either to other parts of this country, or to Canada or the United States.

1875. The course of Mr Disraeli's ministry for the year 1875 was smoother than he had probably himself anticipated. The leadership of the opposition, declined by Mr Gladstone, had devolved on lord Hartington, under whose guidance the resistance of the liberal party to government measures was never factious. When the interests of the empire required the passing of the Irish Peace Preservation bill, lord Hartington was earnest in his support of the ministry; and with regard to the measures which he disapproved, he was ready with suggestions which demanded and received careful consideration. The incidents of the session may be briefly dismissed. The chief feature of the budget was a plan for reducing the national debt. Among other measures carried were acts relating to the dwellings of artizans, to adulterations, and to agricultural holdings. The withdrawal by the government of their Merchant Shipping bill stirred up the vehement indignation of Mr Plimsoll, and caused not a little excitement throughout the country. The result was the passing of a temporary measure enforcing almost all the provisions for which Mr Plimsoll had been contending. In the House of Lords the chancellor abandoned the appellate portions of the Judicature bill; the rest of it was passed, and has achieved already a marked success in quickening the dispatch of justice. Mr Cross's bill for settling the relations of the employers and the employed has not as yet brought about any great abatement of the tyranny of trade unions.

In the course of the session the House and the country were startled by the tidings that Mr Mitchell had been returned to Parliament as member for Tipperary: but the judgment of a legal court and the sentence of the House of Commons decided that a convict who has made his escape from his place of punishment cannot fill a seat in the English parliament. For the country generally the year was one of average prosperity. In England, as in France, floods caused by excessive rains inflicted great damage and caused much misery; but the harvest was on the whole better than under these circumstances it was expected to be. Off the Irish coast a collision in time of fog between the "Duke of Wellington" and the "Vanguard" resulted in the sinking of the latter vessel, happily without loss of life. The repudiation of national obligations by the Turkish government can scarcely be classed among the misfortunes of the year. The sublime Porte announced that for five years they would pay only half the interest on their loans; and the tidings carried dismay into the camp of Turkish bondholders. But the incident served to open the eyes of Englishmen to the real condition of things in Turkey, and to dispel finally the illusions which had helped to bring about the Crimean war. It was indeed impossible to say, at the time, what might be the ultimate consequences of this act, for its immediate cause was an insurrection of the Christian population of Bosnia and Herzegovina against the intolerable robberies and brigandage of their Turkish oppressors. The revelation of the true nature of that which the Turks are pleased to call their rule has assuredly deprived them of all hope of English aid in their time of trouble.

Lastly, the year was marked by the dispatch, after a long interval of inaction, of another Arctic expedition, with the hearty sympathy of the nation, which refused to regard such undertakings as either a waste of time and money, or as a needless and wanton risking of life.

THE HISTORY OF IRELAND.

CHAPTER I.

THERE is no other country in the world the history of which has been written and commented upon in so unwise and unjust, not to say unchristian, a temper and tone, as that of Ireland. And, strange to say, the persons who had been the most frequently and the most violently wrong in their statements of the evils of Ireland, and on their proposals for remedying them, have been precisely those persons who have made the loudest professions of desiring to serve her. It is not worth while to say how much of this mis-statement has arisen from their want of correct information, and how much from a deliberately bad spirit; certain it is, however, that Ireland has few worse enemies than those who in ignorance or in evil-temper attribute motives and feelings to England and English statesmen of which they are quite innocent, and who assign for Irish poverty and Irish suffering causes which have really had no part in producing them, and thus assist in maintaining a most fatal ignorance of the real causes not only in the minds of the sufferers themselves, but even in those of too many public writers and legislators upon whom so much of the nation's weal or woe depends.

Unwise laws and harsh rule of centuries long passed are quite coolly cited as proof of a partial tyranny of Ireland by England; yet a single glance at our statutes, a single reflection upon the punishments which to a very recent date were still allowed to disgust the wise, thrill the merciful, and brutalise the bad, would show that Ireland was not a jot less mercifully governed than Kent or Yorkshire, and that the cruelties of English law, whether administered in London or in Dublin, at Bristol or Cape Clear, were no proofs of English dislike of Ireland; but the inevitable result of the ignorance of which the laws of every nation have required long centuries of the patient toil of the good and the wise to rid them.

Into an examination of the early history of Ireland we hold it unnecessary to enter. Sir Cornewall Lewis has completely disproved the fact of Phœnician colonies in any part of Great Britain; and the tales of Milesius are less historical than those of the earlier Roman kings. We need only remark now that the early history of Ireland is as fabulous in all that relates to glory, learning, wealth, and heroes, as any other early history whatever; that, in the case of Ireland this fabulous turn of early writers has been made the foundation of great injustice committed by later writers, and by orators and statesmen, too, as to England; that though, no doubt, English kings and their advisers in past days may have unwisely decreed or unjustly acted in Ireland, as in any other country, yet Ireland never began to be civilised, populous, learned, wealthy, or important, until connected with England; that English connection has done much, and is still doing much, to make Ireland both prosperous and happy, and would do far more but for the fierce party spirit of some, and the equally fierce but still more disgraceful personal selfishness and ambition of others, which are constantly at work to perpetuate the grossest prejudices and the basest feelings. This, indeed, will incidentally become so evident in the course of the history of Ireland, that we only make this emphatic general statement, because we deem it an act of real and important justice to both England and Ireland, and, substantially, even a more important justice to the poor of the latter country than to the wealthy and powerful of the former, thus to draw the special attention of all readers of history, and especially of all young readers, to the utter incorrectness of the ill-natured declamations which charge England with an injustice never committed, by way of supporting the character of Ireland for an ancient prosperity which she never possessed.

CHAPTER II.

THE *very* early power, wealth, and learning of Ireland seem to be negatived in a variety of ways; the nature of the government of the country might alone, we think, have sufficed, in addition to the worst species of heathenism, to render its achievement of prosperity at home or its influence abroad a thing quite impossible.

When the ancient kings of Ireland and the ancient glories of Ireland are spoken of, inexperienced readers of history are very apt to picture one king of Ireland swaying the whole Irish territory from the Giant's Causeway to Cape Clear, and from Galway-bay to the Hill of Howth. This, however, was so far from being the case, that within that island there were five separate kingdoms, always jealous of each other, and frequently at open war, either against each other or against one or more of the turbulent chieftains, whose power, recklessness, and utter detestation of peace and quietness, subdivided each of these five kingdoms into several more, with rulers who were more likely to quarrel frequently, and to sanguinary result, than the kings themselves, from the very proximity and comparative pettiness of each chieftain's possession, and the increased bitterness and personal sense of injury which entered into every dispute whether personal or territorial.

The five provinces or kingdoms of Ireland were Meath, Leinster, Munster, Con

raught, and Ulster. The first named was considered the chief sovereignty; at the hill of Tara, famed alike in true history and bard's romance, which was situated in that kingdom, was the great place of assemblage for princes and chiefs; and the other four kings were nominally tributary to the king of Meath, just as the *tanists*, or chiefs of septs, in their respective kingdoms were to them. But in all these cases alike the subjection of the inferiors was merely nominal, and was thrown off or acknowledged just as the caprice, convenience, or interests of the inferior dictated. With a very small island thus divided among very many fierce, proud, jealous, and scarcely half-civilised rulers, it would be strange indeed if the history of Ireland, while such a state of things existed, could afford matter of sufficient interest to occupy the reader's attention.

Kingdom against kingdom, sept against sept, neighbour against neighbour, and often brother against brother, and son against father: such was the state of society which, however lamentable, was quite inevitable and natural under such a system. To refuse to pay a tribute was to declare war against a superior; to insist upon the payment of a tribute was, generally speaking, to call the inferior to arms, aided by all the power, or, as they called it, all the 'back' they could command.

Sometimes, indeed, a superior who could not procure payment of so many head of sheep or horned cattle, alive and in good order, would invite himself and his 'back' or 'following' to board and lodging with the defaulter for a period proportioned to the tribute, rent, or other debt in default; and when the self-invited guest chanced to be a great *tanist* or other personage with a numerous following, the unwilling tenant, as in the case of many recorded 'royal progresses' in England, felt the effects of entertaining his superior for many a long year afterwards in barn and byre, in field and house. So ruinous, indeed, were these self-invitations, these *cosherings*, in which we may easily believe that a powerful creditor would sometimes eat more beef and mutton than could ever have been covered by the skins of as many oxen and sheep as were due to him, that it was no uncommon thing for the visited debtor, in sheer desperation, to call together his 'back,' and very fairly refuse to allow a morsel of his food, or a drop of his drink, to pass the lips of his creditor. In this case a sanguinary fight, leading probably to a dozen or more in explanation or support, in reprobation or in vindication of the conduct of one or other of the parties, was usually the result. How could a people thus situated, a people too, high of heart and hot of head, and ready of hand, beyond almost any other people on the face of the earth, be otherwise than a turbulent, a divided, an always uninfluential and a frequently diseased and starving people? Barter and tribute in kind among people who carry arms and are prone to bloodshed, is only another name for perpetual war, arising out of the desire of the weak to cheat, and of the strong to extort.

In a land in which bloodshed and disturbance were not the occasional and rare exception, but the frequent, almost the constant rule, cousins and more remote relations, nay even brothers themselves, were but too apt to live upon terms which were little likely to make them desirous to benefit each other; but the law said that a man dying possessed of landed property should not bestow it solely upon his children—to whom he would naturally be more attached than to anyone else, but that *all male relations even to the most distant*, and without the slightest reference to friendliness or feud, however deadly or long-standing, should equally share with the eldest or best-beloved child. It thus often chanced that the eldest son, or only son, of a deceased tanist or chieftain called his friends and sept around him and pursued his cousins or male relatives to the actual death, as the only means of keeping his position in society by keeping his property intact and unbroken. Nor did even the chieftainship itself of necessity descend to the eldest, or any, son of a deceased tanist; he whom the family and the sept of the deceased chief elected as worthiest was to succeed; and it is unnecessary to say that rivalry and partisanship not unfrequently proceeded to the full length of bloodshed and even of murder.

The bards, an idle, imaginative, and not remarkably moral set of men, were not merely the attendants upon and diverters of the chieftain's hours of recreation and wassail; the chieftain's bard was also his recorder; and we may cease to wonder at the exaggerations that have come traditionally down to us when we consider that, besides gaining at every generation, these marvels were originally said, sung, and written—if written at all—by men whose comfort depended upon the complacent feelings of him whose deeds and possessions they sang, and who, therefore, were certainly under no very great temptation to observe a too rigid adherence to paltry realities. Every chieftain had his bard, and the chronicles thus composed of the affairs of all the chief families in the kingdom are said to have been committed to the care of keepers in the royal castle of Tara, but to have been burned about the middle of the fifth century after Christ, in common with all the magian or druidical writings, by order of St. Patrick; by no means the least service that that excellent first bishop of Armagh—so excellent a bishop that even the stupid exaggerations attached to him as a saint cannot lower him in the eyes of those who admire usefulness and piety—rendered to the benighted land in which he and his handful of coadjutors from Rome were the first to preach the Gospel.

CHAPTER III.

WE have spoken of St. Patrick as a benefactor to Ireland; even the falsehoods of sedentary monks and of wandering and immoral bards and story-tellers cannot throw an air of ridicule over his truly

Christian and venerable character; and higher praise, seeing their power of making truth doubtful and grave things ludicrous, it would not be easy to bestow.

The horrible superstitions which the priests propagated and supported by stern and unsparing cruelty remained in full force for above four centuries and a quarter after the light of the Gospel had shed its rays of divine and glorious brightness upon nearly all the rest of Europe. Elsewhere the Gospel no sooner was preached than it had its converts, convinced beyond the power of human sophistry, and faithful even unto martyrdom; but Ireland remained the prey of the bigot heathen, the abode of the heathen who was deluded, or the heathen who was coerced.

In one of the frequent piratical excursions that were made by the Irish, Mac Nial, a petty king, landed on the coast of Brittany, slew, burned, and spoiled; and brought spoil living as well as dead, human as well as brute. Among the captives was a youth of some fifteen or sixteen years of age, who, on arriving in Ireland, was sold as a slave and employed in herding sheep. This youth was the afterwards so celebrated St. Patrick. Naturally of a thoughtful turn, the mountain track and the forest glade in which his vocation caused him to spend much of his time, deepened all his meditative habits, and gave zeal and fervour to his native religious impressions. 'He looked upon the land and saw that it was very good;' but he saw that it was peopled by idolators and polluted by idolatrous cruelties. Even amid the bitterness of the reflections caused by his own situation, a slave and a captive in a foreign land, he felt that it would be a great and a truly Christian deed to open the eyes of the blinded heathen among whom his lot was so unhappily cast, and save their minds from the bondage of a false faith, and the lives of their firstborn from being sacrificed in torture at the flaming altars of senseless and graven idols. Fortunately, Patrick had scarcely attained the age of manhood ere he escaped from his slavery and got safely back to France, and for upwards of twenty years applied himself with constancy and diligence to learning, such as was then attainable. But neither the long lapse of years nor the pride of cultivated and matured intellect, could banish from his mind the recollection of the unhappy state of the Irish, or his early determination to make the attempt, at least, to enlighten their minds, and to raise their social condition.

A.D. 432.—Accordingly in the year 432, and when he was himself about forty-five years of age, he applied to the pope for permission to preach the Gospel in Ireland. Such a permission was willingly granted by the pope, and Patrick, accompanied by a few French monks whom he had interested by his descriptions of the character and condition of the Irish, landed in Ulster, after an absence of nearly or quite a quarter of a century.

The foreign garb and striking appearance of Patrick and his companions filled the peasantry whom they first encountered with the notion that they were pirates, and preparations were made for driving them back to their vessels. But their quiet demeanour, the benevolence of their countenances, and the earnest and simple assurances given by Patrick, in the language of the peasants, that he and his companions had arrived on an errand of peace and good-will to all men, speedily converted fear and hostility into admiration and confidence. The hospitality of the principal people was cheerfully and heartily bestowed upon the disinterested strangers who had traversed land and sea in the hope of benefiting their rude but cordial entertainers; and Patrick and his companions presented themselves at Tara attended by a numerous and enthusiastic cortège. The mild and venerable aspect of the preachers gave full weight to the sublime and benevolent doctrines which they propounded King and people listened at first with interest, and then with full and deeply interested credence; and in an incredibly short time after their first landing, idols and idol worship became hateful to the people, the Christian doctrines were everywhere received, and churches and monasteries arose where the flames had but recently licked up the blood of the shrieking and expiring human victims of ferocious error or more hateful fraud.

The mission of St. Patrick, although it destroyed paganism in Ireland, not only produced none of that individual suffering which but too generally accompanies extensive changes, however good and desirable in themselves, but it immediately and to a vast extent improved the political and social state of the converted people. There was no massacre, no sweeping and sanguinary persecution of the priests or people of the old faith; but both seem quietly and imperceptibly to have adhered to Christianity. Episcopal sees were established throughout the country, and Armagh was made the metropolitan see, of which the Irish apostle was himself the first prelate. Learned, active, and pious, St. Patrick's conduct so well warranted and seconded his precepts, that the preachers of the Irish churches and the monks of Ireland's numerous monasteries soon became famous throughout Europe for such branches of learning as were then attainable; Irish monks traversed foreign countries as secular and religious teachers, and the music of the Irish churches was performed in a style of such unusual excellence, that in the reign of Pepin teachers were sent for to Ireland at an expense of great magnitude, considering the general poverty of the time, to instruct the nuns of Nivelle, in France, in psalmody.

But, whether politically, morally, or religiously, the undue number of religious establishments and their inmates was an evil which could not but become more and more enormous with every succeeding generation. Though the Christianity of both the doctrine and practice of Ireland at this portion of her history was far beneath the genuine practical and apos

tolic Christianity, it is impossible not to perceive that St. Patrick,—pious, benevolent, and, considering the age in which he lived, learned,—laid a broad and a solid foundation for the improvement that island has made since its connection with England.

From the information which we derive from St. Patrick himself, we gather some curious particulars of the condition of the Irish people during his time. Thus we find that the numbers of colours to be used in dress were particularised for each rank; and we may, from the relative number of these allotted to the three principal ranks, form a shrewd judgement of the decree to which the magi, from whose ranks the bards, lawyers, and historians, as well as priests, were always taken, had usurped and used authority. To kings and queens seven colours were allowed, to tanists or nobles only five; but to bards six colours were allowed. Both policy and the etiquette which so largely influences even the rudest courts compelled the magi to allow an outward social superiority to their kings and queens, through whom they, in fact, governed; but however warlike or wealthy the noble, he was reminded even by his very dress that he was held inferior to the magi.

CHAPTER IV.

It was not to Ireland alone that St. Patrick did the inestimable service of substituting the mild truths of Christianity for the furious errors of paganism; indirectly indeed, but substantially, he was the Christian apostle also of Scotland, into which country Christianity was introduced in the sixth century by St. Colomb, an Irish monk of great zeal and learning, who founded the long famous monastery in the island of Iona.

For three centuries after the arrival of St. Patrick the influence of Christianity in humanising the people and elevating their condition was weakened, greatly weakened, at once by the plurality of kings and by the enormous number of the monastic establishments; and during those three centuries the wars of petty princes and of five kings retarded civilisation and produced a sickening and pitiable amount of human misery. The fiercer and prouder spirits among the chief families scourged the country as warriors; the quieter spirits scourged it scarcely less by their learned and pious seclusion; and while even England was sending her best sons to the monks of Ireland, that they might enjoy the very best attainable education, those monks studied and prayed and taught foreign youth in cloistered ease, and in selfish indifference to the world's sufferings and the world's crimes, without seeking to make their learning available to lessening the one, or their rank and influence useful in restraining the other. Though England at this time was divided into seven kingdoms, and though each of these, like each of the five Irish kingdoms, was again divided into petty but independent lordships; though, in fact, England fully shared with Ireland the evils of divided sovereignties where no natural division of territory exists, the Saxon population of England enjoyed a plentifulness of the most nourishing food, and a comfort both of habitation and apparel far superior to those of the Irish, with all the superiority allowed to the clerical and monastic population of Ireland as to learning. A clearer proof needs not be adduced of the mischief, serious, widely-spreading, and of the utmost practical importance, that was done by the preposterous extent to which monasteries were founded by mistaken piety and inhabited by indolent idleness. Corn and cattle of every description were abundantly produced; yet the great mass of the people were poorly fed, wretchedly lodged, and coarsely clad; for the simple reason that they were injured individually by their fierce petty princes when at war, and neglected by their priests and scholars at all times.

The confusion and petty warfare inevitable upon a plurality of sovereigns and princes, we have already referred to as an obvious cause of a low social condition. A no less inevitable evil attendant upon that plurality is, that it bares the bosom of the people who are unfortunate enough to be subjected to it, to the attacks of foreign foes. The imminent danger of the whole country from some vast invading force may for a time cause all the petty princes and their turbulent and almost independent inferior chieftains to unite; for a time each may learn to forget his envy, his hatred, the insult that has stung, or the injury that has robbed him, and in the mere instinct of self-preservation each may do good service towards the preservation of all. This, we say, may happen in the case of the whole of such a country being threatened by a terrible and numerous invader; but so it may happen, too, that hatred of the native and neighbouring enemy may not merely overpower that sentiment towards the foreign foemen, but may even convert it into a feeling of sympathy and a desire for his alliance or protection. But even where domestic differences do not, in the case of a great invasion, produce treason in some cases and ruin in the rest, the mere weakness which internal warfare ever produces must render the temporarily united foes comparatively inefficient just at the moment when they more than ever need strength, and more than ever desire to use that strength to good and wise purposes. If in actual warfare of king against king, chiefs against the king, or, the still more common case, of chief against chief, each of the five kingdoms of Ireland lost from the year 700 to the year 717 one hundred men per annum, here would be a vast army—for that time and country—of 8,500 men. We have reckoned the loss of the five Irish kingdoms in the seventeen years specified at a very low probable average; and we have only reckoned with reference to those actually slain in battle, or in the occasional sanguinary skirmishes; of those who subsequently perished by the famine caused by war, or of the pestilential dis-

cases invariably attendant upon famine, we take no account. No period could be better suited for the fair illustration of the evil to which we have adverted than seventeen years; for while that period would make the mere infant capable of bearing arms—particularly among a hardy, warlike, and half-barbarous people—it would still leave in soldierly vigour and activity the man of twenty-five, or even of thirty years of age, who escaped unwounded from battle on the very day of that infant's birth. Thus, in seventeen years of miserable squabbling we have an army of 8,500 men utterly destroyed; and at the end of that time we find that Ireland was insulted, invaded, and plundered for the first time by any considerable piratical force of Northmen, or Danes, as the piratical northmen and sea-kings were generally called. Here, then, we have evidence as irrefragable as evidence can be, that to the plurality of sovereignty in Ireland, and to the at once paltry and ferocious internal warfare to which that plurality gave rise, Ireland, when the fierce northmen sailed up her rivers, burned and sacked her monasteries, slew the monk in his cell, the peasant in the field, the penitent at the altar, and the nursling child at his mother's breast, owed the loss of an army thrice as numerous as would have sufficed to crush, ere he could have well landed, the slaying and spoiling foe who wrought so much havoc and so much woe.

The kingdom of Meath, being nearly in the central part of Ireland, was, though originally the smallest of the five chief kingdoms, the titular chief; and the successful attempts of the king of Meath to wrest territory from the other kings, and of the latter, individually, to obtain the envied titular royalty in chief, were a fruitful source, both of general national disturbance, and of partial and at the same time implacable feuds among the septs siding with the various kings.

For nearly forty years the northmen confined their attacks upon Ireland to mere predatory descents, in which they were usually, from the disunion we have described, successful in carrying off considerable spoil and numerous captives. But the very success of these descents, and the experience which the marauders acquired alike of the fertility of the soil, and of the disunion of the inhabitants, invited larger expeditions and more extended views of conquest. About the close of the eighth century they began to send as many as a hundred vessels laden with fierce warriors into the Boyne and Liffey. The monasteries, both as being the wealthiest places in the island, and as being the abode of the teachers of the faith of that hated Charlemagne, whose prowess and whose sternness had made his faith odious to the northern marauders, were the especial objects of their cupidity and vengeance. Built chiefly of wood, the monasteries when plundered were frequently committed to the flames; and crowds of terrified monks and nuns escaped from the swords of the enemy, only to perish of hunger, or the inclemency of the weather, amid the woods and mo[illegible].

From conducting larger and larger expeditions from the banks of the chief rivers, farther and farther into the bosom of the island, the northmen at length proceeded to attempt a permanent settlement. And here again the divisions among the Irish favoured the designs of their enemies; for it was no uncommon thing for the weaker or more bitter of two rival septs to join their force to that of the invaders, losing sight of their general interest, as Irishmen, in their desire for safety or revenge, as members of this or that sept or kingdom. When the beacon fire sent forth its lurid light from the summit of some coastward mountain, to announce the northmen's approach, it but too often happened that it was to many a signal to aid and not to repel them; and to positive treachery of this kind the northmen chiefly owed it, that early in the ninth century (A. D. 815), they succeeded in planting a strong colony in the fertile district of Armagh. Between this colony and the neighbouring Irish there were frequent and desperate struggles; but about thirty years after it was planted, Turgesius, a Norwegian of great fame and power among the northern pirates, brought a powerful fleet to its aid, carried death and dismay into all the accessible parts of the country, and assumed the title of king of Ireland (A.D. 846). Having erected strong forts on well-chosen parts of the coast, he wielded his usurped authority most sternly. The native-born kings were made to consider themselves as his mere tributary tanists; and upon each he levied a tribute, in the nature of a pole-tax upon their respective subjects, which tax, either from its very nature or from the punishment, as some writers think, of its non-payment being the amputation of the offender's nose, was called *nose-money*.

Turbulent even towards their own native titular chief kings of Meath, it might have been expected that the singularly haughty and fiery kings of Ireland would be stung to desperation by the sweeping and contemptuous as well as cruel tyranny of a foreign pirate chief. Many attempts at throwing off his oppressive and insulting yoke were unsuccessful; but at length the art and intrepidity of O'Malachlin, an Irish king, put an end to both the reign and the life of the usurper. As though the whole power and skill of the northmen had been supposed to centre in this one man, his death was the signal of a general rising of the Irish. The lukewarm grew zealous and the timid grew brave; everywhere the Irish heart beat and the Irish sword gleamed for Ireland alone; and the massacre of the northmen was so extensive, that the country might once more be said to be almost free from all enemies save the turbulent and divided among her own sons.

But this freedom from the insulting yoke of the foreigner was soon interrupted. In larger numbers than ever, and with vengeance now animating them as well as

cupidity, the pirate hordes of the north again poured in under three famous sea-kings, Sitric, Olaff, and Ivar. Waterford, Limerick, and Dublin were seized upon, as being convenient equally as strongholds from which to rule and oppress the natives, and as commercial cities. And, as is generally observable, the energy of unprincipled conquerors gave a commercial and trading consequence to those cities such as they had never before possessed, and most likely would never have derived from their original possessors. Merchants from various foreign countries repaired thither, with articles of both use and mere luxury; and an observable impulse was given to the civilisation and refinement of the country, through the medium of the very invaders to whom thousands of the inhabitants owed misery and death. In truth, the situation of the native Irish during this occupation by the Danes may, without exaggeration, be compared to that of the unhappy Britons, whose miseries under the early rule of the Saxons are so graphically and so thrillingly depicted by Bede.

But a warfare which kept alike the native and the invader in constant peril, could not fail to abate in virulence as years passed over. Intermarriage, and gradual communion for the purposes of trade, caused something like an armed incorporation of the two people. The natives were still governed respectively by their own kings; and the Danes, under their kings, in their fertile agricultural possessions and prosperous commercial towns, looked complacently down upon the frequent disputes and sanguinary engagements between the native provinces, precisely as Europeans looked forth from their factories upon those jealousies and combats of the Indian princes, which have given so much territory, wealth, and influence to a race who first went among them with the timidity of strangers and the cupidity of mere traders.

As we have already said, we believe that the accounts that have been given of the plentifulness of native Irish gold and silver have been most ridiculously exaggerated. It was to the commerce carried on and encouraged by Ireland's invaders, that wealth, whether of the precious metals or of foreign conveniences and luxury, was chiefly, if not entirely, owing. The Italian goldsmiths, so famous for the richness and cunning of their workmanship, undoubtedly supplied those ornaments and services of gold and silver plate which, towards the middle of the tenth century, abounded in the Irish monasteries and churches. We say that this is indubitable, because we have clear evidence of it in the will of Cormac, bishop of Cashel and king of Munster. In that will he bequeathed to various churches and monasteries not merely rich articles of gold and silver, but also rich garments of silk, which not even the wildest dreamers about the early native wealth and magnificence of Ireland will pretend to attribute to any other source than that commercial intercourse with foreigners which Ireland owed to her conquerors.

But neither the influence of the commercial spirit nor the foreign luxury introduced by the Danes, had the effect of subduing the Irish turbulence or weakening the Irish courage. Even when, laying aside for a brief time their petty quarrels for local supremacy, they turned their arms against the northmen, their endeavours were far more creditable than successful. But a king of Munster at length arose, to show the northmen that the power of an invader is precarious, and may be shaken long after the most timid of his followers have ceased to fear, and all save the very best and bravest among the oppressed have ceased to hope.

A. D. 990.—Brian Borohme (or, as it is sometimes written, Brian Boru), whose talents and courage even the romances founded upon his actual deeds can scarcely rate too highly, was king of Munster, contemporary with Malachi, king of Meath. The latter, though in title the chief kingdom, was at this time scarcely the superior of Munster, the kings of which occasionally asserted their equality by a flat refusal to pay the tribute. Though rivals, Malachi and Brian Borohme had one common feeling of hatred to the foreign rule of Ireland; and the former, a brave and able general, was in a mere military point of view more completely the liberator of their common country than the latter. Disputes having arisen between the king of Meath and the Danes, who had now rendered Dublin very populous and wealthy, a battle took place between them in the vicinity of the hill of Tara, in which the Danes were so completely routed, and with so much loss, that they were glad to accept Malachi's terms for peace. The Danes had so often been victors in former and less ably conducted attempts to restrain their power, that among their slaves—by whom that warlike and trading people had all domestic duties performed, deeming them degrading to warriors and merchants—were upwards of two thousand native Irish. These Malachi compelled the Danes to liberate, and he had the satisfaction to believe that this battle had struck a terror into his foes which would not merely restrain them from any future excursions beyond their own bounds with warlike or predatory objects, but even cause them in the course of time to abandon the country altogether. Brian Borohme, as king of Munster, had obtained scarcely less decisive triumphs over the Danes, from whom he had, in the case of those who dwelt in Dublin, exacted an annual tribute of an ounce of gold per house.

Probably the triumph of Malachi over the Danes would have ended with the day of their defeat before Tara, but that his own subsequent defeat by Brian Borohme threw power into the hands of a man as wise in council as he was brave in the field. After what has been said of the general propensity of all the Irish princes, from the highest of the five kings to the very pettiest tanist who could boast his territory of a few acres, and his sept of a few scores of half-starved peasants, it will be a matter of no marvel that two powerful and warlike

princes, so nearly matched in point of power and ambition as Malachi and Brian Borohme, should find subject matter for war against each other. Brian Borohme, conscious not only of warlike ability but also of capacity for civil rule, and perhaps honourably anxious to make the latter talent serviceable to the whole of vexed and suffering Ireland, flushed with his triumph over the Danes and over many of the smaller native kings and chiefs, from whose territories he had added very largely to his kingdom of Munster, aimed at the sole sovereignty of Ireland. Malachi, equally as an independent prince, and as titular chief king, resisted his ambitious and certainly unfounded pretensions. A severe contest ensued, in which Malachi was subdued, and compelled, in that hall of Tara which for centuries had witnessed the supremacy of his ancestors, to do homage to the rival whom he had so bravely though lucklessly resisted. Several of the minor kings and chiefs proposed to Malachi to renew the struggle, and offered to support him alike with arms and influence. But true to his compact, and, perhaps, with the characteristic nobleness of true bravery, conscious that Brian Borohme was the better capacitated to serve their common country by quelling her domestic as well as foreign foes, Malachi loyally and generously refused to do so. He went still farther; to his example of submission to the superior genius of Borohme he added the strongest entreaty to his friends to support and obey, instead of opposing, a man so well calculated to preserve the peace their bleeding country so much required. Retaining his kingdom of Meath, he paid tribute to Borohme and faithfully seconded his measures.

Brian Borohme's first acts showed that, however blameable the course by which he had obtained the chief regal place, his genius was admirally adapted to it. Without losing time in idle show and ceremonious enjoyment of his good fortune, he at once set out on a military tour of pacification, receiving the formal submission of the chiefs, and demanding good securities and hostages for the loyalty of those who had given any cause for suspicion, or whose position was such as to make their future revolt practicable on slight temptation. Nor did he confine his cares to protecting himself against the provinces; he also made strict laws for preventing the people from being scourged by the unjust cosherings and other oppressions of their rulers. His well-known talents, and the sternness with which he even imprisoned those chiefs who ventured to infringe his laws, had a most salutary effect; and in his reign Ireland was a better-ordered and more happy and peaceful country than it had ever before been. The strongholds and religious houses, which had suffered so much at first by the violence of the northmen, and then by their neglect, were repaired, and many new ones founded. The Danes themselves, probably finding the advantage of peace to their commercial affairs, as well as dreading to provoke him as king of Ireland who had so signally chastised them when he was only king of Munster, busied themselves solely with trade, and did not for many years attempt to commit any violence.

Time, the great soother of painful memories, is also a great disturber of the good conduct which has its root in selfish policy and selfish fear, rather than in a genuine appreciation of goodness for its own sake. And thus it proved in the case of the Danes. The prowess of Brian Borohme and Malachi had awed them, and the singular fitness and energy displayed by the former as a civil ruler had given them practical proof and participation of the benefits of peace in the land. For nearly a quarter of a century these feelings kept them perfectly in order; but as a new generation sprang into active life, and long habit had made strict rule much less imposing, they again began to show symptoms of a desire to return to their old course of varying the life of the trader with that of the armed and insolent robber. Perhaps, too, they were encouraged by supposing that the long lapse of years had deprived the once terrible Brian Borohme of his courage and conduct, as it was well known that it had of his physical strength and activity. The king of Dublin suddenly and without provocation led his northmen into the kingdom of Meath, plundering without limit, and, wherever resisted, murdering without mercy.

As if to show that Irishmen were never to see the misfortunes of their country without doing their own shameful part towards inflicting them, the king of Leinster joined his forces to those of the northmen, and partook to the fullest in their outrageous violence. At the same moment—most probably by long preconcerted arrangement—a new horde of northmen, each man followed by women and children, entered Munster evidently with the intention not merely to plunder the country, but also to effect a permanent settlement. Malachi and Brian Borohme put themselves at the head of the other kings and leaders, to oppose the hosts of foreign and domestic foes that had thus suddenly sprung up amidst the profoundest peace and the most promising prospects of equal prosperity. Rightly believing that the native foes were at once more guilty than the foreign ones, Borohme despatched a large part of his force under his son Donough, to overrun the kingdom of Leinster, and drive off or destroy all the cattle on which the enemy would greatly depend for provisions. This service the old warrior judged that his young and active son could effect in three days, to which period he limited his absence. Under all ordinary circumstances this course would have been both politic and safe; for the position of the northmen was such, that it was to the last degree unlikely that any general engagement would ensue until after the return of Donough from an expedition the success of which would be of such material future value to the Irish. But once again a son of Ireland—probably from some dastardly fear or revenge, or from petty personal hope—

was Ireland's enemy: treason was in the camp of the brave and good Borohme, whose gallant son was no sooner beyond recall, than some deserter from the camp made the northmen aware how much the Irish were weakened by this detachment of so large a number of their best troops, and they at once forced on a general engagement.

Flight, even had it been in his power, Borohme would not have for a moment thought of; he formed his troops in battle-array, and though more than fourscore years had blanched his hair and abated his natural strength, he rode along the ranks and shouted his exhortations in the genuine and passionate eloquence of which, in former times, he had so often witnessed the thrilling and inspiring effect upon the troops who had followed him to victory. Pointing to the northmen, whose tumultuous ranks were swelled by Norwegians, Danes, and Britons from the Orkneys, the Hebrides, and the mountains of Wales, he called upon Irishmen to strike no blow but in remembrance of priests and nuns murdered, churches burned, and the sacred things polluted or plundered; age cast forth to perish in the forest, and the young child smitten dead with the mother whose milk still hung upon its lip; 'bearing a crucifix in his left hand as he brandished his familiar sword in his right, he called upon them to follow where he should lead, and to strike for the religion of the saints with the firm hearts and vigorous arms of men who knew how to die as Christians, but never to submit to heathens in heart, name, or alliance.'

A.D. 1014.—It was shortly after daybreak on the 23rd of April in the year 1014, that the venerable king and veteran warrior thus addressed his army, who, greatly as they knew their numerical force to be weakened by the detachment of the troops under Donough on the Leinster expedition, responded to the address by commencing the fight with cries of rapturous excitement, which proved that their king and general had only done them justice in saying that they knew how to die for their cause. The battle lasted—success now inclining to the Irish, and now to the northmen—during the whole of the day; and wherever the onward charge of the Irish was the fiercest and farthest upon the foe, and wherever the foe in his turn repulsed them the most murderously and effectively, there gleamed the sword and pealed the still sonorous tones of Brian Borohme. Though age had dimmed the old man's eyes and abated his natural strength, he continued thus actively performing the duty of both skilful chieftain and stout soldier, quite literally,

From morn to noon, from noon to dewy eve.

But as the shadows of the mountains fell denser and deeper he became too weak to remain longer in the field, and was obliged to seek rest in his tent, though even here his mental vigour mocked his physical debility, and he continued to direct the fight by brief and judicious messages to the chiefs. At length the glad shouts of the Irish proclaimed that the foe was broken beyond hope; the king fell upon his knees in the thrilling gladness of the patriot king and the loyal soldier, and his tent, in the general joy, was left unguarded save by a single stripling page. The traitor who had warned the Danes of the detachment being sent under Donough into Leinster, could scarcely have wished a heavier calamity to Ireland than that which was caused by the eager rush of the king's personal guard to join in the slaughter and pursuit of their enemies, who were now to be seen flying in every direction, whether that rush was made merely in obedience to their own desire or in compliance with the king's command. He was recognised by a flying party of the enemy only a few minutes after he was thus left unguarded, and neither his thin white hairs, his venerable aspect, nor his pious posture could save him. In an instant his enemies were upon him; the loud shriek and feeble though zealous blow of the young page delayed the sacrifice not a moment; Brian Borohme, the terrible in battle, the wise in council, and the inflexibly just in rule, was slain, with many and ghastly wounds, even as he knelt in thanksgiving for the victory he had done so much towards obtaining for his country.

CHAPTER V.

The defeat of the northmen was complete at Clontarf; and though the death of Brian Borohme was felt by his troops as a very serious drawback upon their victory, such instant and excellent measures were taken for following it up, that the fierce sea-kings did not feel inclined to risk such another. The armed invaders fled to their ships and sought safety in flight; and the northmen who were naturalised in Ireland, despairing of any farther aid from beyond sea, had no recourse but to live in peace with their neighbours, with whom the intermarriages of a few generations so incorporated them, that all distinction, save in a few male names of families, was lost between the two people lately so hostile.

Malachi, who had ably and bravely distinguished himself on this occasion at the very first outbreak of the northmen and their treacherous allies of Leinster, was now by common consent and acclaim called again to the chief sovereignty, which he enjoyed in all peace and honour until his death.

A.D. 1022.—Full of years and infirmities, but no less full of honours, Malachi expired peacefully in the year 1022; and the death of that venerable monarch was the signal for a renewal of those shameful civil wars, and their consequent miseries and degradations from which the strong hand and vigorous mind of Brian Borohme had so long kept the country free. The high renown of Malachi had caused all the kings and chiefs to hail him as the most worthy successor of Brian Borohme, but the relatives of those two truly great princes and warriors could not so easily agree as to the rightful successor of the former. If the

principles of equity and plain reasoning had been appealed to, the claims of Malachi's heir would unquestionably have at once been admitted; and that upon two broad and intelligible grounds. In the first place, glorious and useful as the reign of Brian Borohme had been, he had obtained the throne by violence; and it is more than possible that even his valour and conduct would have failed to secure him upon it, had not the patriotic Malachi waived his own personal interests in favour of those of his country. In the next place, the unanimous consent of the kings and chiefs to Malachi's succeeding Brian very clearly pointed out the latter as the merely personal possessor of the throne, who had obtained it wrongfully, who, probably, at least, was allowed to retain it only on considerations of expediency, and whose heirs, consequently, even had he died after Malachi, could not, upon any sane view of the hereditary principle, for an instant be put into competition with those of Malachi. But equity and reason were allowed no voice in the matter. Many competitors appeared, loud disputes and sanguinary struggles ensued, and at length the field was cleared of all aspirants but two. These were Donough, king of Munster, heir of Brian Borohme, and Turlough, great nephew of the latter and nephew of the former; both, it will be perceived, claiming in hereditary succession to him who had been to all intents an usurping king, however good and able one. The struggle between these two princes was long and sanguinary; but Donough, though already in possession of the kingdom of Munster, was vanquished. Baffled in his high ambition, and detesting the scene in which his rival had exhibited so marked a superiority in both talent and popularity, Donough almost immediately resigned his proper kingdom of Munster, and set out on a pilgrimage to Rome. Arrived at 'the eternal city,' he entered into a monastery, and there obscurely finished his life.

Turlough on mounting the throne speedily proved that he inherited with it much of the ability and warlike courage of his great uncle, together with a double portion of his despotic and resolved self-will. Much as he owed to the inferior kings and chiefs, he imposed upon them unusually heavy tributes; a tyranny the full weight of which was chiefly felt by the unfortunate kerne, or peasantry, from whom, in addition to all their heavy local burdens, it was of course wrung by their tyrants.

From the Irish natives, Turlough turned his strong hand upon the northern settlers and traders. Even under the firm and steady rule of Brian Borohme, these people, though strictly prevented from indulging their seemingly inherent and inextinguishable love of violence and plunder, were allowed to follow their peaceable pursuits, and the customs of their own countries; and their towns had invariably been governed by their own peculiar laws, administered by princes or governors of their own race. One of these, Godfred, king or governor of Dublin, was banished almost immediately after the accession of Turlough, who filled the vacancy with Murkentach, his own son. A similar course was subsequently followed as to all the Danish towns; and when we consider how little formidable the northmen had for some time shown themselves, and how very much they had even lost of their distinct nationality by frequent intermarriages with the Irish, it is difficult to resist the belief that this sweeping change originated far less in necessity or patriotism than in self-will and a desire to aggrandise the royal family or its favourites.

At this period Ireland seems to have obtained a very considerable improvement as to wealth, if not as to refinement. We find mention more frequently made of gold in payment of tribute where formerly it was paid in cattle or other kine; and to its former exports of wheat, wool, hides, and cattle, we now find timber added. Indeed, so fine was the Irish timber at that period, and Irish bog oak especially, that William Rufus, whose reign in England was contemporary with that of Turlough in Ireland, actually imported Irish oak for the splendid roof of Westminster-hall.

A.D. 1086.—After an active and generally prosperous and valuable reign, Turlough died in 1086. His kingdom was partitioned among his three sons; the hereditary principle being thus again set aside, but on this occasion with at least the colour of justice, inasmuch as the principle of equal division—though including the most distant male relatives—was that of the Brehon laws in the palmy days of the Magi. One of the sons dying, a contest arose between the two survivors, Murkentach—already mentioned as succeeding Godfred the northman in the government of Dublin—and Dermot. The latter was defeated and driven into exile, and Murkentach now claimed and was about to assume the whole kingdom. But a rival was set up against him in the person of a chieftain of the old blood-royal, named Donald MacLoughlin, who was extremely popular among the princes both on account of his personal qualities and his descent; and again the unhappy country was visited with a civil war upon a question the justice of which was so obvious, that any twelve honest men, however unlettered and unskilled in chicane, might have set it at rest in an hour. For eight years the old scenes of rapine, bloodshed, and misery bade fair to undo all that invaders—far less cruel and mischievous than the turbulent and justice-despising sons of the soil—had done towards improving and enriching it; and after all this strife and misery, the rivals at length agreed to divide the regal spoil between them. The southern moiety of the kingdom was given to Murkentach, and bore the title of Leathmogh, or Mogh's share; and the northern moiety to MacLoughlin, and bore the title of Leath Cunnin, or Conn's share.

Even this seemingly equitable arrangement did not restore a solid and lasting peace. We call the arrangement seemingly equitable, because it seems to have met the full consent of both competitors and their

respective friends, and so far we are obliged to call it so; though, *ab initio*, one or the other party must have been entitled to *all*, if either was entitled to *any*. Clearly, however, this ground of debate was fully abandoned by the deliberate agreement we have referred to. But with the characteristic pugnacity of the time and country, though the two kings possessed, by treaty, and each within his own limits, the utmost kingly independence, a peaceful enjoyment of limited and defined authority seems to have been by no means to the taste of either king. Perpetual encroachments were made by one or the other, and a long series of sanguinary and very mischievous battles terminated in the utter defeat of Murkentach, who, beaten at all points and utterly despairing of any better success, retired from the contest in 1103, and sought refuge in a monastery, where he terminated his days.

During the long and obstinate struggle between the native Irish kings, the coastward parts of the country were repeatedly annoyed by the northmen, especially by the Norwegian Magnus. His prowess and audacity had possessed him of the Hebrides and the Isle of Man, and under the title of the Lord of the Isles he struck terror and dismay far and near. Emboldened by the unnatural and senseless dissensions of the Irish, he sailed up the Liffey, ravaging and destroying, and at length possessed himself of Dublin, where, having fallen into an ambush, he lost his life.

From all that has been said it will, we trust, be very evident, that the flaming accounts given of the very early wealth, grandeur, and learning of Ireland are sheer exaggerations or unfounded assumptions. The earliest inhabitants of it, of whom anything is certainly known, were divided into numerous septs, individually too rude, and as a whole too much divided among themselves, to have been either prosperous or influential. The towns upon the coast were either founded or raised into importance by subsequent invaders of a more advanced knowledge and refinement; and at the period to which we have brought down this history, the condition of Ireland had nothing desirable which was not owing to those invaders, and was, even then, such as to make it morally certain, that the improvement of the country, or even its escape from retrograding into its original misery and barbarism, could only result from such an event as that to which we now pass, namely, the appearance of England on the Irish stage; from which period the history of Ireland begins to possess that clearness in which all its earlier portion is so strikingly deficient.

CHAPTER VI.

THE various wars and arrangements in Ireland did not prevent the whole island from being still divided into the five chief kingdoms of which mention has already been made. The titular chief royalty, as well as the real chief power and influence, which to the time of Malachi had appertained as by prescription to Meath, subsequently passed now to one and now to another kingdom. Munster, under Brian Borohme, had both the chief title and the chief sway, which afterwards appertained to Connaught.

Roderic O'Connor, king of Connaught and titular king of Ireland, however, had but little of the power which Brian Borohme had so sternly and steadily wielded. All his energies were required to enable him to govern Connaught, and he was incapable of either composing the differences of the other kings, or of uniting them all under his own authority in the common defence of their common interests. In a word, Ireland was in the twelfth century as divided as ever it had been; and only so far improved in wealth as to tempt aggression by exciting cupidity.

That Ireland had so long remained free from the aggressions of other than mere ravaging northmen would be wonderful, indeed, but for the poverty which we have shown to have caused that forbearance or contempt. Heathen Rome and Christian Rome alike had, for long ages, allowed the semi-barbarous people of the 'sacred island' to fight and destroy at their own good pleasure. But the time at length came when Christian Rome, already enthroned as the mistress of empires and arbitress of the temporal and spiritual princes of the earth, looked with a longing eye upon the fertile island on which prosperity, thanks to her invaders, had begun to dawn.

The attention of Rome would probably have been drawn to Ireland as early as it was, under any circumstances; but it was Ireland's near and ambitious neighbour, Henry II. of England, who immediately drew the attention of the pontiff to her value and capabilities; overlooking, as it would seem, the extreme probability that the papal power would some day prove as formidable in enmity as it could possibly be useful in friendship. Attracted by the fertility of Ireland and its contiguity to his own kingdom, and being well informed of the internal dissensions of the kings and chieftains, which bade so fair to render the island an easy prey, he applied to the papal court for its sanction to his subduing Ireland.

A.D. 1116.—Pope Adrian IV., who then filled the papal chair, was doubly glad to receive this request. An Englishman by birth, he was naturally anxious for the aggrandisement of his native country; and, as pope, he could not but be rejoiced at having from the king of England this emphatic acknowledgment of the temporal as well as spiritual supremacy of Rome.

The bull, so obtained, encouraging as it was, did not alone occur to inflame the ambition of Henry. The state of Ireland soon after this bull was issued was precisely such as its foreign foeman might have desired it to be; one of the intestine brawls which formed so large a portion of Irish existence breaking out just then with even more than the usual virulence and fury. Dermot Macmorrogh, the then king of Leinster, who

was remarkable even among his licentious countrymen for his gross immorality, had greatly provoked the chief men of his kingdom by his tyrannical conduct. Unaware or contemptuous of the general feeling that existed against him, he wantonly added to it by abducting the wife of Ororic, prince of Breffney, during her husband's absence. Prince Ororic on his return to the bog island in which he had, as he imagined, secured the safety of his wife, was roused to the utmost rage by the information that Macmorrogh had made a descent upon it and forcibly carried away the princess. Irish morality at that time was at so low an ebb, that nearly any man but the king of Leinster might have abducted his neighbour's wife, without running serious risk of incurring any enmity or censure beyond that of the injured husband and his immediate friends and followers. But Macmorrogh's character was so generally detested, that the prince of Breffney met with warm and unusual sympathy. Among those who hastened to assist him was Roderic, king of Connaught; and so powerful a force was speedily led to the punishment of the ravisher, that he was fairly driven from the territory he had so scandalously misgoverned.

Chastised but impenitent, disgraced and burning for revenge, the exile went to France, where Henry II. of England then was, and solicited his aid. Delighted at having an additional excuse for his meditated invasion thus opportunely afforded him, Henry affected to give faith and full credence to the version of the story which it suited Macmorrogh's purpose to tell him; especially as he offered, if restored to his kingdom, to hold it as vassal of the English crown. Just at that moment, however, Henry was too busily engaged in Guienne in quelling the rebellious spirit of his French subjects, to be able to go personally to the aid of his Irish supplicant. Nevertheless he cordially promised him puissant support, and furnished him with letters patent by which all subjects of the king of England were empowered and encouraged to aid the exiled king of Leinster in his attempts to recover his dominion.

With this important document Dermot Macmorrogh hastened to Bristol to raise a force upon its authority. For a considerable time, however, he found even the king's letters patent insufficient to induce men to volunteer for Ireland, where, according to the general notion of the country, hard blows were likely to constitute the principal booty. It is very likely that Macmorrogh would have been still longer without reaping any substantial benefit from the possession of the king's letters patent, had he not fortunately met with a ruined noble of the illustrious house of Clare, who, by a furious course of pleasure and extravagance, had so reduced himself, that he would gladly have shared in even a less promising adventure.

Richard, surnamed Strongbow, earl of Strigul, was easily induced to enter into the cause of the king of Leinster, on being promised his daughter Eva as a wife, with a present portion and the reversion of her father's dominion. Having secured this potent ally—for Strongbow was a good and approved soldier,—Macmorrogh left him to raise and arrange forces, and proceeded to Wales, where by large and liberal promises he procured two other allies, Maurice Fitzgerald, and Robert Fitzstephen, constable of Abertivi. Having thus secured abundant aid, he made arrangements for future proceedings with the three leaders, and then clandestinely reentered his kingdom of Leinster and secreted himself in the monastery of Fernes, of which—so little had the founding of monasteries, at that time so common in Ireland, to do with religious life or religious feeling—this tyrant and ravisher was the founder.

It is probable that Dermot Macmorrogh had only his own revenge and his own interest in view when he sought the protection and aid of the English king. Yet when he thus proposed to introduce foreign troops into Ireland, and, like count Julian of Spain who introduced the fierce Arabs into his country, called the foreigner to look at once upon the loveliness, the fertility, and the feebleness of the land, it seems scarcely possible that he could have been wholly without a presentiment of the natural result. Some writers even go so far as to say, that his assisting Henry of England to overrun the rest of Ireland was actually one of the conditions upon which he obtained his countenance. In this there is more of bold conjecture than of legitimate reasoning; but if Macmorrogh had no fears that the foreign soldiery might allow their plans to go a trifle farther than the mere recovery of his dominion, he only furnishes another proof that revenge, like drunkenness, blinds the keenest eye and bewilders the shrewdest intellect.

Robert Fitzstephen, with thirty knights, sixty esquires, and three hundred archers, was the first of the friends of Dermot to make his appearance in Ireland. The archers, besides being well and completely armed, were for the most part men who had seen considerable service, and their compact and orderly march struck terror wherever they appeared. Ten knights, thirty esquires, and sixty archers having, under the leadership of Maurice de Prendergast, joined this force, an attack was made upon the town of Wexford, which had been greatly improved and was chiefly inhabited by a party of Danes. The town was carried, and here the adventurers awaited the arrival of Maurice Fitzgerald. He joined them soon after with ten knights, thirty esquires, and a hundred archers; and the whole force of the adventurers was now fully equal to the task of defeating any force that Ireland could draw to one point. Roderic, king of Connaught, who had taken so signal a part in expelling the guilty and detested Macmorrogh, made a gallant resistance to the foreigners and their ally of Leinster; but he was beaten at all points, and Macmorrogh now, looking beyond the mere restoration of the authority from which he had so deservedly been driven, began to project the dethroning and exile

or death of Roderic, and his own elevation to the dignity of chief king of Ireland. And this fact, we may remark, goes far to discredit the opinion of his having entered into compact with Henry to the extent, and with the particular stipulation to which we have before alluded; for he could scarcely think Henry of England, the opponent even of the dreaded and mighty papal power, a safe person to rival; far less could he suppose that, even in vassalage, he could reign over the whole of Ireland, but by the direct consent of Henry himself, should that formidable monarch conquer Ireland—as, be it observed, it is assumed that Macmorrogh expected. However this may be, the ambitious aspirations of Macmorrogh, who had so lately been an outcast and a suer for foreign pity, seemed fully warranted by the success which had hitherto hovered over the pennons of his allies. In addition to the successes that we have spoken of, they obtained signal advantage over the prince of Ossory, who not merely rendered himself to their clemency, but also gave hostages for his future conduct.

While these things were being enacted, Strongbow, though anxiously and impatiently expected in Ireland, and though, as far as mustering and equipping his troops went, was quite ready to go thither, had, in fact, made his way to Normandy, where, as we have said, Henry II. at that time was. Though an approved and gallant knight, Strongbow was largely endowed with that suspicious and prevoyant shrewdness, which, if not genius, is very like it, and quite as serviceable a quality; and though the written authority of the king to all English subjects to aid the banished and deprived king of Leinster seemed to be both full and unequivocal, Strongbow too well knew the waywardness, and the passionate wilfulness, when offended, of his royal master, not to feel anxious for a more direct and personal permission to act; lest he should by chance be running counter to the king's private wishes while acting under his openly expressed authority. Nor does it seem that he was greatly mistaken. Probably the king thought that the previous conquest and occupation of parts of Ireland, by accomplished and knightly leaders of strong parties of his own bluff and brave archery of England, might not, eventually, tend to make his own intended appropriation of the whole island any the more facile. Certain it is, that, from whatever motive, though Henry did confirm to Strongbow in person the permission given in the letters patent to all English subjects, he did so with a coldness and ambiguity which showed him to be by no means over pleased with the success of the king of Leinster in acquiring English aid.

Having first despatched, under Raymond his confidant and lieutenant, ten knights and seventy archers who made good their landing in spite of the resistance of a body of three thousand Irish by whom they were furiously attacked near Waterford, Strongbow himself soon afterwards landed with two hundred horse and a strong body of archers. Having secured and garrisoned Waterford, Strongbow now led the English force to Dublin, which place they carried by assault. Roderic, king of Connaught, enraged at the prowess of the English, and alarmed at the progress they and their ally were making, put to death a natural son of Macmorrogh's, who was one of seven hostages given by that insincere prince as a pledge of his fealty to Roderic, under whom while still doubtful of the extent to which he could depend upon his English allies, he had consented to hold his kingdom of Leinster.

Both at Waterford and at Dublin the triumph of the English and their treacherous ally was marked by circumstances of the most awful barbarity. Hasculf, the Danish governor of the place, with his wife and children and some attendants, were fortunate enough to escape from the sack of Dublin to some boats in the bay; but the slaughter among the common people of both sexes and all ages was frightful. Strongbow now received, as had been stipulated, the hand of Eva, the natural daughter of Macmorrogh, and this latter personage dying shortly afterwards, Strongbow became possessed of the kingdom of Leinster, and prepared to extend his possession to the whole of Ireland.

Roderic, instead of hastening to the relief of Dublin, while the Danish inhabitants were in a condition and spirit to assist greatly in their own defence, employed that critical time, in which so much might have been done to arrest the progress of the English in a desultory and unmeaning expedition into Meath. He now became sensible of the error he had committed, and being joined by other Irish princes who also were now much alarmed at the aspect of the country, advanced with thirty thousand men—an immense army for Ireland at that time to have on foot in one common cause—to besiege Dublin. But Strongbow was not a man to be long pent within the walls of a beleaguered city. At the head of ninety knights, with a proportionate number of esquires and men-at-arms, he sallied out and inflicted such a sanguinary defeat upon this large but undisciplined host, as to impress all Ireland with an opinion that the English were absolutely irresistible.

Just at this juncture the brave Fitzstephen, who had been closely hemmed in at a fort at Carrick, sent to entreat aid of Strongbow. The latter, who previously to his successful rally, which beside dispersing a vast and enraged enemy, supplied him with a year's food, of which he was desperately in want, hastened at once to the aid of his friend; but before he could arrive Fitzstephen had allowed himself to be tricked out of his liberty. A messenger, sent by the people of Waterford, to whom he was especially obnoxious, informed him that Roderic—whom he knew to have marched against Dublin—had taken that place; that Strongbow, Fitzgerald, and many other knights of name had perished, and that Roderic was now marching towards him with the avowed determination to spare neither sex nor age of the English.

Now Fitzstephen, confident that a barbarous country like Ireland would be easily subdued, had brought over his wife and children with him, that he might settle his lands as soon as he should have conquered them. He was, therefore, on their account struck so with terror, that he readily gave credence to the intelligence; the truth of which, indeed, the general character of Irish warfare rendered but too probable in every particular, except the conquest of Strongbow and his English host by their ill-armed and worse-disciplined opponents. The messenger perceiving the impression his false tidings made upon Fitzstephen, now persuaded him to allow him to guide him to a shelter, together with his family and his immediate followers. In an evil hour his anxiety for the safety of his wife and children caused him to abandon the strong fort in which he could, at the very worst, have held out for some time, and place himself and his family in the hands of his bitterest enemies. He discovered his error almost as soon as he had committed it. Many of his most valued followers were put to death on the instant, while he and the rest were committed to prison and closely guarded. But how greatly was his chagrin increased when he heard of the splendid success of Strongbow at Dublin; and that he was hastening to Carrick for the express purpose of affording that aid which Fitzstephen's own precipitancy had now rendered useless! The people of Waterford, well knowing what fate they might expect should they fall into the hands of the terrible Strongbow, gathered up every portable part of their property, set fire to the town in several places, and then, carrying their prisoners with them, took shelter in a little island near Waterford harbour. Thither Strongbow pursued them, with threats of taking the most signal and terrible vengeance; but just as he was about to attack the island, he was induced to depart by the most solemn assurances which the enemy caused to be given to him, that the landing of his first man should be the signal for striking off the head of every English prisoner.

While speaking of the siege of Dublin by the Irish, or, more correctly, of their rout before that place, we mentioned that Strongbow and his followers had been much straitened for provisions. What Strongbow had from the very first foreseen, had by this time taken place; Henry II. had become jealous of his barons. Doubtful how far feelings of allegiance would weigh with such turbulent and self-willed men against the promptings of young ambition, kindled and increased by splendid victories, he saw in each new enterprise a new instance of contempt of his authority, and in each new success a temptation to actual independence of his crown. Hoping, probably, that want of munitions and provisions would cause them to suffer such reverse as would make them glad to sue to their liege sovereign for sanction and aid, in an enterprise which they had carried on with as much apparent independence as though no sovereign existed to claim their fealty or resent their disrespect, he had, for some time, forbidden all aid to be sent to them from England. As soon as the state of affairs in Ireland would admit of his doing so, and urged, in addition to other considerations, by certain intelligence he had received, that the king was on his way to Ireland at the head of a numerous force, Strongbow hastened to England and met the king in Gloucester, where he had assembled a very powerful force. Henry at first refused to admit Strongbow to his presence; but on the earl urging that he could clearly show that, in that all he had done, he had acted solely for the king's service, and that he would not even stir a step in the Irish expedition until he had received both a general and particular permission from the king, he was admitted. It must be very clear to all who have read thus far, that Strongbow, from the first, had determined to make his military and matrimonial connection with Dermot Macmorrogh the stepping stone to the sole and complete sovereignty of Ireland. But when his wary measures had proved the justice of his suspicions of the king's true feelings upon that subject, he shrewdly determined that to hold much under the king was far better than to have his conquests wrested from him by a powerful monarch; and he boldly affirmed on being admitted to the royal presence, that he aimed at Irish conquest only for the king's service, and that for himself, he should be content with whatever reward his royal master might deign to bestow upon him. Pacified by a submission so complete, and seemingly so disinterested, the king accepted the surrender of Dublin and all other ports and fortresses conquered or to be conquered in Ireland; and granted to the earl and his heirs for ever all his other Irish acquisitions to be held as fiefs of the English crown.

A.D. 1171.—The conciliatory policy of the shrewd earl having thus averted the storm of royal wrath in which he and his fortunes would otherwise have probably suffered shipwreck, Henry hastened his preparations, and, accompanied by Strongbow, landed at Waterford about the middle of October 1171. The large force by which the king was accompanied, and the gallant appearance of his knights, armed *cap-à-pie*, procured him a degree of respect from the natives which they probably would have withheld from the name of king, which was too common among them to have much of that prestige which attached to it elsewhere. Not the slightest opposition was made to his landing, and as he progressed through the country, kings and chiefs flocked to him to tender their homage. To each who thus came in to surrender his possessions and authority, Henry instantly restored both on the easy condition of homage being done and vassalage professed. Even Roderic O'Connor, the original opponent of Dermot, peaceably submitted, and without a single battle, Henry II. of England became also king of Ireland. Having held a council at Cashel, in which special provisions were made for the support and protection of the clergy.

upon whose exertions the king well knew that the peaceable maintenance of his authority would depend, and in which a variety of other laws for the regulation of marriage, wills, and succession of property were propounded, the king proceeded to celebrate the feast of Christmas at Dublin. The city possessed no apartment large enough to serve for the royal banqueting room on this occasion, but a temporary pavilion was erected, in which Henry feasted O'Connor and the other principal Irish princes in a style of profuse and costly liberality such as they had never before witnessed.

The king appointed a lord high constable, an earl marshal, and a high steward; and distributed vast tracts of Irish territory among English nobles, but on the strictest feudal principle. Thus, for instance, by way of preventing the great possessions and equally great talents of Strongbow from being so predominant in Ireland as to tempt him to endeavour to throw off the royal authority, the king gave the whole of Meath, so long the seat of the chief Irish royalty, to Hugh de Lacy and his heirs for ever, on the tenure of fifty knights' service. Nay, so particular was the king that the feudal tenure and forms should in nowise be neglected, that though Strongbow had acquired his Leinster possessions by marriage and not by the sword, Henry, before he left Ireland, compelled him to resign them in form, and then conferred them upon him on the usual military tenure.

Having thus far provided for the future government and security of Ireland as an integral part of his dominion, and made such minor arrangements as chanced to occur to his mind or to the minds of his advisers, Henry departed from the scene of his easy conquest—if conquest indeed that could be called in which he never had occasion to strike a blow,—in April, 1172, having been in Ireland barely six months; and on landing in Wales, proceeded immediately to St. David's church to return thanks for a success of which he seems to have felt all the importance.

CHAPTER VII.

A. D. 1172.—The reputation of Ireland for rudeness and poverty was such, that, with the exception of a few of the leaders, the first English invaders and settlers were chiefly men of desperate fortunes and of a character rather fitting them to battle with the natives than to civilise them. Even had they, however, been well fitted for that task, and ever so zealous in its performance, the very relations of conqueror and conquered, possessor and dispossessed, would probably have made their exertions of but little avail, at least in the earlier years of their residence.

The profuseness with which Henry had parcelled out Irish lands among English soldiers, and the stern and jealous rigour with which each English pale or settlement repressed the slightest Irish disturbance in its neighbourhood, soon caused the deepest and fiercest hatred. While the king and his formidable army remained, the Irish affected the most cordial and peaceful feelings; nay, perhaps, while the king's presence acted as a strong check upon the haughty and insolent tyranny of the conquerors, the conquered actually did entertain the hope of being allowed to live in peace and good fellowship. But the king had no sooner departed than the fiercest animosities began to display themselves. The natives, especially those who were in the immediate neighbourhood of the palatinates, and who, therefore, were especially subjected to the insolence and oppression of the English, looked with detestation upon these possessors of countless acres which they had forcibly wrested from the rightful possessors. From murmurs they proceeded to actions; rebellions on the one hand and unsparing severity on the other ensued; and again this luckless land seemed doomed to long centuries of petty but ruinous wars.

Strongbow was the principal man among the new comers, and was known to be the very soul of their councils, so against him the animosity of the natives was especially directed. To render his situation still more perilous, his own followers, who, justly or not, had acquired so much through his daring and skill, began to show strong symptoms of insubordination. His appearance was hailed with less cordiality; his orders obeyed with less promptitude. A chief cause of this want of cordiality among the English soldiers was the strictness of Fitzmaurice, who had the immediate command. He was a good soldier and a rigid disciplinarian, and being, as it would appear, sincerely desirous that the natives and the English should, for the sake of both parties, live in peace and in the mutual performances of good offices, he strictly forbade all plundering and brawling, to which the English showed themselves only too prone. This strictness, which the licentious soldiery considered all the more unreasonable, inasmuch as they were most irregularly paid, at length led to an openly expressed determination of the soldiers to abandon Ireland altogether, unless the command were taken from Fitzmaurice, and given to Raymond Le Gros, an officer who was altogether as popular among them. Raymond Le Gros, perceiving how important his support was to Strongbow, ventured to ask the hand of that nobleman's sister Basilia, a very beautiful woman of whom Raymond had long been enamoured, but whom his comparatively humble fortune would probably never have allowed him to seek in marriage but for the adventitious importance into which he was lifted by the mutinous spirit of the soldiery. Strongbow was far too acute not to be well aware of the delicacy and even peril of his situation; but he was as proud as he was brave, and without hesitation refused Raymond both the hand of the lady and constableship of Leinster, which he also demanded. Raymond immediately embarked, taking a considerable portion of the army with him. Their departure was a signal for an in-

mediate outbreak of the natives; while the English were so much weakened by the sudden loss of so strong a body, that Strongbow found it necessary to despatch a messenger to Le Gros, who had landed in Wales, promising that his double demand should be immediately complied with if he would return with the soldiers. He did so at a most critical moment; arriving just in time to save the garrison of Waterford, of whom the Irish had vowed not to spare a man. Le Gros received both his bride and his appointment, and then hurried to meet a vast force of Irish whom O'Connor was leading against Dublin. As usual the superior arms and discipline of the English overcame the tumultuous though brave multitudes of the Irish. Roderic sought safety in flight, and Raymond Le Gros indulged his victorious followers to the utmost extent of their wishes in all the disorders of semi-barbarous warfare. Though defeated on this particular occasion, O'Connor was not subdued. Often routed, he as often gathered his wild followers to a head again, and his persevering and desultory attacks defied even the skill of the brilliant Le Gros. At length O'Connor entered into a new treaty, by which he engaged to hold his rightful dominions as the liege vassal of the king of England; and in consideration of his having the chief sovereignty of Ireland, exclusive of the English pale,—he undertook to secure the peaceable conduct of the other native princes, to whom Henry assured the possession and peaceful enjoyment of their respective territories on condition of their regular payment of tribute, consisting of a hide for every ten head of cattle slaughtered. Roderic O'Connor, therefore, was king, in vassalage to England, of all Ireland except the English pale, which included Dublin, Waterford, Leinster, Meath, and the whole extent of country from Dungarron to Waterford.

A.D. 1175.—Strongbow died in 1175, leaving his daughter Isabel de Clare heiress to his immense wealth, with the exception of certain lands with which he endowed the priory which, in compliance with the *quasi* devout spirit of the age, he had founded at Kilmainham.

At the death of Strongbow a new governor, Fitz-Adelm, went to Ireland. In his train was a knight, of no great previous notoriety, named De Courcy, who, in pursuance of a singular fancy, lighted up the flames of war in a part of the country which amid all the recent bloodshed had remained at peace. Lying towards Scotland, and being inhabited chiefly by Scotsmen and shepherds, the province of Ulster might have long remained undisturbed, but that a headstrong English knight conceived the humane and worshipful plan of fulfilling an Irish prophecy, at no matter what expense of blood, Scotch, English, or Irish. The prophecy ran that Ulster should be conquered by a knight from over sea, riding on a white horse, and bearing birds upon his shield. De Courcy had come from over sea, he speedily provided himself with a white horse, and though his shield bore not birds but bees, yet as the latter as well as the former have wings, he was decidedly of opinion that he was *tout à fait* the very knight alluded to in the prophecy! And to this mere whim of a foreigner, who in more sober times would have been laughed at as a coxcomb, or shut up as a dangerous lunatic, the unhappy people of Ulster were to see homes and lives sacrificed!

In despite of the express prohibition of the governor, Fitz-Adelm, De Courcy mustered a numerous band of followers, and with pennant flying and trumpets sounding, galloped at daybreak into the streets of Downpatrick, the capital of Ulster. The pope's legate, cardinal Viviani, who was in that province, endeavoured to dissuade De Courcy from violence; but the cardinal's eloquence was powerless against the prophecy. The cardinal, then, becoming indignant at the senseless and unprincipled conduct of De Courcy, advised the king of Ulster, O'Neil, to oppose him in arms. In the first engagement O'Neil was defeated, but subsequently De Courcy, though generally successful in pitched battles, was frequently reduced to great straits; and on one occasion he only escaped capture—which in his case would have been inevitable death—by flying before his enemies for two days and nights, without other sustenance than water and wild berries.

The petty and mischievous warfare which De Courcy had commenced in Ulster naturally led to similar disturbances in other parts. Fitz-Adelm, the governor, was detested; and Henry imagining that a more popular governor would perhaps succeed in restoring and preserving the peace of the country—a peace which was indispensable towards making the possession of the country a source of revenue to England—removed Fitz-Adelm, and gave his post to Hugh de Lacy, the lord of Meath, whom he instructed to take all possible means to conciliate the natives, but at the same time to exert himself in the erection of castles sufficiently strong and advantageously situated for the defence of the English pale. Nor did the king's anxious efforts to secure the peace of Ireland stop even here. He applied to Rome for permission to crown his son prince John as king of Ireland, though of course in vassalage to England. The court of Rome, which, even only with reference to the Peter-pence, and still more with reference to future contingencies, had a deep stake in the tranquillity and prosperity of Ireland, readily gave the permission required. But, whether from already perceiving something of John's real nature, or from some other unexplained feeling, the king did not avail himself of it, but merely sent him over as lord of Ireland, where the prince arrived in the year 1185.

CHAPTER VIII.

A.D. 1185.—PRINCE JOHN was at this period about nineteen years of age. Arrogant, heartless, and destitute even of the prudence which would have taught him to imitate the affability and kindliness of manner by which his father, during the whole

of his stay in Ireland, had contrived to conciliate and even attach the irritable but warm-hearted chieftains, John by his very first act disgusted those who approached him for the purpose of renewing their oath of allegiance to the English crown. The flowing yellow garments and the preposterously long hair and beards of the Irish, presented a very odd appearance, no doubt; though, as the Irish were a singularly well and powerfully made race, one would imagine that their peculiarities of costume tended to make their appearance imposing rather than ludicrous. But when they were introduced to prince John, who seems to have been surrounded chiefly by persons as young and as ignorant as himself, they were received with peals of insulting laughter, and some of the boy-courtiers are said to have even gone so far as to pull the beards of these fiery and veteran warriors with every manifestation of contempt. The Irish nature was precisely such as it would be far safer to injure than to insult. Burning with rage, the chieftains departed from the prince's presence with the deepest determination to leave no effort untried towards shaking off the English yoke. They who had been the most cordially and sincerely desirous to show themselves faithful to the absent king of England, now unhesitatingly joined those of their fellow-countrymen who were already in arms against him, and an insurrection of the most extensive and terrific description forthwith broke out. The English army, beaten at various points, was in a great measure destroyed, and the Irish even made themselves a passage into the English pale, plundering and then burning many of the houses and butchering many of the inhabitants. So extensive was this revolt, and so deadly the animosity that was felt towards prince John, that it is most likely Ireland would have been wholly lost to England, for a time at least, had he longer continued in that island. Fortunately, however, genuine information, not always procurable by even the most powerful kings, reached the ears of Henry; and he instantly recalled his petulant and incapable son, and gave the government to De Courcy, earl of Ulster. He probably, combining as he did both civil and military talents, and possessing enormous property and proportionate influence in Ulster, was the fittest man then in Ireland to overcome the formidable difficulties and danger consequent upon prince John's absurd and most unjustifiable conduct. Hugh de Lacy, who had formerly replaced Fitz-Adelm, would, indeed, have been a still more efficient governor than De Courcy, but he had recently been murdered in cold blood by an Irish labourer, while superintending the building of a castle in his lordship of Meath.

De Courcy, well knowing the propensity of the Irish princes to make war upon each other, upon even the slightest provocation, so skilfully exerted himself to foment quarrels among them, that he easily broke up their league; and, once separated from their common object, they weakened each other so far that he had but little difficulty in quelling their desultory and individual attacks upon the English.

A.D. 1189.—Henry II. after a reign of thirty-five years, the latter portion of which had been tormented by the unnatural misconduct of his sons, died on the 6th of July, 1189, and was succeeded by the renowned king Richard I. Attached to warfare even to the verge of actual insanity, Richard was more anxious to humble France or to lead an army against the far distant hosts of Infidels, than to improve a conquest that was already made in his own immediate neighbourhood. He left Ireland wholly unnoticed: yet it was in his reign that the final annexation of Ireland to the English crown may in some sort be said to have taken place; as in the year 1198 Roderic O'Connor, the last native king of Ireland, expired in the monastery in which for thirteen years he had lived in peace while so much of strife and misery pervaded his country. But in his retirement he was far more useful to his country than its kings usually were. As he was the last Irish king, so was he the first of them who had the sagacity to perceive that the great source of Irish weakness and Irish misery was ignorance. Though monasteries and their inhabitants existed in very evil abundance, the great mass of the people were in the most deplorable state of ignorance. Roderic O'Connor exerted himself to establish schools, especially in Armagh; and by that wise act deserved an admiration which, unfortunately, the world is far more willing to bestow upon the brilliant but destructive career of the king who leads in war, than upon that of him who points the road to civilisation and consequent happiness.

De Courcy, by nature bold, restless, and ambitious, availed himself of the neglect shown to Ireland by Richard, and made war and took spoil at his own pleasure: and when, in 1199, John succeeded to Richard, De Courcy had the boldness to refuse to acknowledge him as his sovereign. As the matter really stood between John and his nephew, Arthur of Brittany, his claim certainly was open to reasonable question. But powerful as De Courcy was in Ireland and against Irish chieftains, he soon discovered that he had overshot his mark in venturing to beard the king of England, even in the person of so every way contemptible a man as John. De Courcy, in the lifetime of Richard, had given great offence to prince John by the utter contempt with which he had treated all the prince's orders in relation to Ireland; and John, now that he had come to the throne, resolved to curb the proud vassal. De Courcy was accordingly arrested and sent to England. How or when he died is not accurately known, but it is certain that he was never allowed to return to his Irish possessions; and even his lordship of Ulster was taken from him and bestowed upon Hugh, the son of Hugh de Lacy, the murdered governor.

Though anything but warlike in disposition, John made an expedition to Ireland; less, it would seem, for the sake of putting an end to the disorders which existed there,

than as an excuse for leaving England while the minds of his subjects were alarmed and irritated by the tremendous effects of the papal interdict. Attended by a powerful army, he was speedily waited upon at Dublin by twenty of the most powerful chieftains, who did homage and took an oath of allegiance. Anxious now to conciliate, as formerly he had been hasty to offend, he made many presents among them; and we may take it as a sure proof that these brave chieftains were even yet not far removed from barbarism, when we learn that of all the presents he made them, they were by far the most delighted with a quantity of scarlet cloth.

The reader of English history is aware of the important law regulations which were made in England during the reign of John; all these regulations were equally extended to Ireland, as were the provisions of that great political blessing—magna charta. But, unfortunately, these benefits, though they were actually conferred upon all, were enjoyed only by the English, in Ireland; the turbulence, the ignorance, and the indomitable prejudices of the dwellers beyond the English pale, making them look with mingled detestation and contempt upon all liberty and enjoyment procured otherwise than by force of arms. Where the barons from England subdued tracts of country and subjected the inhabitants to the feudal law, those inhabitants undoubtedly enjoyed the same imperfect and restricted liberty as Englishmen of the same rank; and nothing can be more grossly unjust and untrue than to represent as a consequence of English partiality, that difference between the people which really arose from the wild and ignorant, though not altogether ungenerous, fierceness and turbulence of the Irish themselves.

A.D. 1216.—John, whose attention to Ireland was but temporary, was now succeeded by Henry III. The long reign of this prince extended to fifty-six years; and the weakness of his character, especially unfitting him to contend with the bold, able, and restless barons of his time, made the struggles of England more than enough to employ him; and Ireland was consequently left to be scourged by the constant wars between the Irish people and their English rulers, the latter of whom still farther increased the confusion of that unhappy country by fierce and frequent contests among themselves. How desperate the condition of the country had at length become, may be inferred from a petition of the Irish people to Edward I., in which they implored him to compel the barons to administer the law equally whether to English or Irish vassals of his majesty, and to compel the extension of all English laws and customs to the whole Irish people. Utterly heedless, it would seem, of the fact that, as far as decrees could avail, all this had been done in the reign of John, and that it was the Irish people themselves who had prevented practice from being assimilated to theory; yet at the same time painfully sensible of the existing evils, though blind to their real causes, they offered to pay the sum of eight thousand marks to the king as the price of his rendering them this great and necessary service. He made an order accordingly; but the order of the great Edward was as ineffectual as that of the mean John, when opposed to the habits and prejudices of a people at once brave, restless, and ignorant, living in a state of society so provocative of injustice and tyranny as that of the feudal system.

The long war in which Edward I. was engaged with Scotland compelled him to summon his barons from Ireland, and during their absence the natives made frequent and very destructive attacks upon the English pale. The death of Edward enabled the celebrated Robert Bruce to seat himself firmly upon the throne of Scotland. Knowing how ardently the Irish desired to throw off the English yoke, and judging how importantly useful he could make them in diverting the attacks of the English from Scotland, king Robert Bruce in the year after his accession to the Scottish throne, (1315) sent his brother Edward Bruce into Ireland with a well-equipped army of 6,000 men. He was received with open arms as deliverer, and took upon himself the title of king. His brother soon afterwards landed in Ireland with a still more powerful army. But just at this time there was an absolute famine in both England and Ireland; and the latter country, suffering under the effects of long civil war as well as of the bad season, was still more terribly destitute than the former. The most splendid successes of war could avail nothing against famine. Reduced to feed upon the horses as they died of actual hunger, the soldiers of Bruce perished in awful numbers, and he at length returned to Scotland, leaving his brother to contest his usurped crown with the English or abandon it, as he might see fit. Edward Bruce, who was to the full as cruel as he was brave, bore up with a most constant spirit against all difficulties. But though he had much success in the field, and made terrible examples of the vanquished, he found it utterly impossible to drive the English from their strong holds. The Irish were, indeed, for the most part very favourable to him; but if they hated the English much, they hated each other still more, and, as usual, their mutual strife rendered it impossible that they could constantly and cordially cooperate even for a purpose and a cause which they all had strongly at heart.

A.D. 1318.—Under such circumstances, it is most likely that Edward Bruce would at length have seen that the conquest of Ireland from such a people as the English was a project too vast for Scotland, even with the mighty Robert Bruce for her king. But ere he had yet made up his mind to abandon his usurped royalty and return to Scotland, he was encountered at Dundalk by the English army, under the lord Bermingham. Edward Bruce on this important day performed the part of a good general and a stout soldier; but all his efforts were in vain, and he fell upon the field of battle while making efforts to rally a portion of his routed and dispirited force. Conspicuous by his arms and ornaments,

ne was marked out by an English knight, sir John Maupas. Holding Edward Bruce in especial detestation, and firmly believing his death to be in every way deserved and desirable, he made a vow, after the custom of the age, to destroy him. Accordingly, though Edward was zealously defended by his friends and attendants, sir John succeeded in reaching him; and after the battle their dead bodies were found still grasping each other in the death-gripe.

Knowing what we do of the turbulence of the barons wherever the feudal law prevailed, how difficult the firmest and ablest kings found it to curb them, and how much they encroached upon the kingly authority even in the king's immediate vicinage, we have no room to doubt that the English barons in Ireland made their vassals, whether Irish or English by birth, feel the full weight of their feudal chains. Removed as they were from the check of the king's personal presence, and living in a country in which civil strife was not the mere exception, but the general, almost the universal rule, it would have been strange indeed if those barons had been less tyrannous than the men of their order who lived under circumstances less provocative of the evil impulses of our nature. But though the historian would sadly mistake his vocation who should represent the conduct of the English nobles in Ireland as being free from all spot and exception; though the very nature of the feudal tenure was provocative of wrong doing; yet, it behoves us, on the other hand, not to attribute to one cause, however open to censure in its own nature, evils which did not spring from it. And it is abundantly evident, that after making the fullest allowance for the evils which Ireland, in common with other countries, must of necessity have owed to the abuses of the feudal system, the chief and the abiding cause of Irish misery was the inherent disorderliness of the Irish character. The clergy, for instance, both English and Irish, maintained their place and privileges against even the boldest and most unprincipled of the nobles; but did the clergy of Ireland act as a united body? So far from doing so, the Irish clergy and the clergy of the English pale were at deadly feud. No English monk was allowed to enter an Irish monastery; and the monasteries of the English pale were hopelessly inaccessible to the native Irish monk. When we see that even the common bond of spiritual and temporal interest could not induce the clergy to lay aside their animosities, we need not marvel that the best attempts at causing a general union of the people failed, and that perpetual revolts, sometimes justified by tyrannous practices, and sometimes the mere flush and outbreak of fiery and turbulent spirits, at length tired the conquerors of their vain attempts to live in peace and unity with the conquered.

Edward III., who did so much towards improving the laws and raising the trade of England, was equally desirous to render the same service to Ireland. Clearly perceiving that it was next to impossible to obtain the exact obedience of the barons whose lands lay in Ireland, and, at the same time, very desirous to prevent the Irish people from being oppressed, he threw, as far as possible, the government of Ireland into the hands of nobles whose property lay in England, and for whose obedience and good conduct they consequently had some security. But this really excellent stroke of policy and humanity was made too late to have the effect it would have had at an earlier date.

A.D. 1361.—Lionel, duke of Clarence, was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland in the year 1361; and he evidently went there with the most sincere desire to give effect to his royal father's benevolent wishes for the people's welfare. But the animosities which had been so many years increasing were now beyond the possibility of a speedy remedy. Such was the hostility between the two races, that under the governorship of Lionel, it was found absolutely requisite to pass the stringent regulations known to lawyers as the statute of Kilkenny. Hitherto, even under the arbitrary John, attempts had been made to govern Ireland rather by affection than by severity, and the law left it quite open to the two races to become, in the course of time, amalgamated by marriage and friendship. But by this statute, which seems really to have been called for by the danger of the English, and by the exceeding rancour of the Irish, the latter were at length treated, formally, and by the express sanction of the law, as a conquered, inferior, and dangerous people. Marriage with the Irish was forbidden under the heaviest penalties; the nursing of English infants by Irish women was discountenanced, and severe punishments were allotted to the offences, on the part of men of English descent, of speaking the Irish language, using the Irish customs, or wearing the Irish dress. These and some other enactments were doubtless very severe; but it must be remembered that enactments in an opposite spirit had, for two hundred years, been tried in vain; and that between this stern severity and the actual abandonment of the island—the possession of which by France would have been prejudicial, perhaps fatal to the English throne—the condition and temper of the Irish people left room for no middle course. However reasonable the demands of the English government, they never failed to provoke an armed resistance; the country was continually in a state of revolt; famine was frequent and suffering constant; and however much the historian, living in a free and happier age, may feel inclined to dislike severity, he must wholly part with candour, or defy common-sense, ere he deny that in the case of Ireland the duty of severity was, under all the circumstances, by this time quite inseparable from the task of saving the English from the fury of the Irish, and the Irish from the folly, the violence, and the licentiousness of their own chief men, clerical as well as lay.

Soon after the accession of Richard II. to the throne of England, that prince went to Ireland with a considerable force, th'

character of the country for turbulence very naturally leading him to expect that he should find the chiefs disinclined to yield him peaceable homage. Whether, however, from some vague predilection in his favour, or from the very fact of his being accompanied by a large and well-appointed force, he was even joyfully received. No fewer than seventy-four of the most powerful men hastened to make a formal surrender of their possessions, and to agree to receive them in grant from him on condition of maintaining his royal authority in Ireland against all who should gainsay or resist it. Delighted with a loyalty so exuberant where he had anticipated reluctant homage, if not actual resistance, Richard proposed to honour with knighthood the four principal chiefs, or petty kings as they still affected to be styled. But the Irish were not learned in the high lore of chivalry, and an honour which would have been eagerly coveted by the high-born and wealthy elsewhere, and which was often gladly earned by long and perilous services in the field, was actually declined by these rude and untutored men, who gravely assured him that it was the custom of the Irish kings to confer knighthood on their sons even at the early age of seven years. And it was not until much pains had been taken to explain to them the theory and ordinances of genuine knighthood, that they could be induced to pass the preparatory vigil and receive the honour with its strict and solemn formalities. Richard on this occasion made a considerable stay in Ireland, and he and his Irish subjects parted in apparently cordial good feeling. But as soon as the king was absent the Irish chiefs became as turbulent as ever. The English pale was perpetually attacked, and so much territory recovered from it by the Irish, that it became reduced within dangerously narrow limits; and at length Roger, earl of March, cousin and heir presumptive of the king, was barbarously murdered. Richard was, at this time, greatly harassed and endangered by the enmity of Henry Bolingbroke, the exiled duke of Lancaster. But though he well knew that that noble meditated the invasion of England, Richard unhesitatingly led an army to Ireland, to avenge the death of his cousin: (A.D. 1399). As was usual with them, the Irish chieftains endeavoured to avoid being brought to a general action, and retired to the least accessible spots among the bogs and mountains. But Richard was too intent upon avenging the murder of his cousin to listen to those who represented the difficulty of following the rebels into their retreats. Burning the towns and villages as he marched along, and disregarding the sufferings and complaints of his soldiers, who often floundered in the treacherous soil of the bogs, furnishing easy and helpless marks for the unerring weapons of their enemies, he followed the latter up so closely, that the greater part of them gladly submitted on condition of being received into the king's peace with full indemnity for the past. But Macmorrogh, a lineal descendant of the chief whose misconduct had first called the English into Ireland, held out and loudly protested that neither fear nor love should ever induce him to submit. The chivalry of England was not, however, to be long resisted by a chieftain so comparatively powerless, and Macmorrogh at length agreed to treat with the earl of Gloucester. But when the meeting took place the fiery chieftain was so enraged at what he thought the insulting terms proposed to him, that he angrily broke up the conference and betook himself to his savage haunts, less inclined than ever to submission, though less than ever in a condition to carry on any permanent or effective war.

Richard offered a very large reward for the person of Macmorrogh, living or dead, but events had by this time taken place in England, which compelled him to forego his desire to punish his haughty and half-barbarous enemy; for the earl of Lancaster, who subsequently dethroned Richard, and succeeded him under the title of Henry IV., had landed in England, and been joined by some of the most powerful of the nobility, and an army of nearly sixty thousand men. Richard was consequently obliged to abandon whatever projects he had formed for Ireland.

Henry IV. could find no leisure to attend to the affairs of Ireland, though many and pressing petitions were sent to him; and during the whole of his reign the turbulence of the Irish chieftains, and the cupidity and despotism of the English authorities, made that country a scene of wild disorder and wretchedness; in which condition it remained from the close of the fourteenth century to the accession of Henry VII. of England. During this long period of fourscore years, the whole history of Ireland may be written in two words, *strife* and *misery*; and to enter into any detail would be merely to weary the reader with a monotonous recital of all the wrong that disgraces abused might, and all the misery that degrades while it tortures trampled weakness.

CHAPTER IX.

A.D. 1485.—As though Ireland had not already suffered sufficiently from wars, revolts, and their inevitable results, the accession to the throne of England of one of its most solidly wise and peace-loving kings, Henry VII., was the signal for more Irish disturbance. Hitherto the unhappy people had at least fought about their own affairs; but now they were involved in the cause of a low-born boy, a silly impostor, and the mere tool of a more knavish one. The history of the equally impudent and unsuccessful attempt of the priest Simon to palm a mean youth, named Lambert Simnel, upon the people as the earl of Warwick, the nephew of Edward IV., and heir to the throne of England, we gave in detail under the history of that country. But it is necessary that we speak of it here, inasmuch as that gross imposture became a cause of very considerable suffering to the Irish.

Richard Simon, a priest living in Oxford,

was undoubtedly also chief and direct instructor of the young impostor, Lambert Simnel: but considering the mode in which the king had arrived at his royal dignity, and considering the number, rank, and temper of his enemies, and especially considering the character of the dowager queen, there is but little reason to doubt that Simon was himself a mere tool in the hands of persons far higher in rank. Though, by whatever means procured, young Simnel was well furnished with information of the circumstances connected with the royal family; and though, consequently, it might fairly be expected that all examination of his own story by those who also had means of knowing those circumstances, would but tend to strengthen his cause, his tutor judged it best to let him make his first essay at imposture at a distance from the court. Both for the sake of its ignorance and its propensity to fighting for any or for no cause, Ireland was judged to be the fittest scene for the first attempt; especially as many of the Irish were fondly attached to the cause of the house of York, of which it was pretended that the young impostor was a scion, and were still more especially attached to his alleged parent, the duke of Clarence, who, as lord-lieutenant of Ireland, had been a very general favourite. All these circumstances induced the friends and advisers of Simnel to take him to Ireland, and his reception there fully answered their most sanguine expectations. The lord-deputy of Ireland, Thomas Fitzgerald, earl of Kildare, received the impostor's story without suspicion or hesitation, the people followed the example of the court, and the impudent son of a poor baker was actually crowned,—the crown being taken for that purpose from an image of the Virgin—lodged in Dublin castle with all regal honours and received throughout Ireland, under the title of king Edward VI., without a word said, or a blow stricken in defence of king Henry VII.

Much as we know of the ignorance that pervaded the great mass of the people previous to the general diffusion of information by means of the press, the success, however temporary, of this most impudent impostor, is marvellous even as regards the common people; and as regards the higher order of his adherents, it requires no small exertion of charitable judgement to acquit them of having feigned credulity in order to play off a low-born impostor against their king, in hatred of that king's talents, firmness, economy, and love of peace. For, in the first place, had the person to whose tale such extraordinary credence was yielded been the actual earl of Warwick, he would, even setting all the claims of Henry, the *de facto* king, aside, have had no title until after the daughters of Edward IV. And, in the next place, Henry VII., with the prudence which characterised his whole life, no sooner heard of the pretensions of Simnel, than he put all doubt out of the question, and rendered all disputation upon the subject utterly ridiculous, by causing the real earl of Warwick to be taken from his confinement in the Tower of London, and exhibited to the populace in the most public manner at Paul's-cross. Margaret of Burgundy, however, affecting to believe the absurd tale, got together two thousand German troops, under the command of an able and enterprising officer named Swartz, and sent them to Ireland. The arrival of such a force, sent, too, by a person of such influence as the duchess dowager of Burgundy, raised the Irish enthusiasm to the highest pitch. Too poor to be able much longer to support the pretender and his numerous followers, the Irish now became eager to be led to the support of his claims in England, where, moreover, it may fairly be presumed that they hoped to profit largely in the way of plunder, even should they not succeed in dethroning Henry. That shrewd and sensible monarch had, however, wisely contented himself with convincing his English subjects of Simnel's imposture, and thus preparing them to give him a cold or hostile reception should he attempt to leave Ireland for England.

Simnel, intoxicated with the honours which art in some and credulity in others caused him to receive in Ireland, was easily induced to believe that his cause and name were equally popular in England; and, in the full persuasion that he had only to show himself in order to secure English support to his cause, he actually disembarked his Germans and a host of the wildest of the kerne, as the native Irish warriors of that day were called, at Foudrey, in Lancashire. This was precisely what the king desired. He had completely destroyed the pretender's character in England by the simple but irrefragable evidence of the real and living earl of Warwick, and having thus rendered it next to impossible for the pretender to excite English sympathy, he marched against him. The hostile forces met in Nottinghamshire, and near Stoke in that county a most sanguinary action was fought. The impostor was completely defeated, and both he and his tutor were taken prisoners. The Irish, who fought with even more than their accustomed bravery, suffered dreadfully in this engagement. Ill provided with offensive weapons, they were altogether destitute of defensive armour; and consequently received the most ghastly and fatal wounds. Rushing, half-naked, upon the cool and well-protected soldiery of England, they saw their ranks awfully thinned at every charge, and when the battle was over but few of them remained alive. With the capture of Simnel the king's anger ended. He immediately despatched sir Richard Edgecombe with a full and free pardon to all in Ireland who had abetted or aided the impostor, and with authority and commandment to take their renewed oaths of allegiance. To Thomas, earl of Kildare, he sent, with the letter containing his pardon, a splendid gold chain; and shortly afterwards the principal lords of Ireland were summoned to wait upon the king at his palace at Greenwich, ostensibly for the purpose of doing homage and taking oaths of allegiance to him in person

as they already had done to his confidential representative. But the ever-politic king had a deeper design; that of making the Irish lords so ashamed of the impostor to whose designs they had so foolishly lent themselves, that they should be for ever after little disposed to countenance similar adventurers. And, accordingly, at a grand banquet to which they were invited, they had the surprise and mortification to find, among the liveried menials who waited upon them, that identical Simnel whom a short time previous they had crowned as their king—and crowned, too, with a diadem taken from the head of an image of the Virgin!

While a portion of the Irish were as foolishly as hardily throwing away their lives in England in support of Simnel, the Irish at home were fighting furiously among themselves. Bad as the situation of Ireland generally was, it was just now even worse than usual. The continual wars which were carried on by the Irish chieftains against each other and against the lords of the English pale, had thrown all the country beyond the then very narrow limits of that pale completely back into its primeval barbarism. Their huts, where they had them, were dreadfully mean, squalid, and unwholesome; thousands of them had no shelter but the woods and the mountain caves, and for the most part they lived like the nomade tribes of the East, shifting from place to place with their flocks and herds for the sake of pasturage, and neither practising nor profiting by the cultivation of their singularly fertile country.

Partly, perhaps, because he deemed that the mere existence of such a state of things proved the negligence or the incompetency of the earl of Kildare, and partly from information that another conspiracy was on foot, and that the earl was concerned in it, the king dismissed that nobleman from his office of lord-deputy of Ireland. Incensed at this disgrace and deprivation, Kildare leagued with O'Donnell, O'Neill, and other Irish chieftains, and all the horrors of war were again inflicted with increased severity. The English pale was invaded and ravaged; and the sufferers, in revenge, made incursions upon the neighbouring country; each party vied with the other in ferocity and injustice; and thus even the prudent and just precaution of the most peace-loving of English kings caused all the worst horrors of civil war to rage with tenfold violence throughout Ireland.

It seems to be a law as invariable as any physical law of nature, that evil deed shall be an evil seed; in other words, that in addition to the present evil which results from crime or folly, some future crime or folly shall result immediately from the one and mediately from the other. Ireland, poor, half-barbarous, and distant, would have been but little likely to have been dragged into the seditions of the enemies of Henry VII. if that same country had not also been desperate and turbulent. But its known propensity to turbulence and bloodshed, the ready credulity with which it had listened to Simnel, and the ignorant and faithful ferocity with which its thousands had perilled life and limb in that impostor's cause, could not fail to point it out to any new adventurer of the same stamp, as a sure refuge and nursery of his embryo conspiracy. Accordingly, that Perkin Warbeck, of whom we have had occasion to speak at length under the head of England, chose Ireland as the abiding-place of his designs upon the English crown. He landed at Cork, and was received there with a warmth and credulity even superior to those which had been bestowed upon Simnel. Pretending to be Richard Plantagenet, one of those young princes who were murdered by Richard III. in the Tower of London, he had no sooner landed in Ireland than he sent out his false missives in every direction; especially directing his attention to Desmond and Kildare, as knowing them to be beforehand inclined to treasonable practices against their sovereign. Fortunately for the usually unfortunate Irish people, the infatuation in favour of this pretender reached France, and was still stronger there than in Ireland, and Warbeck accepted an invitation to the former country.

But Henry VII., who, though he loved peace and preferred the amassing of money to the showy but empty glories of the mere conqueror, was, nevertheless, very capable of exerting real vigour upon real and solid occasion, now came to the conclusion that the existing state of things in Ireland was far too favourable to the enemies of his throne; and he at once determined to make such alterations as would prevent that island from being so convenient a refuge and recruiting place for pretenders and their traitorous friends. It is a singular fact, that Ireland, overrun and terribly injured by her own native factions, was at this time an avowed and permitted sanctuary to evil doers. He who had committed in England an offence by which he had forfeited his life or liberty, had only to escape from England into Ireland, and no man could touch him. This right of sanctuary was first formally recognised by Richard duke of York—father of Edward IV.—during his governorship of Ireland, but for its actual origin we must look to the numerous monastic houses there. Henry VII., perceiving the immense but pernicious advantages which the worst enemies of England derived from this Irish right of sanctuary, very wisely determined to abolish it; and he intrusted this and some other important reforms to a man of considerable talent and still more energy, sir Edward Poynings, whose able and firm conduct caused his name to be given to the important regulations known to lawyers under the name of 'Poynings' law,' which struck at the very root of Irish sedition and turbulence, by taking away from the lords, parliament, and all other authorities in Ireland, the power of giving force and validity to any law until it should have been considered and sanctioned by the king of England. Sir Edward Poynings at the same time revived, as far as practicable,

the celebrated statute of Kilkenny, and did much towards rendering the lords of the English pale less powerful, both as to wantonly oppressing the Irish, and as to carrying on with impunity their rebellious and traitorous practices against the king of England. Perhaps the most important act performed by sir Edward Poynings towards discountenancing the disorderly conduct of the lords of the pale, was his arresting and sending prisoner to England the celebrated earl of Kildare. The earl, however, was in no real danger. In this, as in not a few other cases, Henry VII. carried his usually praiseworthy temporising and peaceable policy too far, and allowed an exceedingly dull joke of the earl's to serve as an excuse not merely for pardoning him, but even for reappointing him to the dangerously powerful office for which he had shown himself so singularly unfit.

A.D. 1497.—Warned by his narrow escape, the earl of Kildare seems henceforward to have conducted himself with considerable discretion. Perkin Warbeck, aided by his French friends, having made an attempt upon England, was signally disappointed by the loyal men of Kent. They invited him to land, intending to seize him, but the pretender was too experienced a cheat to fall into the snare, and the result fully justified his caution. Those of his adherents who had landed were either slain or made prisoners; and Warbeck, unaware or neglectful of the alteration in the temper and opportunities of Ireland that had been wrought by Poynings' law, proceeded thither. But though on landing at Cork he was well received by the mayor of that place, and also by the factious earl of Desmond, he speedily found it necessary to depart for Scotland, where he had a most credulous and fast friend in James IV., who protected and honoured him to the utmost, and even went so far as to give him the hand of his own relative the lovely Catherine Gordon, daughter of the earl of Huntley, who, to the honour of Henry VII., be it said, was most kindly and hospitably treated after the fall and execution of her husband. This short stay of Warbeck in Ireland was, thanks to the good order established by Poynings, productive of no general injury; the mayor of Cork, who was subsequently executed for his treasonable conduct with the pretender, being the chief sufferer.

A.D. 1535.—The earl of Kildare had now for some time been in a sort of honourable imprisonment in England; cardinal Wolsey, the able minister of Henry VIII., having decidedly, and very wisely, objected to allowing that nobleman's use or abuse of his immense power in Ireland to depend upon his more or less lively recollection of the narrow escape his father had formerly had; and the cardinal had an additional reason to doubt the loyalty and faith of the young earl, from the fact of his being very closely allied with the notoriously seditious and powerful chieftains of the septs O'Carrol and O'Connor.

During Kildare's enforced absence he left all his interests and influence in the hands of his son, lord Thomas Fitzgerald, who was then barely twenty-one years of age. The usual feuds were rife in Ireland, and the usual suffering and desperation existed; and the immense estates of Kildare would, consequently, have tasked the whole of even his great and practised talents for their defence against open enmity, or the still more dangerous arts of pretended friendship. It is not surprising that, under such circumstances, so very young a man as the lord Thomas Fitzgerald should fall into the snare that was laid for him by his father's enemies. They, in order to involve him with the English government, caused it to be reported to him, that his father had been put to death in England, and that orders had been actually issued for his own arrest and that of other members of his family. Hot-headed, and, to say the truth, partly justified by the probabilities of the case, the young man assembled his armed followers and galloped off to Dublin, where he scornfully threw down his father's state sword, and made a solemn renunciation, in both his own and his father's name, of all allegiance and respect to the English crown. It was to no purpose that the chancellor, one of the few real friends in Ireland or the Fitzgerald family, implored the enthusiastic and deceived young man not to commit himself too hastily and too far. The mere rhymed follies of an Irish bard were, with this hot-headed and most ill-advised young nobleman, sufficient to counterbalance all the wisdom of a grave and really honest counsellor. He collected all the friends and stores he could command; and though the plague was then raging in Dublin, he proceeded to invest that city. Knowing that he had many friends, he sent propositions to the principal citizens, assuring the safety of the city itself, provided that they would aid him in laying siege to the castle. Alarmed for their own property and safety, the citizens consented to these terms; and the lord Thomas accordingly attacked the castle. The archbishop,—who also had friends proof to the ordinary temptations which make men traitors,—contrived to get on board ship, and would most probably have escaped, but for the circumstance of the vessel in which he had embarked going ashore in a gale of wind at Clontarf. The unfortunate prelate got safely to land, but was seized by the adherents of Fitzgerald; and to the eternal disgrace of that personage, who actually witnessed the execution of his own most unjust as well as impolitic command, was immediately put to death. After this disgraceful murder, lord Thomas left a part of his army in blockade of the castle, and led the remainder into Kilkenny to invade the property of the earl of Ossory, to whom he had previously sent an offer of alliance. The earl, far more honest than was the wont of the Irish nobles of that time, sternly refused the offer that was thus craftily made to him in the double character of threat and promise. His loyal conduct was most providentially rewarded by a sudden change of determination on the part of the citizens of Dublin, who refused

to allow the siege of the castle to be carried on any farther. They employed scouts to spread a report that troops had arrived from England; and so implicitly did the people believe it, that they boldly threw open the castle gates, and sallied out with so much fury upon the domestic enemy that they completely put them to the rout. Lord Thomas, who, on learning the change that had taken place in the determination of the people of Dublin, had hastened back, was wholly unable to restrain the panic among his men, and was himself fain to take refuge in a monastery for the night. On the following day, being secure in his camp, he proposed terms; but as he refused to give up the children of several leading citizens of Dublin unless he were first assured of the king's pardon—an assurance which the citizens of course were unable to give him—the treaty came to nothing, and a terrible civil war ensued, the horrors of which were aggravated by a pestilence which, originating in Dublin, spread itself thence through the whole country.

A.D. 1533.—Lord Leonard Grey, newly appointed to the government of Ireland, displayed considerable talent in the course of this terrible strife; and after upwards of six months of hard fighting, he obliged lord Thomas to surrender. He and five of his uncles, who had been as deeply concerned as himself, were sent to London as prisoners, and there executed.

Henry VIII. was the more enraged by the extent and continuance of this rebellion, because it put a stop to the efforts he was just then making to carry into the religion of Ireland the same reformation he had brought about in England. As soon as the rebellion was suppressed, Henry renewed his endeavours to that end; and so evident an evil was the multitude of monastic houses in Ireland, that the archbishop of Dublin was the very first person to fall in with the king's design. By that prelate's advice the Irish parliament was called together, and an act was forthwith passed for transferring to the crown the first fruits and other spiritual dues which hitherto had been paid to the pope. This politic step was soon after followed up by the issuing of a commission similar to that which had existed in England for suppressing the monasteries. Unquestionably good and necessary as this measure was in itself, it was carried into effect without a sufficient regard to considerations of political economy, or even of ordinary humanity. The very enormousness of the evil required that the remedy should be applied with all the greater prudence. Almost destitute as Ireland was at this time of manufactures and commerce, the sudden turning upon the world of an immense number of men and women, who for years had been unaccustomed to the cares of providing for their worldly wants, could not fail to make a very terrible addition to the frightful distress that already existed. Moreover, the doles that were given at the gates of the religious houses were of vital importance to starving thousands, and the courtiers and speculators to whom the king disposed of the possessions of the suppressed communities, with a most unreflecting profusion, were little inclined to show the same indulgence to the tenants that had made the church everywhere proverbial as the easiest and most liberal of landlords. It is obvious that a very slight amount of judgement and care might have spared very much of the misery that was thus caused; and it is lamentable to reflect that the want of that care and judgement made evil mingle so largely and so long in what would otherwise have been a measure of unmixed goodness and wisdom.

The suppression of the monasteries, and the formal declaration of Henry VIII. as king of Ireland, completely independent of the pope—instead of lord of Ireland holding under the pope, which was the light in which the Irish had hitherto looked upon the king of England—were followed up by some politic endeavours on the part of Henry, by personal attentions and the distribution of titles, to conciliate the loyalty and regard of the Irish chieftains. O'Donnell, for instance, was created earl of Tyrconnel; O'Neill, earl of Tyrone; and his son, lord Duncannon; though the latter, formidable as he could make himself in wild Irish warfare, was so poor, that in order to be able to go to London to receive his new honour from the hands of the king, he was actually obliged to borrow a hundred pounds of St. Leger, the English governor, and had so little prospect of returning even that petty sum in hard cash, that he stipulated to be allowed to repay it in cattle.

The most politic and just use that Henry made of any of the lands of the suppressed monastic houses in Ireland, was that of giving estates to many of the nobles upon whom he conferred titles; a step by which he at once reconciled them to the suppression and the separation from Rome, and gave them a stronger interest in resisting any attempts that might be made to disturb the country or to throw off his authority. And though neither that nor any measure, which, unaccompanied by a more extensive civilisation of the people, and increase of trade and commerce than were immediately practicable, could have wholly restored peace to a people who had been so long accustomed to live in the midst of the disturbances and miseries of civil war, it is clear that Henry's politic attention and liberality to the Irish had considerable effect; for the suppression of the monasteries and all the consequent sufferings of the people caused scarcely any increase of the usual turbulence of that most turbulent country. The comparatively short reign of Mary in England, however, served to show that the facility with which the Irish had acquiesced in Henry's sweeping reform of religion was chiefly owing to self-interest and to the skill of the king in accommodating his favour to the temper and desires of the person to be conciliated. For a very general inclination was shown in Ireland, during the reign of Mary, to return to the papal faith, and one of the earliest difficulties experienced by Elizabeth was that

of reestablishing protestantism among her Irish subjects.

The Desmonds and the O'Neills were especially troublesome in their resistance to England. The earl of Desmond broke out into an open war with the earl of Ormond, who, besides being a very powerful and able nobleman, was a cousin of the queen. Desmond, professing to be confident that he could show that he was in the right in the dispute between him and Ormond, which originated in a question of boundary of their adjoining possessions, petitioned to be allowed to represent the matter to the queen in person. He arrived in London under the impression that he was to have the required interview, but instead of being so favoured, he was, harshly enough, thrown in the Tower, where he was kept a close prisoner for some years. When he at length got his liberty, he naturally enough extended his enmity from the earl of Ormond to the English power altogether.

A.D. 1579.—Philip of Spain, hating Elizabeth, both as the protestant ruler of that kingdom which he would fain have subjected to the gloomy and desolating despotism of the inquisition, and because she had, most prudently, refused the offer he made of his hand almost before her sister and his wife was laid in her tomb, gladly encouraged Desmond in his desire to work evil to the English power, and actually sent the rebel earl a very considerable force of Spaniards and Italians. But the wild Irish warfare, with its accompanying famine and other sufferings, was too much for the endurance of these troops, who had been accustomed to make war with considerably less bloodshed and more personal indulgence. Defeated wherever they appeared, and at length abandoned in despair by Desmond himself, they laid down their arms, and sir Walter Raleigh and other English officers decided that they could not be looked upon so much in the light of prisoners of war, as in that of felonious abettors of a foul domestic rebellion; and, as a consequence of this decision, they were summarily executed.

Desmond himself being found in a wretched hut, was put to death by some soldiers for the sake of the reward they anticipated receiving for his head from his enemy the earl of Ormond. The large territories of Desmond, and the vast possessions of the numerous wealthy men who had abetted his rebellion, were confiscated, either on the death of the owners in battle, or by their departure on the failure of the rebellion to the Low Countries, where service was offered to them by Philip.

If the miseries of civil war fell exclusively upon those who excite it, the evil would be great and sad enough to cause our sorrow; but, unhappily, the worst share of wretchedness usually falls upon people who neither take part in the crime, nor have any power to prevent its commission. In the present case, the horrors of famine and disease raged to such an extent as almost to depopulate Munster. Raleigh and other Englishmen got grants of the land that was thus left untenanted; upwards of forty new lordships being distributed, at almost nominal rents, upon the condition of settling English families. This, however, could only be partially done, for we have not a greater horror of the most savage deserts of Africa at the present day than the generality of Englishmen then had of Ireland. Irish tenants, therefore, were, in many cases, accepted by the new owners of the soil. We have mentioned among these new owners the celebrated sir Walter Raleigh; and to the accident of his obtaining a grant Ireland owes the introduction of her staple food, potatoes, which he first brought into that country from Spanish America. He also introduced the cultivation of tobacco, but the climate of Ireland—more moist even than England—prevented the quality from being good, or the crop from being even moderately safe, and, excepting as a matter of curiosity, it is now but little known there. But, by introducing the potato, Raleigh conferred a real and permanent benefit upon that country.

Hugh O'Neill, who had received much kindness from queen Elizabeth, by whom he had been created earl of Tyrone, and to whom he was indebted for the restoration of a very considerable part of the earldom, which had been forfeited to the crown by the treason of his uncle Shane O'Neill, was for some time one of the most loyal of the queen's nobles in Ireland. It chanced, however, that when the great and providential tempest dispersed that armada which Philip of Spain and the pope had presumptuously named the 'invincible,' some of the vessels composing it were wrecked upon the coast of Ireland. Tyrone, whose art had not so completely concealed his real feelings as to cause his loyalty to be wholly unsuspected, behaved with so much cordiality to the shipwrecked Spaniards, as to give an opportunity to his cousin, a son of Shane O'Neill, to accuse him of treasonable correspondence with Spain. All the long-suppressed violence of the earl's nature now burst fiercely forth, and with a violence which gave ample occasion to believe that the real sting of the charge lay in its truth. As he had, for many years, been favoured and distinguished by the queen, in whose service he had in his youth borne arms against the earl of Desmond, had he really been innocent, and indignant at the impeachment of his loyalty, it is quite obvious that he could have had no difficulty in obtaining an opportunity to clear himself in the eyes of her majesty. But instead of taking this safe and straightforward course, he caused his cousin to be seized and put to death; and having thus, by an inhuman and gratuitous crime, put himself out of the queen's peace, he impudently set himself up as the *patriotic* enemy of that queen to whose favour he owed all that he possessed. Levying war under the pretence of patriotism, but, in reality, to save himself from the deserved penalty of murder, he also excited the M'Guires, the M'Mahons, and other septs to join in his rebellion; and while the English government and its authorised officers and agents were

endeavouring to civilise and enrich the country, these patriots were doing their utmost to throw it deeper and deeper into barbarism and poverty, for the mere sake of serving their own most disgracefully selfish purposes.

A.D. 1594.—The experience of ages had not as yet taught the Irish that peace is the true nursing mother of prosperity and happiness. Tyrone and his rebellious associates, with abundant support, had committed proportionate crime, and inflicted proportionate misery. And yet, when in 1594, sir William Russell went to Ireland as lord-deputy, Tyrone had the consummate assurance to go to Dublin to take the oath of allegiance and give assurances of his desire to support her majesty's government. Sir Henry Bagnal, a shrewd man and stern soldier, who then filled the office of marshal of the army in Ireland, was for putting it out of the practised traitor's power to commit further crime by at once sending him over to England. But sir William Russell, desirous above all things of carrying conciliation to its utmost prudent length, determined to trust the earl's promise of faith and loyalty; and the earl showed his sense of this too trusting and chivalrous conduct, by immediately going to his own territory and opening a correspondence with her majesty's bitterest enemy, the Spaniard, from whom he obtained a large supply of arms and ammunition, and then openly placed himself at the head of a confederacy of Irish chiefs, the avowed object being the ruin of the English power in Ireland. The very poverty of the Irish, added to the nature of their country, abounding in wood, bog, and mountain, rendered the putting down of an armed rebellion in that country a matter of extreme difficulty under any circumstances; and this difficulty was increased by queen Elizabeth's well-known parsimony, which, in this case, was as censurable as it usually was praiseworthy. Ill-provided with means of paying anything like a considerable force, her commanders in Ireland had their best-laid plans defeated; and the rebels retiring for a time to their wild fastnesses, made their appearance in as full force as ever, the instant that the English troops were disbanded or reduced. It was chiefly, beyond all doubt, to this circumstance, that the treacherous Tyrone owed his long impunity. Knowing the difficulty of finally and efficiently crushing such an enemy, without a far larger sum than the queen was ever likely to devote to that purpose, the queen's officers were naturally better inclined than they otherwise would have been to listen to Tyrone's specious proposals for accommodation; which proposals he regularly made, and as regularly broke, according as the fortune of war made the one course necessary or the other seductive.

Shrewd and well-advised as Elizabeth was beyond almost all English sovereigns, it was, probably, only her ruling passion that would thus have been allowed to injure her interest, without check from her own strong sense, or censure from her ministers' faithful zeal. But *magnum vectiga parsimonia* was the ruling maxim of her life; to parsimony she owed not a little of that respect which the profusion of her successor caused to be withheld from him; to parsimony she owed not a little of her impunity in despotism ten times sterner and a thousand times more gratuitous and wilful than the most despotic act that ever was charged against her successor's martyred son; and there was too much of the fierce spirit of the fiercest of the Tudors in the nature of Elizabeth of England to render it possible for any minister, however able, successfully to combat, even in a particular case, a maxim to which the whole experience of her life taught her that she owed so much. And, accordingly, to the six thousand pounds which was the ordinary revenue of Ireland, the queen added only twenty thousand, when emergency required the doubling or trebling of the ordinary English force of a thousand men; and it is easy to perceive that however fortunate on particular occasions her most skilful commanders might be, they were far too poorly supplied to allow of their following up the enemy with the requisite vigour and pertinacity.

While sir John Norris was in command of the English force in Ireland, Tyrone, who was extremely artful, availed himself of his knowledge of the limited extent to which the queen supplied her officers, to play upon that commander's feelings, to make and break treaties to such an extent, that the unfortunate gentleman actually died of a complaint which the doctors attributed solely to his mental sufferings. He was succeeded by sir Henry Bagnal, of whom mention has already been made, an able and shrewd officer. Being well aware of the real disposition and intentions of Tyrone, this gallant officer resolved to press him to the utmost; but an unfortunate circumstance caused the first of his operations to terminate in his death. The rebels at that time were besieging the fort of Blackwater, the garrison of which they had already reduced to great distress. Sir Henry led his troops to the relief of the fort, and was suddenly attacked on very disadvantageous ground; and one of the ammunition waggons accidentally blowing up, so increased the panic into which the men had been thrown by the suddenness of the attack, that a complete rout took place. The loss on the English side was fully fifteen hundred, and unhappily included the gallant sir Henry; and but for the able and daring conduct of Montacute, the commander of the cavalry, who fortunately held the enemy in check, the loss would have been much greater. The rebels were naturally very much elated by this victory, which was more decisive than they were accustomed to achieve; and it also put them in possession of a very considerable supply of arms and ammunition, of both of which they stood in great need. As for Tyrone, he was so elated, that he assumed to himself the title of deliverer of the Irish people and patron of Irish liberty.

This event caused no little anxiety at

the English court; and Elizabeth and her counsellors at length came to the determination to give no future room to the rebels to avail themselves of truces and treaties. The queen, in truth, deemed it high time, as it assuredly was, to put her Irish affairs in the hands of some commander possessing such rank as well as ability as would impose upon the Irish. Her own opinion inclined towards Charles Blount, the young and high-spirited lord Mountjoy. But Essex, who was now high in his sovereign's favour, was himself ambitious of acquiring fame and influence by pacifying Ireland, and he urged that Mountjoy was not possessed either of the requisite standing or the requisite talent; plainly giving the queen to understand that he was himself by far the fittest person she could send. Those courtiers who were his sincere friends —and few men ever had friends more sincere in that order of society—endeavoured to persuade him that no office, however high, was worth his acceptance, if it would require his permanent absence from the court.

Deaf to the wise counsel of his friends, Essex so perseveringly pushed his suit, that Elizabeth at length consented to intrust him with the much-coveted office; and in the patent by which she constituted him her lord-lieutenant of Ireland, she gave him powers which had never before been intrusted to that officer; the power, namely, of peace and war, of pardoning rebels, and of appointing all the principal officers in his lieutenancy. As in power and distinction, so in military force, he was favoured beyond any of his predecessors; having an army provided for him of twenty thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry.

Averse as Elizabeth was well known to be to all expensive armaments, the more reflecting among the friends of Essex trembled for him, and the more reflecting among his enemies rejoiced in anticipation of the utter ruin in which failure would involve him, should he be otherwise than splendidly successful when so abundantly provided with the means of achieving success. And, in order to render ill success the more ruinous to him, should it occur, lord Cobham, Raleigh, Cecil, and the earl of Nottingham took every opportunity to impress upon the queen the impossibility of her favourite being otherwise than successful, after she had so largely and liberally provided for all his need.

Essex, wholly losing sight of prudence in the exultation of present honour and in the enthusiastic but empty acclamations of the populace, went to Ireland in the highest possible spirits; little dreaming how many courtiers rejoiced in his success only because they saw in it the sure precursor of his fall, and utterly unsuspicious that he was carrying even in his personal train not a few whose sole purpose in accompanying was to espy his actions and report his words.

The situation in which Essex was placed by the eagerness and pertinacity with which he had sought his mission, by the immense importance and the inevitable publicity of every false step he could take, and by the singular liberality with which the queen had supplied him with every thing that could aid him in being successful, seems so obvious and simple, that it is difficult to understand how a man of unquestionable genius could possibly fail to see the peculiar necessity in which he was placed, firstly, to abide, with the most inflexible strictness, to all positive and particular commands that he had received from the queen, how trifling soever they might be; and, secondly, to allow no consideration to tempt him out of the course of action he had pledged himself to as being the best calculated to insure success. And yet, in these two capital particulars, Essex was false to his own safety and the interest of his royal mistress from the very outset! So much can youth, vanity, and too much prosperity intoxicate even those minds to which nature has been the most liberal.

The earl of Southampton had incurred the anger of Elizabeth by marrying without her permission,—an offence which never failed very deeply to incense her against those of her courtiers who committed it; and before Essex left England the queen gave him express and positive orders not to give any command to Southampton. But Essex was his personal and particular friend; moreover the queen had just delighted to honour Essex far above all her other courtiers; and he, generously desirous to serve his friend, could not see that even the most trivial disobedience would tell with fearful consequence against himself, should any ill success in his important mission make the queen's future anger proportionate to her present favour, her future disappointment proportionate to her present trust and confidence.

One of the very first acts of Essex on his arrival in Ireland was to give his friend Southampton the command of the horse. This error, gross enough singly, was still farther aggravated. The queen no sooner heard of this signal disobedience than she sent her special command to Essex to revoke Southampton's commission, and Essex, instead of obeying this command, contented himself with remonstrating upon its impolicy; nor did he obey it until a new and more positive order convinced him that his own command would be taken from him if he longer hesitated to obey.

Considering the impetuous and self-willed character of the sovereign whom he served, Essex placed himself in sufficient peril and disadvantage by this one error; but as if he were utterly infatuated and determined upon ruin, he immediately afterwards committed an error still more grave, because striking still more directly and fatally against the success of the enterprise that had been intrusted to him. At the English council board he had constantly, and in no measured terms, censured the folly of wasting time, strength, and opportunity in petty operations of detail against the Irish rebels; and he had positively pledged himself to proceed at once against the main body under Tyrone himself. The queen and her able advisers having perfectly agreed with him upon this

point, his instructions were drawn up in exact conformity with the opinions he had so often and so strongly expressed. He was now, therefore, doubly pledged; at once by his own judgement and by his duty. Yet he had scarcely landed in Dublin when he allowed himself to be persuaded that the season was too early for passing the bogs which sheltered Tyrone, and that his better plan would be to devote some time to an expedition into Munster, where parties of the rebels were doing much mischief and exercising much tyranny. Now, making every allowance for the climate of Ireland, it is difficult to understand how it could be too early for soldiers, men whose duty and boast it is to overcome difficulties, to make their way through the bogs, when we remember that Essex did not leave London until the month of March. A man of prudence would have enquired how far such a strange excuse originated in the selfish interest rather than in the sincere conviction of the advisers. But gallant as Essex had proved himself, and especially at Cadiz, he had none of that deep reflection and eagle-eyed glance at details which are so necessary to a commander-in-chief; and instead of discovering, as with more solidity and less brilliancy, he must have discovered, that the persons who thus advised him had possessions in Munster, about which they were far more anxious than about the national honour, he at once fell into the snare, and employed himself in the very task of mere detail which he had so emphatically censured in other commanders. He was very successful in Munster—while he remained there; but when in July the English troops, thinned and sickly, returned to Dublin, the dispersed rebels returned to Munster as strong as ever, and far more confident; for they now perceived that Essex was by no means the consummate commander he had been called. The course he had so unwisely pursued had yet farther ill consequence. For the sake of what must of necessity have been merely temporary success in Munster, he had not only thinned and weakened his men, but, in mere partial actions, had given them the opportunity to form a very respectful opinion of the Irish prowess. On one occasion his men behaved so timidly, that he cashiered the officers of the detachment, and actually decimated the common men. Nothing worse than this could have occurred in a decisive affair with Tyrone himself; nothing of the sort was likely to have happened while the English troops were fresh, strong, and full of contempt for the kerne of Ireland; but after being so disheartened in detail, how could men be expected to show any great zeal for more decisive and extensive operations? Moreover, so much time had been wasted, that, as formerly, it was said to be too early for passing the morasses, so now it was said to be too late. Essex now wrote home for reinforcements, and the queen, seemingly resolute to leave him no reasonable excuse for ultimate and signal failure, at once reinforced him. But real and counterfeited sickness, and very numerous desertions, rendered it impossible for him, out of the imposing force which he had frittered away in idle detail skirmishing to lead more than four thousand men against the main enemy. With this force he found it impossible to bring Tyrone to action; for that wily chieftain was far more desirous of wearing out his enemy than of giving him an opportunity of profiting by superior discipline and equipment. And with his usual and often successful impudence, he demanded a personal conference with the English commander. Here again Essex displayed great unfitness for his command. He was fully authorised, it is true, to *pardon* rebels, but he betrayed at once his own dignity, and that of his royal mistress, in consenting to give the rebel chief an interview without first insisting upon his submission. Tyrone, who was as deeply politic as Essex was open and thoughtless, seems to have understood at a glance the character of the man with whom he had to deal. While making stipulations which, as coming from a rebel, could be looked upon only as insult to the queen, he behaved to the queen's lieutenant with the most profound personal respect; persuaded him into a truce until the following May and even, it would seem, caused him to listen, at least, to insinuations which it was treason even to hear without resentment.

This 'most lame and impotent conclusion' could not fail to be deeply annoying to Elizabeth, after she had departed so far from her usual economical policy in order to insure a complete conquest of the Irish rebels. And Essex was so far from even now seeing his error, and taking the only mode by which Elizabeth could have been soothed, that he excited her temper still farther by peevish and petulant letters in which he sought to throw the blame rather upon an alleged want of means and opportunity, than upon his own want of firmness and sagacity. Though the queen's answers plainly showed that she really was deeply offended, she was even yet disinclined to wound his proud spirit by so public a disgrace as immediate recall would by both his friends and his foes have been considered; and she expressly ordered him to remain in Ireland. Judicious action, or even judicious refraining from such action as could probably add to the queen's anger, might even now have enabled him to recover his ground in Ireland; but instead of availing himself of the opening the queen afforded him by refraining from recalling him, the spoiled favourite, happening, while in his worst humour with the English court and with himself, to hear that the queen had promoted his rival, sir Robert Cecil, to an office which he had long coveted for himself, took no farther notice of the queen's expressed command, but hastened over to England. His reception there belongs to the History of England; we must here confine ourselves to Ireland, and its affairs, as he, on this petulant departure, left them.

Lord Mountjoy, whom Elizabeth, as we have said, originally intended for the Irish expedition, was now sent over in the hope

that he would repair the evils caused by the flighty and inconsiderate conduct of his accomplished, but, in this case at least, incapable rival. The Irish rebels speedily discovered that they now had to deal with a lord-lieutenant very different in character from the vain and facile Essex. Brave and accomplished as a soldier, Mountjoy was also somewhat inclined to sternness and severity.

A.D. 1603.—On taking the command in Ireland, Mountjoy determined neither to employ all his force upon one point, nor to make a war of detail in such a way as could be advantageous to the rebels. Dividing his force into detachments, he gave the commands to men of known ability and courage, with orders to act with the utmost vigour while opposed, and to give no quarter even when opposition had ceased. The rebels being thus attacked in all quarters at once, and finding that their new opponent was as impracticable in negotiation as he was irresistible in war, threw down their arms. Many of them sought safety by retiring into the most inaccessible morasses and mountain caves, and remaining hidden there, and half starved, while their friends exerted themselves to obtain their peace on such terms as Mountjoy chose to dictate. Tyrone was no exception to this general rule. At first, indeed, he tried to obtain terms, but his days of successful deception were now at length abandoned. Mountjoy inflexibly refused to admit him to mercy on any other condition than that of the most absolute and literal surrender of both his life and fortunes to the queen's pleasure.

A.D. 1603.—Finding that any attempt to palter with Mountjoy would probably put him in some danger of being altogether excluded from the queen's mercy, he appeared before the lord-lieutenant and made the required submission. But he was even now too late. Elizabeth had expired while he still hesitated; and as the character of her successor rendered it very unlikely that he would show mercy to rebels so crafty and faithless as Tyrone, both he and O'Donnell made their escape to Italy; where Tyrone lived some years, supported only by a pension allowed to him by the pope.

CHAPTER X.

A.D. 1612.—THE most efficient of the English commanders in curbing the restless spirit of Ireland was undoubtedly the lord Mountjoy; and perhaps, but for his stern chastisement of armed rebellion, Ireland would not have been in a state to profit by the wise and humane desire of Elizabeth's successor, James I., to civilise the people by raising them socially as well as intellectually, by giving them an interest in the preservation of peace by putting them in possession of the manifold luxuries and comforts which are only obtainable by the practice of the arts of peace. It is impossible to rate too highly the good effect of the wise policy of James towards Ireland; and when he boasts of that policy, we must read his self-laudation altogether without that pitying smile which we bestow upon his pedantries, and upon the absurdities which even his native sagacity did not prevent him from sharing with the majority of his subjects.

He clearly perceived what, next to the putting down of actual rebellion, was the most pressing and the most vital want of Ireland: manufactures, trade, and the opportunity, means, and, above all, the *examples* of using them.

The immense tracts of land which civil war and rebellion had depopulated in Ireland, and especially in Ulster, furnished the sagacious James with the first great element, room for civilised colonists whose example of industry and prosperity could not fail to have the effect of raising all the rest of the country in the social scale. On all former occasions the scheme of colonising Ireland had a radically bad principle which constantly caused it to fail. The English pale was held by swordsmen, not by manufacturers, or even to any considerable extent by traders. Bold soldiers, but for the most part as uncultivated as the very natives whom they had dispossessed, these men either were constantly engaged in petty warfare with the 'mere Irish,' as the men beyond the English pale were called, or, if they fell into peaceable intimacy with them, were far more apt to fall with them into barbarism, than to raise them into civilisation and an inclination towards the arts of peace. And that, as must be abundantly evident to the attentive reader, was actually the process which took place, not merely with the general mass here, but also with men of some mark and note.

Aware that a large sum of English money was absolutely necessary for the carrying out of his admirable plan of Irish reformation, and aware too that practical mercantile men were the best possible persons to look after the details upon which so much would necessarily depend, James incorporated the Royal Irish Society. The members were to be annually elected from among the aldermen and common council of London; and to the committee, thus formed, were all matters to be intrusted connected with the management of the Irish fisheries, and the waste tracts of land which were to be disposed of. These lands were to be let to three distinct classes of undertakers; so called because they undertook to fulfill certain conditions. Those who received two thousand acres were to build a castle, with a proportionate *bawn* or yard, surrounded by a substantial wall; those who received fifteen hundred acres were to build a substantial stone house, also surrounded by a *bawn*, unless in situations where a bridge would be still more desirable; and those who received a thousand acres were to build a good and substantial dwelling to their own taste. In some cases Irish chieftains were allowed to undertake upon these terms, and to have Irish tenants, on condition that these latter should abandon their wandering and predatory habits, and dwell together in steady, peaceful, and industrious pursuits

but, for the most part, preference was given to English undertakers, who were to have English or Lowland Scotch tenants. Nor did this excellent scheme comprehend merely the open and wholly depopulated country; Coleraine, Londonderry, and some smaller towns had considerable sums spent upon them in repairing and rebuilding; and hundreds of English and Scotch mechanics, with their families and all necessary appliances for their several trades, were sent thither. At the same time, churches were endowed and schools established; and those who so loudly charge it upon England as an injustice that the protestant church is supported in Ireland, would do well to look back, and to look attentively, upon this passage in Irish history.

Having done so much towards introducing the industry and profit in the train of which civilisation, comfort, and an attachment to peace are so sure to follow, James declared all the people in Ireland to be equally his subjects, abolished the whole of the Brehon laws, and stationed a small army in Ireland, which was regularly paid from England, and thus spared all temptation to excite disturbances in the country by levying contributions upon its inhabitants. The good effect of this was strikingly shown in the case of an outbreak excited and headed by a turbulent chief named O'Dogherty. This chieftain, among many, was very much enraged at seeing the comfort and prosperity in which strangers dwelt in his native country; and he was especially opposed to the abolition of the Brehon laws, which gave occasion to periodical warfare by a most absurd division of property, and made murder and other crimes as purchaseable as any manufactural luxury, by affixing a price to each crime; as the Normans and Saxons, and most other partially barbarous people, had done at an earlier day. Taking counsel with other chieftains as prejudiced and turbulent as himself, O'Dogherty endeavoured to plunge the country into a civil war once more. But his first outbreak was steadily met by the resident English troops; reinforcements were speedily sent; and he who but a few years before might have sacked towns, and then have sold his good behaviour for a peerage, was easily and speedily put down. Regular circuits for the administration of justice were formed; charters of incorporation were bestowed upon the larger and more prosperous towns; and James had the truly enviable pleasure of seeing prosperity and growing civilisation accomplished by his peaceful and equitable rule, for a country which his predecessors had for nearly four hundred and fifty years failed even to begin to rule with either certainty or advantage.

CHAPTER XI.

A.D. 1641.—FROM the year 1603 Ireland had been constantly progressing, sometimes slowly, sometimes more rapidly, but always progressing, more or less, towards the comparative perfection of England; and if in the year 1641, Brian Borohme, or Malachi of the golden collar, those sincere and—the age in which they lived being considered—sensible friends of their native country, could have seen the splendid alterations that had been wrought in its favour, they would have denounced to the death the traitor, who, for the sake of his own base interests, or his own ignorant fancies, should have proposed to light up the torch of war, and undo, in a few weeks of violence, what had been accomplished by the wisdom, patience, and unbounded liberality of so many years. But unhappily the times were favourable to the worst designs of the worst description of mock patriots. The unfortunate Charles I. was now upon the English throne, and deeply involved in the fatal disputes with the parliament, which ended so lamentably for both king and people. To all discerning men it was evident, that both king and parliament had drawn the sword and thrown away the scabbard. Scotland had openly thrown off its allegiance; and though in England Charles still had the title of king, his most reasonable demands were treated with mockery; and as the Irish parliament—as was evident in the case of Strafford—was the ally, or rather the subservient tool, of the English commons, it was obviously impossible for the king to have that influence with the former, without which he was powerless to keep the country in order.

The settlers in Ireland under the noble scheme of king James were almost exclusively protestant, and they naturally had the utmost horror of the opposite faith, in the name of which so much cruel persecution had taken place under former sovereigns, and constantly sympathised with the puritan party in the English house of commons in its opposition to the court and high church party. In their zealous attention to this one point, they quite overlooked the peculiarity of their own situation. Owing everything to royal authority, and protected alike in their properties and liberties by the royal troops, the Irish protestants were probably the very last of all the ill-fated Charles's subjects who, even with a view to selfish interests alone, should have done aught that could aid the triumphs of his enemies. Though a long lapse of years, and the steady and consistent wisdom of the successive administrations of Chichester, Grandison, Falkland, and Strafford, had fairly established Ireland among the prosperous and civilised nations; though septs after septs had become peaceful and settled tillers of the earth, or prosperous artisans and traders in the towns; neither time nor ministerial wisdom had, as yet, abated the detestation in which the Irishman held the Englishman, in which the catholic held the protestant, in which, in a word, the conquered held the conqueror. There was still much of the old leaven of Irish turbulence in existence; and at the very moment when the ungrateful protestants of Ireland were indulging their puritan hostility to the throne to which they owed so much, they were watched with a grim smile of approving hate by the enemies who smiled upon them, only that de

struction might fall the more suddenly and surely upon them. Following the example of the English and Scotch parliaments, the Irish had raised their demands upon their harassed sovereign with a pertinacity of greedy and blind injustice, which grew only more craving and more insatiable upon each new concession which he made.

No matter whether the question were one of finance, of substantial power, or of the form and etiquette so important to the safety and efficacy of the ruler, yet so utterly without injury or danger to the ruled, the Irish protestants in parliament assembled took every opportunity to despoil and mortify their king, in the most complete and egregious unconsciousness, as it would seem, that they were in precisely the same degree preparing and precipitating their own ruin. While the Irish protestants were thus ignorantly and ungratefully departing as well from the line of policy as that of duty, the catholics and old Irish were longing for an opportunity to avail themselves of the fatal error. The substitution of the English for the Brehon laws with relation to the distribution of property, the patronage of the protestant religion by the state—though the catholic had perfect freedom of conscience—these, and a thousand minor causes of complaint, rankled in the breasts of the catholics and old Irish, and there was nothing needed to plunge the now smiling and prosperous land into the horrors of a civil war, but a daring, active, and eloquent leader, capable of taking advantage of the state of public affairs in England, and of suiting the various reasons for Irish revolt to the various Irish chieftains whom he desired to engage in the work. Unhappily, such a man was at hand in the person of Roger Moore, a gentleman of ability and daring, and very popular among the 'old Irish,' of whom by descent he was one. Hating even the beneficence of the English rule, as not tending to reconcile his countrymen to the wild and squalid independence to which he passionately wished to see them return, he took advantage of the unsettled state of England, and of the blundering ingratitude of the Irish protestants, to excite the Irish catholics and malcontents to insurrection. Active and indefatigable, he corresponded with the discontented in every direction; artful and eloquent, he suited his complaint to every man's peculiar character, and pressed them alike upon the sympathy of all. To sir Phelim O'Neill, and the lord M'Guire he early and successfully addressed himself, and he and they used the most untiring industry to induce other leading men of the old blood and the old faith to join them. They pointed out the crippled condition of the royal authority in England and of the vice-regal authority in Ireland; they dwelt upon the inferiority of the English in numbers, and upon the ignorant and insolent confidence of safety in which they lived, even their comparatively small standing army being so loosely subdivided throughout the land, without any attention to the maintenance of lines of communication, that it might actually be surprised and butchered in detail even before danger could be suspected. It was a striking instance of retributive justice, too, that the very ingratitude of the protestants of Ireland was now made a weapon, and a very powerful weapon, in the hands of their most implacable enemies. For Moore most artfully and eloquently urged that the decay of the royal authority boded persecution and ruin to the catholics. He said, that though, as Irishmen, they were wronged by being subjected to English rule under any circumstances, yet the king had shown no disposition to persecute them especially on account of their religion; but if the puritans, as seemed certain, should succeed in wholly subjecting their high-church sovereign in England, would they have any toleration to spare for his catholic subjects in Ireland? If any Irishman had a doubt upon that point, he had only to look at the persecution already endured by his fellow-religionists in England. As catholics, it was their bounden duty to prevent themselves from falling victims to the fierce and persecuting zeal of the puritans; as Irishmen, they would at all times, and under any circumstances, have been warranted in throwing off the foreign yoke which conquest had fixed upon them; and they were now especially called upon to do so, both by the favourable opportunity afforded to them by the fierce dissensions of their enemies, and by the high probability that those very enemies would rid themselves of the legal, established, and mild authority of their king, to make their little fingers heavier upon Ireland than ever his loins had been.

Moore's artful eloquence was the more effective, because one or other of his arguments found an echo in the secret and long-nurtured thoughts of each of the chieftains to whom he in the first instance addressed himself.

The utmost evil of man could have devised nothing better calculated to assist the designs of Moore and his fellow-malcontents, than the virulent and daily increasing enmity to catholics which was manifested by the English parliament, and, indeed, by the people in general. O'Neill engaged to head an insurrection in the provinces, the signal for which was to be given simultaneously, to the very hour, with an attack upon the castle of Dublin, which was to be headed by Roger Moore and the lord M'Guire. Cardinal Richelieu, indirectly at least, promised arms and other aid; numerous Irish officers who were serving in the Spanish army promised to join them; and with the unconscious aid which the English puritans were giving them by their savage and coarse invectives and menaces, there could be no doubt that when the first signal of revolt was given, the whole catholic population of Ireland, even including the catholics of the English pale, would join in a revolt originating in zeal for the catholic religion.

Every arrangement having been made to insure the active simultaneous outbreak of *leading* parties in every quarter of Ireland, it now only remained to fix the exact day which was to prove fatal to every protestant

in the island; all minor arrangements, and the rousing the mass of the people into action, being, by Moore's shrewd advice, deferred to the very hour of action itself, that the plot, being until then intrusted to the knowledge only of the comparatively few leading men, might thus run the less risk of being revealed, whether by actual treachery or by want of prudence. The day fixed upon was the 23rd of October 1641; that late period of the year being named by Moore on account of the darkness of the nights, which would favour the dark deeds that were in contemplation, and on account of the difficulty that stormy season of the year would throw in the way of transporting men and arms from England, when news of the outbreak should reach that country.

Great and prudent precaution as Moore and his fellow-conspirators had taken to limit their numbers and thus diminish the chances of treachery or imprudence, their terrible design would in all human probability have been frustrated, but for the unhappy difference between the king and his people. For whatever caution might be used in holding foreign correspondence, it was scarcely possible that so vast and terrible a conspiracy could be known at foreign courts without some 'inkling of the matter' getting to the ears of some one of the numerous intelligent spies, who, for gain or other motives, busy themselves in tattling to the attachés of the embassies. And though no definite and tangible news of the matter in agitation reached the king from his ambassadors, yet he was warned by them that there assuredly was some deep and dangerous thing being planned in Ireland. Had the king been in concord with his people at home, and had the Irish authorities been, as they in that case would have been, men zealous in his service and indebted only to his favour for their preferment, even these slight hints would doubtless have been so used as to have led to the discovery of the whole plot, and the prevention of one of the most extensive and terrible massacres that has ever occurred. But the lord-lieutenant, the earl of Leicester, was detained in London, and sir John Borlase and sir William Parsons, who discharged his duties by commission, owed their promotion to the king's domestic enemies, the puritans, and therefore paid little attention to his warnings and made no use of them. So contemptuous were they, indeed, of their royal master's advice, or so thoroughly besotted by their ignorant and conceited notions of English superiority, that even within four-and-twenty hours of the time appointed for the wholesale slaughter of the protestants of Ireland, these thoroughly reckless or thoroughly incapable men had not so much as doubled the guards at Dublin castle, though its routine guard was at that time but fifty men, while it held out to rebels the tempting booty of thirty-five pieces of artillery, and arms for ten thousand men, with ammunition in proportion.

Such was the fatal blindness or presumption of these men! The 23rd day of October, as we have mentioned, was the day appointed for the outbreak: the 22nd had already arrived; Moore and M'Guire were in Dublin, their every signal carefully watched and zealously obeyed by a whole host of their disguised followers, and a still larger following was hourly expected; yet not a doubt or a fear disturbed the serenity of the castle, until now when the eleventh hour was past and the twelfth had well nigh struck, sir William Parsons was roused from his complacent indolence by the appearance before him of one O'Conolly, who, though an Irishman and a conspirator, was also a protestant, and shuddered as the very hour approached which was to doom every man, woman, and child of his own faith throughout Ireland to inevitable death. The repentance and confession of O'Conolly were in time, though barely in time, to save Dublin castle from capture, and the protestants of Dublin from death: but it was beyond all human power to prevent revolt and massacre from stalking, unsparing and ghastly, throughout the rest of the land. Sir William Parsons and his colleague, though the news fell upon them like a thunderbolt, acted with great promptitude and energy the moment that the positive assurances of instant danger, that were given to them by a repentant conspirator, convinced them how much they had erred in neglecting to found enquiries upon the hints they had received from their royal master himself. The guards were increased at the castle, and the gates shut; officers were despatched to apprehend Moore and M'Guire, and to warn the protestants, from street to street, and even from house to house, to arm and prepare themselves for a death-struggle. Moore, shrewd, suspicious, and active, perceived that something had alarmed the castle, and he took his departure from the city before the officers could find him; M'Guire and Mahoney were less fortunate; they were seized and examined by the lords-justices, and Mahoney's confession conveyed to them the astounding and awful intelligence that the fate from which the protestants of Dublin had so narrowly escaped, was but too certainly in store for their unhappy co-religionists throughout all the rest of the unfortunate island.

O'Neill and other leaders, not dreaming of any check to their design taking place in Dublin, where the authorities had seemed so blind, deaf, and presumptuous past all human saving, were true to their time and to their ruthless purposes. The signal was given, and the signal was obeyed, not merely by those who had been initiated in the horrid design, but by the whole catholic population; for they who called upon that fervid and unreflecting people, called upon them to revenge the real or fancied wrongs over which each bosom had brooded in long, silent, but not the less stern yearning, for the vengeance that now was at hand; and they called upon that people at once devout, ignorant, bigoted and fierce, to do the deeds of demons, in that name whose very sound breathes peace and good-will to men.

No matter what the tie which bound the catholic and the protestant together, the Irish and the English, no sooner was the dread signal given than those ties were laughed to scorn in most cases, broken and forgotten in all. To the astounded English the very first burst of the fury of those among whom they had so long lived in all peace and good fellowship, and in the most implicit trust, must have seemed like some distempered dream. Without the slightest previous diminution of the cordiality of apparent friendship, the Irish seized at first upon the property and houses of the English in their various neighbourhoods. Even then the English suspected nothing of a universal conspiracy; each family, village, or town thus injured, strove to defend its own property; rapacity then disappeared for cruelty the most unsparing. Men, women, and children were indiscriminately put to death, with circumstances, in many cases, of too revolting a cruelty to be detailed. No former kindness, no present connection, was suffered to save the unhappy creatures who were known to be guilty of the inexpiable crimes of being English and of being protestants; and so extreme and insane was the bigoted rage of the thoroughly aroused demon of national and religious animosity, that in many cases the plunderers and murderers maimed, or wantonly and uselessly put to death, cattle of which they had become possessed by plundering the English, as though the very brute creation had acquired some ineradicable bad quality from merely having belonged to people of the detested nation. And it was by no means the least horrible feature of this truly horrible scene, that even the little children of the Irish, imitating the frantic ferocity of their parents, were to be seen bestowing their impotent blows and childish imprecations on the bodies of poor innocents of their own age.

In but comparatively few cases had the English time or opportunity to make any attempt at defence; and even in those cases fire usually drew them forth from their barricaded houses, or both houses and owners perished in the same flames. But where from their numbers and desperation, or from the strength of the position they had taken up, the English protracted their defence and showed a dangerous front to their foes, perfidy was called in to the aid of the latter, who tempted their victims to surrender on the most solemn oaths of sparing them; but the moment of their surrender was also the moment of their destruction. Nay, in some cases even this shameful perjury was refined upon by the demoniac villany of the rebels. They swore to spare *some*, only, of the victims, on condition that the spared should put the remainder to death. And when the insanity of terror had induced friends to slay friends, or relatives to slay relatives—and, such is the weakness of human nature when called upon to confront the mortal agony, there were, unfortunately, *many* such cases—the credulous criminals, they who had slaughtered that themselves might be spared, were themselves put to death with every circumstance of the most diabolically ingenious cruelty.

Never in the world's history was massacre more unrelentingly carried on. Always prone to violence, and accustomed to see or hear of bloodshed as the ordinary consequence from trifling political or pecuniary disputes, the Irish were especially fit instruments of the fierce bigotry which assured them that in torturing and slaying the English heretics they were doing a service very acceptable to God, as well as necessary for their country. Though in every province of Ireland, and every town, except Dublin, these unutterable barbarities were perpetrated, yet as in Ulster the rebellion first broke out, so it was in Ulster that its cruelties were most hideous and most conspicuous. Roger Moore, who, though he was enthusiastic in his hatred of the English, was by no means a cruel man, endeavoured to prevail upon O'Neill to put a stop to the heedless cruelties and slaughter. But the latter was brutal as he was fearless, and while one English man, woman, or child remained alive in the north of Ireland, over the whole of which he now had the most unbounded authority, he seemed to think the work but imperfectly done. Grieved to the heart at the wide-spreading horrors of which his own exertions had been the first cause, Moore retired to Flanders.

It is remarkable that while the English of Ulster, who were chiefly engaged in agriculture, were wholly destroyed, the Scotch manufacturers of Belfast, Coleraine, and the other towns scarcely suffered at all. The Irish affected, and perhaps felt, a connection between themselves and men of a common, though very remotely common, ancestry; and thus the more timid had opportunity for flight, and the bolder for strengthening their defences and thus enabling themselves to preserve by force, if necessary, that safety which, it is likely, had been accorded to them either in caprice or treachery. The latter is, indeed, the more probable, because had the Scotch been less selfishly intent upon their own sole safety, had they invited and mustered in their towns the persecuted and astounded English, the rebels would have found the latter far less easy victims. O'Neill, who added talent to brutality, most probably foresaw this difficulty; and overcame it by his skilful appeal to that most deeply rooted of all human imperfections, selfishness.

To the confession of O'Conolly, tardy as it was, it was owing that the English in Ireland were not utterly destroyed Dublin, saved by that man's confession and the promptitude of sir William Parsons, became the refuge of the maimed and destitute fugitives from the provinces. To these unhappy people the citizens of Dublin showed, as troop after troop of them arrived, each one more forlorn and exhausted and suffering than the last, the most unbounded and tender hospitality. Many were saved by the kindness and skill that were lavished upon their wounded and exhausted frames; but a vast number perished of diseases caused by their

sufferings long after they were safe in Dublin.

It must not be supposed that the lords-justices were idle while these horrors were being perpetrated all over the island; though they seem chiefly to have consulted the safety of the capital. They immediately summoned to Dublin all detachments of the army. Many of those detachments had been either hemmed in beyond the power of escape, or cut to pieces at the breaking out of the rebellion. But upwards of fifteen hundred arrived at Dublin, and to this considerable body upwards of four thousand were added by enlistment, and armed from the ample stores in the castle. A detachment of six hundred was sent to the relief of Tredah, which was invested by the rebels; but on being attacked, this detachment was completely panic-stricken, and routed, almost without firing a shot. By far the greater number of them were slain; and in addition to this large loss of men, the English had to regret that so many stand of arms had fallen into the hands of the rebels.

Considerable blame has been attached to the lords-justices for the exclusive attention they bestowed upon the safety of Dublin; but though they undoubtedly do seem to have been quite sufficiently careful upon that point, it must not be forgotten that the greater part of the force at their command was untried and undisciplined; that the whole island abounded with armed rebels; that in the case of Tredah their endeavour to extend their rule had been signally unfortunate; and that the most experienced military men of the present day would find it difficult, in such a state of the whole country, to suggest a better plan for the employment of a small and but partially disciplined force, than that of keeping open a shelter and a rallying place for the fugitives from other parts of the country, and one, too, which insured communication with England. It would seem, however, that some opportunities of enterprise against the rebels were really and glaringly neglected, since the brave earl of Ormond complained that the lords-justices bestowed far too exclusive a care upon themselves and the capital. The catholic English of the pale at the outset of the barbarous massacre expressed their strongest indignation against the rebels, and applied to government for arms, that they might defend themselves and aid in preserving Ireland to the English crown. If the rebellion had broken out upon merely political grounds, it is most likely, as they had so deep a stake in the country, that they would have kept this promise. But the political rancour of the rebels, as we have already shown, was almost merged in their religious bigotry; and thus their common feeling soon caused the catholics of the pale not merely to lay aside, if they had ever entertained it, the intention of defending the government, but even to range themselves, with lord Gormanston for their general, on the rebels' side, and in their violence and cruelty to the protestants they actually outdid the old Irish.

As the puritan violence of conduct and threat had furnished the rebels with a strong argument when rebellion was first proposed by Roger Moore, so it afterwards was made the subject of a gross fraud by sir Phelim O'Neill. That cruel and crafty man having, on one of his murdering and marauding expeditions, found in the house of one of his victims a royal patent, removed the royal seal and affixed it to a forged commission, by which it appeared that he and other rebel leaders were exhorted and authorised by both the king and queen to take up arms to defend them and the royal prerogative against the violence and insolence of the puritans. This impudent forgery could scarcely fail to have great influence upon the ignorant multitude, who, though they could not read the instrument, would see the most authentic and indisputable evidence in the great seal; and it is probable that thousands who were active in rebellious ruffianism conscientiously believed that they were doing good service to the king.

The tremendous 'troubles' by which all England was now agitated prevented the king from sending the requisite supplies to Ireland; the consequence was that the unfortunate peasantry were plundered not only by the Irish rebels, but also by the English soldiers whenever the latter sallied forth from Dublin.

A short truce at length took place. The very rebels themselves were wearied with the long continuance of strife and bloodshed; and the marquis of Ormond, being desirous of personally fighting for the king against the rebellious puritans in England, and wishing, also, to procure all the co-operation that was practicable from Ireland, entered into a correspondence with sir Phelim O'Neill, between whom and the rebel parliament at Kilkenny and the royal authorities at Dublin a peace was agreed upon.

How long so bloodthirsty and turbulent a person as O'Neill would, under the most favourable circumstances, have remained peaceable, it is difficult to guess; most probably no longer than until the country had sufficiently recovered to offer new booty to himself and his fellow bandits. But he was not allowed to exhibit himself as a faithful keeper of his solemn agreement even so long. The pope looked longingly upon the Peter-pence and the absolute authority of the green isle; and the instant he heard that O'Neill had agreed to give the torn land and the suffering people rest, he sent a confidential priest named Rinuccini as his nuncio.

Rinuccini took over a few men, a large supply of arms and ammunition, and a very considerable sum of gold. As he was, according to his instructions, even profuse in his distribution of the money among the influential leaders, he found no difficulty in procuring the answer that he required to the cry of 'war to the heretics! war, war!' which formed the burden of all his discourses. While he was exerting himself to procure a renewal of war, in which he succeeded to his utmost wish, he exerted him-

self also in preparing Ireland to become not only catholic but also monastic as ever. Whatever else the court of Rome understood, it was profoundly ignorant of political economy. For while that grasping and insolent power was ready to brave all divine laws and outrage all human feelings in its ardour for conquering countries, it was to the full as anxious to impoverish as to conquer them; and while desirous of tribute, was ever bent upon multiplying those non-producing communities, which could neither pay tribute themselves nor exist but by hugely diminishing that which but for them might have been wrung from the laity. It was in accordance with this equally invariable and ignorant policy of Rome that Rinuccini now did all that exhortation, threat, intreaty, and gold could accomplish, to rebuild, beautify, and repeople the religious houses that had been demolished by Henry VIII.: and, still farther, the monks, whether jesuits or franciscans, carmelites or dominicans, who were placed in the principal abbeys and monasteries that were restored under his own directions, had it in charge from the zealous jesuit, that they should be instant, in season and out of season, in exhorting the laity to aid in restoring and beautifying all the monasteries throughout the island, of which it is quite clear that Rome felt confident of obtaining the complete dominion.

The assistance which the rebels received from Rome enabled them to recommence and continue the civil war with great advantage over the royal force, for the king was now in the power of the puritans; and much as those bigots hated the papists of Ireland, they loved their own aggrandisement still more; and while they obtained large sums from the gulled people of England, under the pretence of putting down the Irish rebels, they coolly applied those sums to the support of their own treasonable schemes, and left the luckless authorities at Dublin wholly unaided.

Rinuccini, though his ostensible mission was only of a spiritual character, no doubt had more ample secret powers and instructions. At all events, he by no means confined himself to matters spiritual, but interfered, and with so much insolence, in civil affairs, and showed so evident an intent to usurp all authority, that even the most bigoted among the Irish rebels became disgusted, and he was at length fairly driven out of the country.

After the murder of Charles I. that event added to the previously existing sources of strife in Ireland. The 'king's party' included not a few of those who had rebelled against the authority of Charles I., and was, from a variety of causes, so strong, that the marquis of Ormond, then at Paris with the queen and Charles II., complied with the invitation that was sent to him to go over and take the chief command, in the hope that both his experience, his courage, ability, and his popularity, as being himself an Irishman, would make him so efficient a rallying point for the royalists, that Ireland might enable the young king at some future day to reconquer England.

For a time, in truth, it seemed as if this really would be the case. Notwithstanding the numerous causes of hate and strife which not merely divided the Irish people into royalists and parliamentarians, but also divided each of those two leading parties into many smaller factions that were either openly or secretly at the bitterest enmity, all differences among the royalists seemed to cease. Ormond was most cordially received among them, and speedily found himself at the head of an army of nearly twenty thousand men. Colonel Jones, who was a mere creature of the parliament, and to whom Ormond had delivered the chief command in Ireland when he himself hastened to aid the unfortunate Charles I. in England, was compelled to bestow all his care upon Dublin, where the parliament left him unaided. Ormond, therefore, found but little difficulty in the earlier part of his attempt to reduce Ireland to subjection to Charles II. At Dundalk, he had no sooner summoned the place, than the garrison mutinied against their governor, Monk, and compelled him to surrender without firing a shot. Tredah and several other places were taken with comparatively small trouble and loss; and Ormond now proposed, after giving his troops necessary repose, to advance to the siege of Dublin. Could he have succeeded in that important point, it is very possible that Ireland would have wholly been lost to the parliament; for, considering the enthusiastic nature of the Irish people, it is highly probable the appearance of the young king in Dublin, whither he would have proceeded immediately on the success of Ormond, would have united the whole Irish people in defence of their king against the puritans, and their country against usurpers.

But a change had come over the spirit of things. Cromwell was now more potent in England than the parliament whose tool he had seemed to be; and though England presented abundant labour and no little danger, general Cromwell grudged Waller and Lambert the glory, which both aspired to, of conquering Ireland, in the character of its lord-lieutenant. With his usual art, he procured his own nomination; and, with his usual promptitude and energy, he no sooner received his appointment than he prepared to fulfil his task. He immediately sent over a strong reinforcement of both horse and foot to colonel Jones, in Dublin. Never was reinforcement sent at a more critically welcome moment. Ormond, and Inchiquin, who had joined him, had actually proceeded to repair a fort close to Dublin, and had carried forward their work very considerably towards completion. Colonel Jones, who, though he was originally educated not for the army but for the law, was a gallant and energetic officer, had no sooner received this reinforcement than he sallied out suddenly upon the royalists, and put them completely to the rout. One thousand of them were killed; and twice that number with

all the ammunition and munitions of the royal army, graced the triumphal return of the colonel to Dublin. In the midst of the joy and exultation of the garrison and people of Dublin at this success, Cromwell himself, accompanied by Ireton, arrived upon the scene. Tredah, or Drogheda, a strong and well-fortified town near Dublin, was garrisoned for the king by three thousand men, principally English, under the command of sir Arthur Aston, an able and experienced officer. Thither Cromwell hastened, battered a breach in the wall, and led the way in person to an assault. Though the parliamentary soldiery of England, with Cromwell and the scarcely less terrible Ireton at their head, sword in hand, were not the men to be easily repelled, the garrison of Tredah showed that they were 'English too;' for the assailants were twice beaten back with great carnage. A third assault was more successful, and partly in implacable rage at having been even temporarily held in check, and partly as the surest way to deter other places from venturing to resist his formidable power, Cromwell, to his eternal disgrace, gave the fatal word 'No quarter;' and so determined was he in this barbarous resolution, that even a wretched handful of men who were spared in the carnage, were, on the fact becoming known to Cromwell, immediately put to the sword. The excuse that Cromwell made for this barbarity, so thoroughly disgraceful to the soldierly character, was his desire to avenge the shocking cruelties of the massacre. Professing so much religious feeling, even that motive would scarcely have palliated his cruelty; but the excuse was as ill-founded as the measure was ruffianly, for the garrison were not Irishmen stained with the horrible guilt of the ever-execrable massacre, but, as Cromwell well knew, Englishmen, true alike to their monarch, their faith, and their country.

Having thus barbarously destroyed the entire garrison of Tredah, with the exception of one solitary soldier, whose life was merely spared that he might carry through the country the tale of the prowess and remorselessness of the English general, Cromwell advanced upon Wexford. Here he had the same success, and showed the same murderous severity as at Tredah; and in less than a year from his landing in Ireland he was in possession of all its chief towns and fortresses, and had driven both English royalists and Irish rebels to such straits, that no fewer than 40,000 withdrew from the island altogether.

But Scotland now attracted the ambition of Cromwell; and having looked well to the garrisoning of the principal towns, and sent a vast number of the inhabitants, and especially young people, of both sexes, to the West Indies as slaves, he left the government of Ireland to Ireton, upon whom also devolved the task of finishing the subjection of the country. Ireton, who was both a stout soldier and an accomplished officer, followed the parting advice and instructions of Cromwell to the very letter. With a well-disciplined and well-supplied army of 30,000 men, he ruled the country with an iron and unfaltering hand. Wherever the rebels appeared in force, there he was sure to meet them; and wherever he met, there he also defeated them. This war was almost literally without an exception against the native Irish, for the English royalists had departed before Cromwell committed the lord-lieutenancy to Ireton. The latter, therefore, was probably quite sincere, however otherwise blameworthy, when he alleged, as the cause of his inflexible severity to the prisoners he took in his various battles and skirmishes, his determination to take full vengeance for the massacre of the protestants. And however much we may pity the fate of those prisoners, many of whom, in all human probability, had no kind of concern in the massacre, it is impossible not to see in the cruelty of Ireton a fearful consequence of the original crime of the Irish themselves.

There was one prisoner, however, for whose death, or even for the ignominious manner of it, the most sincere and earnest hater of severity could scarcely find a tear. The faithless, selfish, and black-hearted Phelim O'Neill, the real author of the worst atrocities of the rebellion, was at length taken prisoner; and if ever the gibbet was rightfully employed in taking away human life, it was most certainly so on this occasion. As far as his means had permitted him, this man, who was in every sense of the word a mere bandit, caring little for creed and less for country, and intent solely upon his own aggrandisement, had rivalled Nero and all the worst tyrants and miscreants of antiquity. That he at one time contemplated the possibility of making himself king of Ireland, his whole conduct during the stay of the nuncio Rinuccini goes strongly to show; and however great the horrors inflicted upon Ireland by Cromwell, whose name to this day is the byword of terror throughout the island, that unhappy country was at least fortunate in being reconquered by even a Cromwell, instead of falling under the awful dictatorship of an O'Neill.

The only town of any great strength or importance that had now not yielded to the English was Limerick. Against this town Ireton led his men with his usual success. A fierce resistance was made to him, and when he at length took it by assault, he took a no less fierce revenge. But here it was ordained that both his success and his cruelty should terminate. The crowded state of the place and the scarcity of provisions had generated one of those fevers so common in Ireland, which are as infectious as the plague of the East, and nearly as fatal. Ireton had scarcely stilled the tumult and excitement inseparable from the taking of a besieged town, when he was attacked by this fever; and as he was already very much weakened by fatigues and exposure, it very speedily proved fatal.

Ireton was succeeded in the lieutenancy by Ludlow. He drove the native Irish, almost without exception, into Connaught; and so completely was the Irish cause a lost one, that Clanricarde, who had succeeded O'Neill as its chief hope and champion, lost

all heart and confidence, made his peace with parliament, and was allowed to find a shelter in England, where he resided in peace until his death. Under Ludlow and Henry Cromwell, Ireland, although in an awful state, as the consequence of so many years' continuance of all the ravages and neglect attendant on civil war, gradually improved. On the restoration of Charles II., the duke of Ormond, who was condemned to death at the same time as O'Neill, but spared and allowed to retire to France, returned to Ireland as lord-lieutenant. Though brave and accomplished as a military man, Ormond, unlike soldiers in general, set a due value upon the more peaceable arts, and he wisely considered that the best way to insure the peace and the obedience of a people is to encourage commerce and manufactures among them. And, accordingly, he exerted himself to promote the immigration of English and foreign artisans, and established linen and woollen factories in Clonmel, Carrick, and other towns. In the first-named of these he established, also, a manufactory of that most beautiful of all the materials of ladies' dress which is known by the name of poplin, an article of commerce from which Ireland, for many years after she had forgotten the very name of the benefactor to whom she owed its possession, derived an immense annual income.

The duke of Ormond continued to be lord-lieutenant of Ireland during the whole of the reign of Charles II.; and the improvement of the country was proportionate to his great and well-directed efforts to that end. On the accession of James II., that monarch, who was extremely anxious to fill all the offices of that country with zealous catholics, as though he foresaw that it would one day be the last spot of his dominions upon which he could, with even a chance of success, attempt to defend his crown, removed the duke; but Ireland still continued steadily to improve in wealth, morals, and comfort, until the abdication of James once more involved that ill-fated country in warfare. Aided by Louis XIV., James led a strong force to Ireland, where he landed, at Kinsale, on the 17th of March 1689. The earl of Tyrconnel, whom he had himself made lord-lieutenant, escorted him to Dublin, where he was received with every demonstration of loyalty and respect by the catholic clergy and people, the former meeting him at some distance from the city in their full clerical attire. But his whole conduct while in the country was arbitrary and mischievous in the extreme. As if the country had not already suffered long and severely enough from religious differences, he called them into fierce and active life again, by arbitrarily dismissing from the parliament the whole of the protestant members. Having thus done what was most calculated to embitter men's minds, and make any disputes that might occur between men of the opposite faiths desperate and fatal, he next proceeded to make it quite certain that of such disputes there should be no scarcity. Whatever might be the original sins of the act of settlement, by which all the real property tenures of the island were fixed, men's minds were now accustomed to consider that settlement as final and indefeasible. Lands and tenements had changed owners again and again since the passing of that act. To take the land from persons who had paid for it merely because the original holders held under that act, was not merely arbitrary but dishonest; and in the spirit which dictated such a course we see a spirit not less detestable than that of any of the agrarian theorists, who have from time to time varied the vagaries of mad or dishonest political speculators by gravely proposing that lands, which during many centuries have been in a state of improvement, should be taken from those whose toil, expense, and skill—or those of their ancestors—have made them worth something, and given them to those who have done nothing towards their improvement; for no better reason than that of allowing them, in due course of neglect, to relapse into their original condition of swamp and heath, with their inevitable concomitants, fever and famine. Even here James did not halt in his ingenious efforts for deteriorating the condition of the country to which he had appealed for shelter and aid.

Having unsettled men's minds by a pointed and insulting exclusion of men of protestant faith and profession from parliament, and having literally robbed others of their property; having done all this, James now proceeded to debase the coin; a measure destructive of trade and confidence, of private enterprise and of public credit, wherever it is ventured upon. To tamper with the coin of a country, to however trifling an extent, is to do that country an injury which must be great, but of which no human sagacity and skill can enable any one to say what will be the whole extent. But James did not merely tamper with the coin of Ireland; he debased it in a manner so wholesale and so shameless, that one might almost suppose that he foresaw that he would ultimately be driven from Ireland by the son-in-law who had already driven him from England. Harsh as this censure may sound, it will not seem too harsh to our readers, when they are told that James caused several pieces of brass artillery to be melted down and coined. The utmost value of each of these coins was sixpence, but the current value given to them by the preposterously dishonest order of James was five pounds!

Nothing could have been more impolitic than this varied and persevering injustice to his Irish subjects: by it James not only sharpened the zeal of the protestants, and made them more than ever willing to die, to the very last man, rather than live under his rule, but it also alienated many of the catholics, and considerably abated the confidence and zeal of still more. That he would ever, under any circumstances, have succeeded in recovering England by means of Ireland, or even in holding the latter as an independent kingdom, no one who appreciates the superiority of William III.

can for a moment suppose. But it is by no means so certain that James would not, by wiser, more lenient, and more just conduct, have held out much longer, and have finally retired from Ireland under better circumstances, and on terms far more advantageous to himself.

In the province of Ulster, where nearly the whole population were traders and protestants, and where very much of the real property tenure was affected by the act of settlement, the tyranny of James aroused a spirit of the most determined resistance. The king, obstinate in his resolutions and implacable in his resentments, looked upon the natural dislike of his subjects to a wholesale destruction of both their political liberty and their private property, as nothing less than treason against his authority; and made war upon them as fiercely as though they had no more right or title to their land than the meanest of the fierce mercenaries by whom he was accompanied. Derry, commanded by the famous protestant clergyman, George Walker, closed her gates against him; and to the steady bravery with which, under circumstances of superhuman constancy, that city was held out against him, as more particularly described in the History of England, it was mainly owing that he was so early driven from the island.

Inniskillen resisted him with success; Derry, with her clerical general and her army of 'prentice boys, nobly made good her war-cry of 'no surrender;' and at length on the 30th of June 1690, after a little more than fifteen months of tyranny, so senseless that one might almost suppose him to have laboured during the whole of that time under a judicial blindness, the famous battle of the Boyne drove him for ever into that obscurity for which, as concerned the happiness of mankind, he was, in spite of many really good qualities of both head and heart, alone fitted.

Even the departure of James did not restore peace to this truly unfortunate country; for though catholics as well as protestants had deeply suffered under his arbitrary rule, the former preferred any other fate to that of having for their monarch so distinguished a champion of protestantism as the victorious William. Limerick, especially, made a stout and able resistance. William in person laid siege to that city, and was effectually repulsed, and compelled to retreat; and his retreat was made the more difficult by his rear being encumbered with the protestant population of that part of the country, who, despoiled of their property, and fearing to trust to the mercy of their catholic brethren even for their lives, followed the army with piteous cries for that relief which it was utterly impossible to afford them.

The affairs of England now requiring William's presence, he gave up the command of the army to Ginckle, an able general. He defeated the Irish and French at Aughrim, and when the defeated troops took refuge in Limerick, he at once laid siege to it. But the cause of the fugitive James was now at so low an ebb, that even the most enthusiastic of the catholics had given up all anticipation of benefit from farther resistance; and as from the stern character of Ginckle, it was not likely that he would keep any measure in his wrath, if compelled to take the place by assault, it was determined to treat for peace while it was still likely that he would listen to any reasonable terms. A negotiation was at once commenced, and, after some alterations of detail in the terms proposed had been dictated by Ginckle and acceded to by the distressed garrison, peace was concluded, and the gates of Limerick thrown open on the 3rd of October 1691.

In the treaty of Limerick there was much granted to the Irish people in general, and to the catholics in particular, which would assuredly have been denied in the one case to the whole population, and in the other to the protestants.

By this treaty, which under all the circumstances does great honour to general Ginckle, all forts and garrisons were to be given up by the catholics, who were to have restored to them in full the religious liberties enjoyed by them under Charles II.; all who had borne arms in the cause of James II. were to have full pardon; the garrison of Limerick was allowed to march out with all the honours of war, and those soldiers who preferred foreign service to remaining in Ireland were to be conveyed abroad at the expense of the government; and all the nobility and gentry, without any political or religious distinction, were secured in the right of keeping and carrying arms for sport or defence of their lives and property. If peace were always made on such reasonable and honourable terms, war would surely be shorn of half its horrors, and more than half its animosity.

When William III. was fairly settled upon his throne, Ireland as well as England began to exhibit manifest improvement in trade and commerce. Ignorant or interested politicians, indeed, still found topics for inflammatory speeches and writings, in the necessary or politic restrictions which the English government placed upon the export of Irish wool, and in the continuance of Poynings' law, which prevented the Irish parliament from passing any bill which had not first received the approbation of the parliament of England. But the whole history of Ireland tends to show her utter unfitness for an immediate self-control.

Divided as that country was into religious parties, Poynings' law was the greatest mercy that could have been bestowed upon it. The English parliament could decide upon principles without reference to parties; but laws enacted by an uncontrolled Irish parliament would have been nothing more than the mere enunciation of the bigotries and the hatreds of this or that party that chanced to have the temporary parliamentary ascendency. But the event renders all reasoning upon the subject quite supererogatory. The country, under these regulations which factious men at that time so loudly complained of, recovered

with an almost miraculous rapidity from the effects of long years of strife and wanton destruction. Every description of labour became more and more in request; every branch of trade became more and more brisk. The agriculturists of the south, in addition to their export trade, had a vast, a sure, and a profitable market among the manufactures of Ulster. That some distress should exist was inevitable; but no one who is not wholly governed by prejudice can deny that Ireland improved wonderfully and rapidly, upon the whole, during the time that elapsed between the treaty of Limerick and the accession to the English throne of George III., that is to say, from the year 1691 to the year 1760.

George III., in the very first year of his reign, showed his sincere anxiety to promote the prosperity and comfort of his Irish subjects. Public works of great extent and importance gave employment to those labourers who, in the inevitable fluctuations of trade and speculation, were in want of it; new roads were made, piers built at some of the seaports, a splendid quay was built at Limerick, and that magnificent canal was planned which connects Dublin with the Shannon, carrying business, employment, and prosperity throughout its course. A single glance at the extent and number of the public works thus commenced, and a single hour of reflection upon their inevitable effect in giving an impulse equally to the enterprise of the capitalist and the industry of the poor man, whose only capital is his labour, will prove equally the wisdom and the good feeling of the king and his advisers; and, if it were necessary, we should be able to prove beyond all dispute, and without any difficulty, that so far as this wisdom and good feeling failed to preserve Ireland from a recurrence of violence, outrage, deep wrong to many, and still deeper suffering to more, Ireland in this case, as in almost all previous cases, was afflicted and arrested in her course of prosperity, not by the cruelty or the neglect, the oppression or the ignorance, of England, but simply by the intense and untamed propensity of Ireland's own sons to make their own wretchedness, in despite of all that could be planned for their benefit by wisdom, and accomplished by wealth and liberality.

In 1786, that perpetual source of ill blood, the tithe system, met with a determined resistance from a large party in the south of Ireland, who styled themselves *White-boys*. They administered oaths, binding the people not to pay more tithe per acre than a certain sum they fixed—to permit no proctors—and not to allow the clergyman to take his tithes in kind. They also proceeded to fix the rents of land—to raise the wages of labour—and to oppose the collection of the tax called hearth-money. It was impossible that the legislature could allow this violation of the law to pass unnoticed, and in the following year an act was passed to prevent tumultuous assemblies and illegal combinations.

A very few years passed from this time before the French revolution broke out; when all who were dissatisfied with the government, and hoped to profit by the convulsion into which the country was likely to be thrown, as well as those who sighed for catholic emancipation, or clamoured for the redress of grievances, hailed the success of revolutionary principles in that country as the day-spring of liberty in their own; but while they professed to forward a 'brotherhood of affection, a communion of rights, and a union of power among Irishmen of every religious persuasion,' the leaders of this 'association' contemplated nothing short of the subversion of the monarchy in Ireland, and a perfect fraternisation with the republicans of France, whom they invited to come to their assistance. That such was their intention was afterwards fully proved on the trials of Napper, Tandy, and others; and it was also evident from the formation in Dublin of national guards, distinguished by a green uniform, and by buttons with a harp under a cap of liberty instead of a crown. The 9th of December, 1792, was appointed for the general muster of these guards; but government interfered with their proceedings, and the muster never took place.

But although the progress of insurrection was stayed for a time, the spirit of disaffection only lay dormant till a more favourable opportunity should offer for displaying its activity. At length, however, an arrangement was made between the ringleaders and the French government, that an armament should be sent in the winter of 1796-97, with whom the Irish insurgents would be ready to cooperate. Accordingly the invading fleet anchored in Bantry Bay, on the 24th of December 1796; but as the general and a great part of the troops were on board ships that had not arrived, the admiral, after waiting for him a few days, returned to Brest; having previously ascertained, however, that the country was in a better state of defence, and that the population was less disaffected to the English government, than the French directory had reason to suppose.

In May 1797, a proclamation was issued, declaring the civil power inadequate to quell the insurrection, and ordering the military to act upon the responsibility of their own officers. Many severities were consequently practised; and the *United Irishmen*, perceiving that their only chance of success was by assuming the appearance of being reduced to obedience, they conducted their operations in a more secret manner, discontinuing their meetings, and putting on the semblance of loyalty with such consummate art, that, the government being deceived by these appearances, the administration of justice was again, in about three months from the date of the proclamation, committed to the civil power. The organisation of the United Irishmen, however, had been going on all the time in a manner the most secret and effectual. Secretaries, delegates, committees, and even an executive directory, were respectively engaged in furnishing supplies and arranging the materials necessary for carrying out their plans; and in the spring of 1797, the

Irish union was extending far and wide, throughout the island. Not being able to propagate their instructions by means of the public press, hand-bills were privately printed and circulated by their agents. In these, abstinence from spirituous liquors was strongly recommended—for the two-fold reason of impairing the revenue, and of guarding against intoxication, lest the secrets of the society should be incautiously divulged to the agents of government. Those who thought they knew the character of the lower Irish would not have believed that any motive would induce them to follow this advice; but it was so generally and faithfully obeyed, that drunkenness among the United Irishmen became a comparatively rare occurrence. The members were cautioned against purchasing the quit-rents of the crown, as the bargains would not be valid in case of a change in the government; and the taking of bank notes was also to be especially avoided. These things indicated an approaching revolution, and to effect it they looked with intense anxiety to France for military aid. This was readily promised them; and preparations for the invasion of Ireland were made at Brest and in the Texel; but lord Duncan's victory off Camperdown rendered the latter abortive, while that at Brest met with unexpected delays.

By this time the number of men sworn into the conspiracy amounted nearly to half a million, and plans were formed for the simultaneous rising of this body; their plans were, however, defeated by the vigilance of the ministry, and some of their most influential leaders arrested. In March 1789, government issued a proclamation for the immediate suppression of the disaffection and disorders in Ireland; while general Abercrombie, at the head of the forces, marched into the most disturbed districts, not, however, till the insurrection had risen to a most alarming height. Vigorous measures were now taken; and general Lake, who succeeded Abercrombie in the command of the army, proclaimed martial law, and eventually crushed the rebellion in the memorable conflict at Vinegar-hill.

But it is needless to proceed: for the scenes which followed, and the affairs of Ireland generally, are so bound up with those of England from this period, that the reader will find the material points already succinctly given. That we may not be subject to the charge of taking a one-sided view of Irish grievances, we shall quote a few remarks on the state of Ireland before the Union by an able popular writer, who in discussing political questions is never justly charged with any lack of *liberal* sentiments.

'In truth, this independence was apparent only. The wretched state of the elective franchise in Ireland was totally inconsistent with anything like real independence; and so venal was the Irish parliament, that any minister, how unpopular soever, had no difficulty in securing a majority in that assembly. Hence the anticipations in which the more sanguine Irish patriots had indulged were destined soon to experience a most mortifying disappointment; and this, and the hopes inspired by the French revolution, terminated in the rebellion of 1798, which was not suppressed without a repetition of the former scenes of devastation and bloodshed.

'The British government at length wisely determined to effect a legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland, and to suppress the separate legislature of the latter. This measure, notwithstanding a strenuous opposition, was happily carried, and took effect from the 1st of January 1801. And, unless it were resolved or wished to put an end to all political connection between the two countries, nothing could be more inexpedient and absurd than the existence of a separate independent legislature for Ireland. Perpetual jealousies could not have failed to arise between it and the legislature of Great Britain, which must necessarily in the end have led to estrangement, and probably separation. A legislative union was the only means of obviating these and other sources of mischief; its repeal would make Ireland a theatre for all sorts of projects and intrigues, and it would be sure to be followed, at no distant period, by the dismemberment of the empire.'—*M'Culloch's Dict.**

* See also for a masterly examination of the past history, the present condition, and future prospects of the Irish nation, 'Sketches of Irish History and Character,' by Goldwin Smith, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford.

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

CHAPTER I.

THE Scots appear to have been descended from the Britons of the south, or from the Caledonians, both of Celtic origin, who being pressed forward by new colonies from Gaul, till they came to the western shores of Britain, there took shipping and passed over to Ireland, about a century before the Christian era. In their new abode, it is said, they obtained the name of *Scuyts*, or *Wanderers*; from which the modern term Scots is supposed to be derived. About A. D. 320, they returned to Britain, or at least a large colony of them, and settled on the western coasts of Caledonia, whence they had formerly emigrated, and in a few years after we find them associated with the Picts in their expeditions against the Roman province of South Britain. The modern inhabitants of Scotland are divided into Highlanders and Lowlanders; but the general name of both is Scots.

In the year 81, the Romans, under Agricola, carried their arms into the northern parts of Britain, which they found possessed by the Caledonians, a fierce and warlike people; and having repulsed, rather than conquered them, they erected a strong wall, or line of forts, between the friths of Forth and Clyde, which served as the northern boundary of their empire. In 121, Adrian, on account of the difficulty of defending such a distant frontier, built a second wall much more southward, which extended from Newcastle to Carlisle. However, the country between the two walls was alternately under the dominion of the Romans and the Caledonians.

In the reign of Antoninus Pius, the prætor Lollius Urbicus drove the Scots far to the northward, and repaired the chain of forts built by Agricola, which lay between the Carron on the frith of Forth and Dunglass on the Clyde. However, after the death of Antoninus, Commodus having recalled Calpurnius Agricola, an able commander, who kept the Scots in awe, a more dangerous war broke out than had ever been experienced by the Romans in that quarter. The Scots having passed the wall, put all the Romans they could meet with to the sword; but they were soon repulsed by Ulpius Marcellus, a general of consuminate abilities, whom Commodus sent into the island. In a short time the tyrant also recalled this able commander. After his departure the Roman discipline suffered a total relaxation; the soldiery grew mutinous, and great disorder ensued: but these were all happily removed by the arrival of Clodius Albinus, who possessed great skill and experience in military affairs. His presence for some time restrained the Scots, but a civil war breaking out between him and Severus, is Albinus crossed over to the continent with the greatest part of the Roman forces in Britain; and meeting his antagonist at Lyons a dreadful battle ensued, in which Albinus was utterly defeated.

The withdrawal of the Roman troops gave encouragement to the Scots to renew their insurrection, which they did with such success that the emperor became apprehensive of losing the whole island, on which he determined to take the field against them in person. The army he collected on this occasion was far more numerous than any the Romans had ever sent into Britain; and it is asserted that in re-conquering Scotland he lost no less than 50,000 men. On his return from the northern extremity of the island he built much stronger fortifications to secure the frontiers than had ever been done before, and which in some places coincided with Adrian's wall, but extended farther at each end. But, in the meantime, the Scots, provoked by the brutality of the emperor's son Caracalla, whom he had left regent in his absence, again took arms; on which Severus put himself at the head of his legions, with a determination, as he said, of extirpating the whole nation. But his death, which happened soon after, put a stop to the execution of a threat so direful; and we find that his son Caracalla ratified the peace with the Scots. At this period Scotland was governed by Donald I., who is said to have been its first Christian king. He died A. D. 216. From the reign of Donald I. to that of Eugene I. in 357, during which time eleven kings filled the throne, no important event occurs for which we have authentic history;* though we are told that for the great aid afforded by one of the Scottish kings, named Fincormachus, to the Britons, in their contest with the Romans, Westmoreland and Cumberland were ceded to Scotland. In the reign of Eugene I. we read that the Roman and Pictish forces were united against the Scots. The Picts were commanded by their king, named Hargust; and the Romans by Maximus, who murdered Valentinian III., and afterwards assumed the

* It must be admitted that no little uncertainty hangs over the history of Scotland generally for the first nine or ten centuries of the Christian era. An examination of the reasons for which each particular event should be accepted or rejected would need greater space than the present sketch can admit. But the application of the test (viz. the existence or absence of contemporary historians) which has been already applied to the early history of Greece and Rome will enable the reader in many cases to come to a definite conclusion with regard to many alleged facts in the early history of Scotland.

imperial p[ur]ple. The allies defeated Eugene in th[e] county of Galloway; but Maximus being obliged to return southward on account o[f] an insurrection, the Picts were in their t[ur]n defeated by the Scots. In the following year, however, Maximus again marched against the Scots, and not only gained a complete victory over them, but the king, with the greater part of his nobles, was among the slain. So well, indeed, did the conquerors improve their victory, that their antagonists were at last totally driven out of the country. Some of them took refuge in the Ebudæ islands, and some in Scandinavia, but most of them fled to Ireland, whence they made frequent descents upon Scotland.

The Picts were at first greatly pleased with the victory they had gained over their warlike antagonists: but being commanded to adopt the laws of the Romans, and to choose no king who was not sent from Rome, they began to repent of their having contributed to the expulsion of the Scots; and in the year 421, when Autulphus, king of the Goths, sent over a body of exiled Scots to Britain, under Fergus, a descendant of the kings of Scotland, the Picts immediately joined them against the common enemy.

It was at this period that the Romans were obliged, by the inundation of northern barbarians who poured in upon them, to recall their legions and abandon their conquests in Britain. The native Britons, therefore, so long accustomed to the dominion of these mighty conquerors, and now so incorporated with them, severely felt the perils of their situation when left to defend themselves: hence originated that supplicating letter to Rome, entitled 'the groans of the Britons.' This, however, not being attended with success, the Britons called in the Saxons to their aid. By these new allies the Scots were defeated in a great battle, and their king Dongard, successor to Eugene, drowned in the Humber, A.D. 457, which put a stop for some time to these excursions. Hitherto we have seen the Scots very formidable enemies of the southern Britons; but when the Saxons usurped the kingdom, and subjected those whom they came to aid, the Scots joined in a strict alliance with the latter; nor does it appear that the league thus formed was afterwards broken.

Three centuries now pass without anything occurring calculated to interest the reader, or to throw light on the Scottish history, beyond what has been related in the History of England during the Heptarchy. In 787 it is said that Achaius, king of the Scots, after quelling some insurrections, entered into a treaty of perpetual amity with Charles the Great, king of France and emperor of Germany, which treaty continued to be observed inviolably between the two nations, till the accession of James VI. to the throne of England.

The next remarkable event in the history of Scotland is the war with the Picts. Dongal, king of the Scots, claimed a right to the Pictish throne, which being rejected by the latter, they had recourse to arms. At this time the dominions of the Scots comprehended the western islands, together with the counties of Argyle, Knapdale, Kyle, Kintyre, Lochaber, and a part of Breadalbane; while the Picts possessed the rest of Scotland, and a considerable part of Northumberland. The Scots, however, appear to have been superior in military skill; for Alpin, the successor of Dongal, having engaged the Pictish army near Forfar, defeated them and killed their king, though not without suffering great loss himself. The Picts then chose Brudus, the son of their former king, to succeed him, but soon after deposed and put him to death. His brother Kenneth shared the same fate. Brudus, who next ascended the throne, was a brave and spirited prince: he first offered terms of peace to the Scots, which, however, Alpin rejected, and insisted on a total surrender of his crown. After vainly endeavouring to obtain the assistance of Edwin, king of Northumberland, Brudus marched resolutely against his enemies; and the two armies came to an engagement near Dundee. The superior skill of the Scots in military affairs was about to have decided the victory in their favour, when Brudus is said to have had recourse to the following stratagem to preserve his army from destruction. He caused all the attendants, female as well as male, to assemble and show themselves at a distance, as a powerful reinforcement coming to the Picts. This caused such a panic in the Scottish ranks, that all the efforts of their leader could not recover them; and they were accordingly defeated with great slaughter. Alpin himself was taken prisoner, and soon after beheaded.

Kenneth II., the son of Alpin, succeeded his father, and proved himself a brave and enterprising prince. Resolved to take a severe revenge for his father's death, he made the most vigorous preparations for war; and so well did he succeed, that, after many desperate conflicts, he became master of all Scotland; so that he is justly considered the true founder of the Scottish monarchy. He is also said to have been very successful against the Saxons, but of his exploits with those hardy and skilful warriors we have no accounts that can be depended on. Having reigned sixteen years in peace after his subjugation of the Picts, and composed a code of laws for the better regulation of his people, he died at Fort Teviot in Perthshire. Before his time the seat of the Scots government had been in Argyleshire; but he removed it to Scone, by transferring thither the celebrated black stone supposed to be the palladium of Scotland, which was afterwards removed by Edward I. to Westminster abbey.

In the reign of Donald, who succeeded his brother Kenneth, the Picts who had fled out of Scotland applied to the Saxons for assistance, promising to make Scotland tributary to the Saxon power after it should be conquered. This ended in a great victory on the part of the confederates, who became masters of all the country south of the Forth and Clyde, it being agreed that the Forth should from that time forward be called the 'Scots sea;' and it was made a

capital offence for any Scotchman to set his foot on English ground. They were to erect no forts near the English boundaries, to pay an annual tribute of a thousand pounds, and to give up sixty of the sons of their chief nobility as hostages. After the conclusion of this treaty, so humiliating to the Scots, the Picts, finding that their interest had been entirely neglected, fled to Norway, while those who remained in England met with a brutal death from their late allies. Donald, having been dethroned and imprisoned, put an end to his own life; he was succeeded by his nephew Constantine, the son of Kenneth M'Alpin, in whose reign Scotland was first invaded by the Danes, who proved such formidable enemies to the English. This invasion is said to have been occasioned by a body of exiled Picts who fled to Denmark, where they prevailed upon the king of that country to send his two brothers to recover the Pictish dominions from Constantine. These princes landed on the coast of Fife; and though one of the armies was defeated by Constantine near the water of Levan, the king was himself defeated by the other, taken prisoner, and beheaded at a place called the Devil's Cave, A.D. 874. This unfortunate action cost the Scots 10,000 men; but the Danes purchased their victory dearly, as they were obliged immediately afterwards to abandon their conquests and retire to their own country.

Constantine was succeeded by his brother Eth, surnamed the Swiftfooted, from his agility. He was succeeded by Gregory, the son of Dougal, contemporary with Alfred, of England, and both princes deservedly acquired the name of Great. The Danes at their departure had left the Picts in possession of Fife. Against them Gregory immediately marched, and quickly drove them into the north of England, where their confederates were already masters of Northumberland and York. In their way thither they threw a garrison into the town of Berwick: but this was presently reduced by Gregory, who put all the Danes to death, but spared the lives of the Picts. He afterwards marched against the Cumbrians, whom he easily overcame, and obliged to yield up all the lands they had formerly possessed belonging to the Scots, at the same time that he agreed to protect them against the power of the Danes. In a short time, however, Constantine, the king of the Cumbrians, violated the convention he had made, and invaded Annandale; but was defeated and killed by Gregory near Lochmaben. After this he entirely reduced the counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland, which, it is said, were ceded to him by Alfred the Great, whose affairs were at that period anything but prosperous.

Gregory next engaged in a war with the Irish, to support Donach, an Irish prince, against two rebellious noblemen. The first engagement after his landing in Ireland proved fatal to Brian, one of these chieftains; and he then reduced Dundalk and Drogheda. On his way to Dublin he was opposed by a chieftain named Corneil, who shared the fate of his friend Brian. Gregory then assumed the guardianship of the young prince he came to assist, appointed a regency, and obliged them to swear that they would never admit into the country either a Dane or an Englishman without his consent. Having placed garrisons in the strongest fortresses, he returned to Scotland, where he died in the year 892.

Donald III., the son of Constantine, succeeded Gregory; but his reign was short: for having marched against a body of marauders who had invaded and ravaged the counties of Murray and Ross, and subdued them, he soon after died, A.D. 903. He was succeeded by Constantine III., the son of Eth, the most remarkable event in whose reign was that he entered into alliance with the Danes against the English. This, however, lasted but two years. As soon as Constantine had concluded the treaty with the Danes, he appointed the presumptive heir to the Scottish crown, Malcolm, prince of the southern counties, on condition of his defending them against the attacks of the English. He had soon an opportunity of displaying his valour; but, neglecting the necessary caution, his army was signally defeated, and he himself severely wounded. In consequence of this disaster, Constantine was obliged to do homage to the English monarch, Edward the elder, for the possessions he had to the southward of the Scottish boundary.

Early in the reign of Athelstan, the son of Edward, the northern Danes were encouraged, by some conspiracies formed against that monarch, to throw off the yoke; and their success was such that Athelstan thought proper to enter into a treaty with Sithric, the Danish chief, and to give him his daughter in marriage. Sithric, however, did not long survive the nuptials; and his son Guthred, endeavouring to throw off the English yoke, was defeated and obliged to fly into Scotland. This event caused a series of hostilities between the Scots and English, which in the year 938 ended in a general engagement. At this time the Scots, Irish, Cumbrians, and Danes were leagued against the English. The Scots were commanded by their king Constantine; the Irish by Anlaf, the brother of Guthred, the Danish prince; the Cumbrians by their own sovereign, and the Danes by Froda. The generals of Athelstan were Edmund his brother, and Turketu his favourite. After an obstinate engagement, the confederates were defeated with great slaughter: the consequence of which was, that the Scots were deprived of all their possessions to the southward of the Forth, and Constantine, quite dispirited with his misfortune, resigned the crown to Malcolm, and retired to the monastery of the Culdees at St. Andrew's, where he died in 943.

The reigns of Malcolm, Indulfus, Duffus, and Cullen present nothing worthy of comment; but a remarkable revolution took place in the reign of Kenneth III., who succeeded Cullen, A.D. 970. This prince commenced his reign by relieving the lower classes from the exactions and oppressions of the nobility which had become intolerable. Without stating his reasons, he

ordered the barons to appear before him at Lanark, where he had provided an armed host to take such of them into custody as he knew to be notorious offenders, and on the charges being substantiated, they were compelled to make restitution, or were punished in proportion to the magnitude of their offences. In this reign the Danes, who had previously been making attempts to invade England, landed at Montrose, and laid waste the country around. Kenneth, finding that they were making rapid progress in his kingdom, and were then besieging Perth, resolved to give them battle. He is said to have offered ten pounds in silver, or the value of it in land, for the head of every Dane which should be brought to him; and an immunity from all taxes to the soldiers who served in his army, provided they should be victorious; but, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the Scots, their enemies fought so desperately, that Kenneth's army must have been totally defeated, had not the fugitives been stopped by a yeoman of the name of Hay, and his retainers, who were only armed with rustic weapons. The fight was now renewed with such violence on the part of the Scots, that the Danes were utterly defeated; and after the battle the king rewarded Hay with the barony of Errol, in the carse of Gowrie, ennobled his family, and gave them an armorial bearing alluding to the rustic weapons with which they had achieved this illustrious exploit. Kenneth, at length, in 994, met his death by murder, at the instigation of a lady named Fenella, whose son he had caused to be put to death. The throne was then seized by a usurper, named Constantine; who, being killed in battle after a reign of a year and a half, was succeeded by Grime, the grandson of king Duffus; and he again was defeated and killed by Malcolm, the son of Kenneth, the lawful heir of the Scottish throne.

Malcolm formed a strict alliance with the king of England, and proved so successful against the Danes in that country, that Sweyn, their king, resolved to direct his whole force against him by an invasion of Scotland. In conjunction with Duncan, prince of Cumberland, who on this occasion entered into an alliance with Sweyn, Malcolm sustained a terrible defeat, and was himself desperately wounded. So elated were the Danes by this victory, that they sent for their wives and children, intending to make Scotland their future home. Towns and fortresses fell into their hands, and the Scots were everywhere treated as a conquered people: but they afterwards met with a severe check, which they endeavoured to remedy by sending for reinforcements both from England and Norway. Their fleets soon appeared off the coast, and they effected a landing at Redhead, in the county of Angus. The castle of Brechin was first besieged; but meeting with a stout resistance there, they laid the town and church in ashes. Malcolm, in the meantime, was at hand with his army, and encamped at a place called Barr, in the neighbourhood of which both parties prepared to decide the fate of Scotland.

The action was fierce and bloody, but was eventually crowned with complete success to the Scots. Sweyn was not, however, so discouraged but that he sent his son Canute, afterwards king of England, and one of the greatest warriors of that age, into Scotland, with an army more powerful than any that had yet appeared and though the Danes were, upon the whole, successful in the great battle which followed, they were so much reduced that they willingly concluded a peace on the following terms; viz. that the Danes should immediately leave Scotland; that as long as Malcolm and Sweyn lived, neither of them should wage war with the other, or help each other's enemies; and that the field in which the battle was fought should be set apart and consecrated for the burial of the dead. But glorious as the warlike exploits of Malcolm had been, he is said to have stained the latter part of his reign with avarice and oppression; and at the age of eighty, after having reigned thirty years, he fell by the hand of an assassin. Duncan I., a grandson of Malcolm, succeeded him in 1034; he had also another grandson, the celebrated Macbeth, who in the early part of Duncan's reign signalised himself in quelling a formidable insurrection, but who subsequently, after having done much in expelling the Danish marauders, murdered the king, and usurped his throne, to the exclusion of Malcolm, the rightful son and heir of Duncan.

For some time Macbeth governed with moderation, but his tyrannical nature was afterwards shown in almost every act. He caused Banquo, the most powerful thane in Scotland, to be treacherously murdered, and intended that his son Fleance should share the same fate, had he not made his escape to Wales. Next to Banquo the most powerful of his subjects was Macduff, the thane of Fife; for which reason Macbeth plotted his destruction; but on Macduff seeking refuge in England, the tyrant cruelly put to death his wife and infant children, and sequestered his estate. The injured Macduff vowed revenge, and encouraged Malcolm to attempt to dethrone the traitorous usurper. With their united forces they gave Macbeth battle; and being defeated, he retreated to the most inaccessible places in the Highlands, where for two years he continued to defend himself against all who dared to oppose him. In the meantime, however, Malcolm was acknowledged king of Scotland, and Macbeth perished in a conflict with Macduff.

A.D. 1057.—Malcolm III. being now established on the throne, commenced his reign by rewarding Macduff for his great services, and conferred upon his family some distinguished honours. The conquest of England by William of Normandy involved Malcolm, who espoused the cause of the Saxons, in many fierce wars. Edgar Atheling, the heir of the Saxon line, and many of the Saxon nobles, found an asylum in Scotland. Malcolm married Margaret, the sister of the fugitive prince, who is said to have introduced a degree of refinement into her court remarkable for

that time, and to have contributed to soften the rude manners of the people. Malcolm twice invaded England with success; but William, having collected a great army, in his turn invaded Scotland, and compelled Malcolm to do homage for the lands which he held within what was accounted the English territory. This was, as the reader has been elsewhere informed, an ancient feudal practice, common at the period; though in later times it has been asserted that the Scottish monarchs held their whole kingdom on this tenure.

On the death of William the Conqueror, Malcolm again espoused the cause of Edgar Atheling, who had been induced to seek his assistance a second time, when William II., surnamed Rufus, ascended the English throne. After several negotiations between Malcolm, Rufus, and Edgar, it was agreed that the king of England should restore to Malcolm all his southern possessions, for which he should pay the same homage he had been accustomed to do to the Conqueror; that he should restore to Malcolm twelve disputed manors, and give him likewise thirteen marks of gold yearly, besides restoring Edgar to all his English estates. William, however, afterwards refused to fulfil his engagements, and applied himself to the fortification of his northern boundaries, especially Carlisle, which had been destroyed by the Danes 200 years before. This place lying within the feudal dominions of Malcolm, he complained of William's proceedings, as a breach of the late treaty. Another war was the natural consequence; and the Scottish king, with his eldest son, was killed in attempting to take the castle of Alnwick, A.D. 1093.

Though Malcolm left male heirs, yet his throne was usurped, first by his brother Donald Bane, and afterwards by Duncan, his natural son. By the interposition of the king of England, however, Edgar, lawful son of Malcolm, was placed upon the Scottish throne. After a reign distinguished by no remarkable event, Edgar died in 1107; and was succeeded by his brother Alexander, surnamed the Fierce, from the impetuosity of his temper. But though impetuous, he was severely just, and rendered himself chiefly remarkable by the attention he paid to the administration of justice and the redress of wrong. A conspiracy formed against the life of this good king was dissipated by the vigour of his measures; and after assisting Henry I. of England in a war with the Welsh, he died in 1124. Having left no issue, Alexander was succeeded by David, his younger brother, commonly called St. David, on account of his great piety and excessive liberality to the church and clergy. David interested himself in the affairs of England, espousing the cause of Maud against Stephen. In several engagements he was successful, but was in others defeated; and found himself unable effectively to support the cause he had undertaken. He died in 1153, and was succeeded by Malcolm IV., a prince of a weak body and no less feeble mind, who, dying in 1165, left his crown to his brother William.

In the beginning of his reign, William recovered from Henry of England the earldom of Northumberland, which had been relinquished by Malcolm; but afterwards leading an army into England, and conducting himself with too little caution, he was made prisoner by surprise, and detained in captivity, till, in order to regain his liberty, he consented to declare himself a vassal of England, and to do homage for his whole kingdom. Richard Cœur de Lion however, who succeeded Henry, remitted the oppressive terms, and declared Scotland to be an independent kingdom; a measure to which he was induced, partly by the injustice of the claim itself, and partly by his wish of rendering the Scots his friends, during an expedition which he was about to undertake into Palestine. William showed his gratitude for the restoration of his independence, by continuing a faithful ally of the English till his death in 1214.

William was succeeded by his son Alexander II., a youth of sixteen. He took the side of the English barons in their contentions with John, their feeble and imprudent monarch. He was a wise and good prince, and maintained with steadiness and spirit the independency of his crown abroad, and the authority of his government at home. At his death, in 1249, he was succeeded by his son Alexander, a child of eight years of age, who was immediately crowned at Scone as Alexander III. Having been betrothed, when an infant, to the princess Margaret of England, their nuptials were celebrated at York in 1251, and he did homage to Henry for his English possessions. The latter monarch demanded homage for the kingdom of Scotland, but the young prince replied with spirit, that he came to York to marry the princess of England, not to treat of state affairs, and that he would not take so important a step without the concurrence of the national council. One of the principal events of Alexander's reign was the battle of Largs. Haco, king of Norway, having collected a fleet of one hundred and sixty ships, sailed towards Scotland with a numerous army, A.D. 1263, with a view to recover such of the Western Isles as had formerly belonged to his crown, but which had been wrested from it by the Scots. He made himself master of Arran and Bute, and afterwards landed on the coast of Ayrshire. Alexander attacked him at Largs; where, after a fierce contest, victory at last declared for the Scots, and the greater part of the invading army fell either in the action or the pursuit. Haco reached the Orkneys, but soon afterwards died, as is said, of a broken heart; and was succeeded by Magnus, who, discouraged by the disaster which had befallen his father, yielded all his rights to the Western Islands and the Isle of Man to the crown of Scotland, for the sum of 4,000 marks, to be paid in four years, and a quit rent of one hundred marks yearly: A.D. 1266. The Norwegians still retained the Orkney and Shetland Islands. From this period, Alexander was employed for several years in maintaining the independence of the Scottish church against the pretensions of the pope, and

in restraining the encroachments of the clergy. His reign was a long and prosperous one; and his death was, in its consequences, a serious calamity to Scotland. While riding in the dusk of the evening along the sea-coast of Fife, his horse started, and he was thrown over the rock and killed on the spot.

A.D. 1286.—Alexander's children had all died before him. His daughter Margaret had married Eric, king of Norway, and died, leaving issue one daughter, Margaret, usually called the Maiden of Norway, the now undoubted heiress of the crown of Scotland, and recognised as such by the states of the kingdom about three weeks after Alexander's death. The same convention appointed a regency of six noblemen during the absence of the young queen. These regents for some time acted with wisdom and unanimity; but two of them dying, dissensions arose among the remaining four; and Eric, king of Norway, apprehensive for the interests of his daughter, applied to Edward, king of England, for his assistance and protection. Edward had already formed a scheme for uniting the two kingdoms by the marriage of his eldest son, Edward, with the queen of Scots. A treaty was entered into for this purpose; but the Maiden of Norway unfortunately died at Orkney, on her passage to Scotland; and the nation was struck with grief and consternation in beholding the extinction of a race of sovereigns who had distinguished themselves for their bravery and wisdom, and in anticipating the miseries of a contested succession.

The line of Alexander's descendants being thus extinguished, the right of succession devolved on the descendants of David, earl of Huntingdon, third son of David I. Among these, Robert Bruce and John Baliol appeared as competitors for the crown. Bruce was the son of Isabel, earl David's second daughter: Baliol, the grandson of Margaret the eldest daughter. Although the right was incontestible in Baliol, the prejudices of the people favoured Bruce: each was supported by a powerful faction; and arms alone, it was feared, must decide the dispute. In order to avoid the threatened miseries of civil war, Edward I., king of England, was chosen umpire, and both parties agreed to acquiesce in his decree. This measure had nearly proved fatal to the independence of Scotland. Edward was artful, brave, and enterprising. The anarchy which prevailed in Scotland invited him first to seize, and then to subject the kingdom. Under the authority of an umpire, he summoned all the Scottish barons to Norham; and having gained some, and intimidated others, he prevailed on all who were present, not excepting Bruce and Baliol, the competitors, to acknowledge Scotland to be a fief of the crown of England, and to swear fealty to him as their sovereign lord. Edward now demanded possession of the kingdom, that he might be able to deliver it to him whose right should be found preferable; and such was the pusillanimity of the nobles, and the impatience of the competitors, that both assented to his demand; and Gilbert d'Umpfreville, earl of Angus, was the only man who refused to surrender the castles in his custody to the enemy of his country. Edward, finding Baliol had the best right, and was the least formidable of the two competitors, gave judgement in his favour; and Baliol once more confessed himself the vassal of England.

Edward now concluded that his dominion was fully established in Scotland, and began to assume the character of master: his new vassals, however, bore the yoke with impatience. Provoked by his haughtiness, the humble spirit of Baliol began to mutiny. But Edward, who had no further use for such a pageant king, forced him to resign the crown; and attempted to seize it, as having fallen to himself by the rebellion of his vassal.

Sir William Wallace, a hero and patriot, now first made his appearance, and almost singly ventured to take arms in defence of the kingdom; but his courage, although for a time it revived the spirit of his countrymen, could not save them from the power of the English king. He had lived a free man, and a free man he resolved to die; but the season of resistance was passed. He at length fell into Edward's hands, was arraigned at Westminster as a traitor, and an ignominious death was the reward of his unexampled bravery. Robert Bruce, the grandson of the competitor of Baliol, then came forward, to assert his own rights, and to vindicate the honour of his country. The nobles crowded to his standard, and many battles were fought with the English. The Scots, though often vanquished, were not subdued: the prudent conduct of Bruce, aided by the national enthusiasm, baffled the repeated efforts of Edward; and although the war continued, with little intermission, upwards of seventy years, Bruce and his posterity kept possession of Scotland.

A.D. 1336.—Robert Bruce began to reign in 1306, and no prince was ever more indebted to his nobles. Their valour conquered the kingdom, and placed him on the throne; and he bestowed upon them, in return, the lands of the vanquished. Robert died in 1329, and was succeeded by his son David. He had been an exile in France, and afterwards a prisoner in England; and being involved in continual war with Edward III. of England, had not time to attend to the internal police of the kingdom. He died without children in 1371, and was succeeded by Robert Stuart.

CHAPTER II.

The House of STUART.

A.D. 1371.—THE reign of Robert II. (the first of the House of Stuart) is replete with accounts of skirmishes and inroads, but of very little consequence in an historical point of view. He died in 1390, and was succeeded by Robert III., who was a man of weak mind and sickly constitution, and very unfit to check the growing power of the martial barons. Robert died in 1406; and an interregnum of eighteen years took

place, owing to James, his successor, being a prisoner in England.

A.D. 1424.—The English had unjustly detained the heir of the Scottish throne, but they certainly made some amends for their injustice by the care they took in his education. During his long residence in England, he had an opportunity of observing the feudal system in a more advanced state and refined from many of the imperfections which still adhered to it in his own kingdom. He saw there nobles great, but not independent; a king powerful, though far from absolute: he saw a regular administration of government; wise laws enacted; and a nation flourishing and happy, because all ranks were accustomed to obey them. Full of these ideas, he returned to his native country, which presented to him a very different scene. The royal authority, never great, was now contemptible, by having been so long delegated to regents. The ancient patrimony and revenues of the crown were almost totally alienated. The license of many years had rendered the nobles independent. Universal anarchy prevailed; the weak were exposed to the oppression of the strong; the barbarous chieftains ruled at pleasure, and neither feared the king, nor felt for the people.

James was too wise to employ open force to correct such rooted evils; neither the men, nor the times, would have borne it. He applied the gentler remedy of laws and statutes, tending visibly to reestablish order, tranquillity, and justice in the kingdom. But at the same time that he endeavoured to secure these blessings to the people, he discovered his intention to recover those possessions of which the crown had been unjustly deprived; and for that purpose obtained an act, by which he was empowered to summon such persons as had obtained crown lands during the three last reigns to produce the rights by which they held them. As this statute threatened the property of the nobles, another, which passed in a subsequent parliament, aimed a dreadful blow at their power. By it the leagues and combinations which rendered the nobles so formidable to the crown were declared unlawful. James now took bolder and more decisive steps. During the sitting of parliament, he seized his cousin Murdo, duke of Albany, and his sons; the earls of Douglas, Lenox, Angus, March, and above twenty others of the first rank, who appeared restless under the new statutes. To all of them, however, he was soon after reconciled, except Albany and his sons, and Lenox. These were tried by their peers, and condemned. Their execution struck the whole order with terror; and the forfeiture of their estates added considerably to the possessions of the crown. He seized likewise the earldoms of Buchan and Strathern upon different pretexts; and that of Mar fell to him by inheritance. The patience and inactivity of the nobles, while the king was proceeding so rapidly in aggrandising the crown, are amazing. The only obstruction he met with was from a slight insurrection, headed by the duke of Albany's youngest son, and which was soon suppressed.

Encouraged by the facility with which he had hitherto advanced, James ventured upon a measure that irritated the whole body of the nobility. The father of George Dunbar, earl of March, had taken arms against Robert III. the king's father; but that crime had been pardoned, and his lands restored, by Robert, duke of Albany, during the confinement of James in England. Under the pretext that the regent had exceeded his power, and that it was the prerogative of the king alone to pardon treason, James declared the pardon to be void. Many of the nobles and great men held lands by no other right than what they derived from grant of the two dukes of Albany. Although Dunbar was at present the only sufferer, it caused great alarm, as the precedent might be extended. Terror and discontent spread far and wide upon this discovery of the king's intentions; the common danger called on the whole order to unite, and to make one bold stand, before they were stripped successively of their possessions. A conspiracy was formed against the king's life by those who had been the chief sufferers under the new laws, and the first intelligence of it was brought to him while he lay in his camp before Roxburgh castle. He instantly dismissed his nobles and their vassals, in whom he could place no confidence, and retired to a monastery near Perth, were he was soon afterwards murdered in a most cruel manner, in 1437.

James was a prince of great abilities, and in general conducted his operations with prudence: he was beloved by the people, and hated by the nobles. His maxims and manners were too refined for the age and country in which he lived. He was succeeded by his son, James II., an infant.

A.D. 1437.—Crichton, who had been the minister of James I., still held the reins of government. He did not relinquish the design of the late king for humbling the nobility, but endeavoured to inspire his pupil with the same sentiments. But what James had attempted to effect slowly, and by legal means, his son and Crichton pursued with the impetuosity natural to Scotsmen. William, the sixth earl of Douglas, was the first victim to their barbarous policy. He was decoyed to an interview in the castle of Edinburgh, and there murdered with his brother. Crichton, however, gained little by this act of treachery, which rendered him universally odious. William, the eighth earl of Douglas, was no less powerful, and no less formidable to the crown, than his predecessor; he had united against his sovereign almost one half of his kingdom, when his credulity led him into the same snare which had been fatal to the former earl. Relying on the king's promises, who had now attained to the years of manhood, and having obtained a safe conduct under the great seal, he ventured to meet him in Stirling castle. James urged him to dissolve that dangerous confederacy into which he had entered: the earl obstinately refused. 'If you will not,' said the enraged monarch, drawing his dagger, 'this shall;' and stabbed him to the heart. This allied the nation with

astonishment. The earl's vassals ran to arms, marched to Stirling, burnt the town, and threatened to besiege the castle. An accommodation, however, ensued; on what terms is not known; but the king's jealousy, and the new earl's power and resentment, prevented it from being of long continuance. Both took the field at the head of their armies, and met near Abercorn. That of the earl, composed chiefly of borderers, was far superior to the king's both in number and in valour; and a single battle must, in all probability, have decided whether the house of Stuart or of Douglas was henceforth to possess the throne of Scotland. But as his troops were impatiently expecting the signal to engage, the earl ordered them to retire to their camp. His principal officers, now convinced of his want of genius and courage, deserted him; and he was soon after driven out of the kingdom, and obliged to depend for his subsistence on the friendship of the king of England.

The ruin of this great family, which had so long rivalled and overawed the crown, secured the king for some time from opposition, and the royal authority remained uncontrolled, and almost absolute. James did not suffer this favourable interval to pass unimproved: he procured the consent of parliament to laws more advantageous to the prerogative, and more subversive of the privileges of the aristocracy, than were ever obtained by any former or subsequent monarch of Scotland.

During the remainder of his reign, this prince pursued the plan which he had begun with the utmost vigour; and had not a sudden death, occasioned by the splinter of a cannon which burst near him at the siege of Roxburgh, prevented his progress, he wanted neither genius nor courage to perfect it; and Scotland might, in all probability, have been the first kingdom in Europe which would have seen the subversion of the feudal system.

A.D. 1460.—James III. succeeded his father in 1460, and discovered no less eagerness than his father, or grandfather, to humble the nobility: but, far inferior to either of them in abilities and address, he adopted a plan extremely impolitic; and his reign was disastrous, as well as his end tragical. James feared and hated his nobles; he kept them at an unusual distance; and bestowed every mark of confidence and affection upon a few mean persons. Shut up with these in his castle of Stirling, he seldom appeared in public, and amused himself in architecture, music, and other arts, which were then little esteemed. The nobles resented this conduct in the king; and combinations, secret intrigues with England, and all the usual preparations for civil war, were the effects of their resentment. Alexander, duke of Albany, and John, earl of Mar, the king's brothers—two young men of turbulent and ambitious spirits, and incensed against James, who treated them with great coldness—entered deeply into all their cabals. The king detected their designs before they were ripe for execution; and seizing his two brothers, committed the duke of Albany to Edinburgh castle. The earl of Mar, having remonstrated with too much boldness, it is said, was murdered by the king's command. Albany, apprehensive of the same fate, made his escape out of the castle, and reached France.

James's attachment to favourites rendering him every day more odious to his nobles, soon inspired Albany with more ambitious and criminal thoughts. He concluded a treaty with Edward IV. of England, in which he assumed the name of Alexander, king of Scots; and, in return for the assistance which was promised him towards dethroning his brother, he bound himself, as soon as he was put in possession of the kingdom, to swear fealty and do homage to the English monarch, to renounce the ancient alliance with France, to contract a new one with England, and to surrender some of the strongest castles and most valuable counties in Scotland. The aid which the duke so basely purchased at the price of his own honour and the independence of his country, was punctually granted him; and Richard duke of Gloucester, with a powerful army, conducted him towards Scotland. The danger of a foreign invasion soon induced James to ask the assistance of those nobles whom he had so long treated with contempt. They expressed their readiness to stand forward in defence of their king and country against all invaders, and took the field at the head of a large army of their followers; but it was evident at the same time that they were animated by a stronger desire to redress their own grievances than to annoy the enemy, and with a fixed determination of punishing those favourites whose insolence had become intolerable. This resolution they executed in the camp near Lauder. Having previously concerted their plan, the earls of Angus, Huntley, and Lauder, followed by almost all the barons of note in the army, forcibly entered the apartments of the king, seized every one therein, except Ramsay, who had taken shelter in his arms, and hanged them immediately over a bridge. Among the most remarkable of those who had engrossed the king's favour, were Cochran, a mason; Hommil, a tailor; Leonard, a smith; Rogers, a musician; and Torlifan, a fencing-master.

Having no reason to confide in an army so little under his command, James dismissed it, and shut himself up in the castle of Edinburgh. At length Albany made his peace with the king, but it was not of long duration; for James abandoned himself once more to his favourites; and Albany, again disgusted, retired to his castle at Dunbar, and renewed his former confederacy with Edward. The death of Edward, soon after, blasted his hopes of reigning in Scotland. He fled first to England, and then to France, and from that time he took no part in the affairs of his native country.

Grown fonder of retirement than ever, and sunk into indolence or superstition, James suffered his whole authority to devolve upon his favourites. The nobles flew

to arms, and obliged or persuaded the duke of Rothsay, the king's eldest son, a youth of fifteen, to set himself at their head; and they then openly declared their intention of depriving James of the crown. Roused by this danger, the king quitted his retirement, took the field, and encountered them at Bannockburn; but his army was soon routed, and he was slain in the pursuit. Suspicion, indolence, immoderate attachment to favourites, and all the vices of a feeble mind, are visible in his whole conduct.

Many of those who acted against James, being fearful of the terrors of excommunication for having imbrued their hands in the blood of their king, endeavoured to atone for the treatment of the father by their loyalty and duty towards the son. They placed him instantly on the throne; and the whole kingdom soon united in acknowledging his authority.

A.D. 1488.—James IV. ascended the Scottish throne in the year 1488. He was naturally generous and brave: loved magnificence, and delighted in arms. Indeed, so well suited was he for those over whom he ruled, that during his reign the ancient enmity between the king and the nobles seemed almost to have entirely ceased. He envied not their splendour, because it contributed to the ornament of his court; and their power he considered as the security of his kingdom, not as an object of terror to himself. This confidence on his part met with duty and affection on theirs; and in his war with England he experienced how much a king beloved by his nobles is able to perform. Through the ardour of his courage, rather than from any prospect of national advantage, he declared war against England, and was followed by as gallant an army as ever any of his ancestors had led into England. The battle of Flodden Field, [see 'ENGLAND,' p. 297] gained by the earl of Surrey over James, and in which he lost his life, served to humble the aristocracy of Scotland more than all the premeditated attacks of the preceding kings. Twelve earls, thirteen lords, five eldest sons of noblemen, and a great number of barons, fell with the king.

A.D. 1517.—James V. succeeded his father when only one year old. The office of regent was conferred upon his cousin, the duke of Albany, a man of genius and enterprise, a native of France. A stranger to the manners, the laws, and the language of the people over whom he was called to rule, he acted rather as a viceroy of the French king, than the governor of Scotland. When James had attained his thirteenth year, Albany retired to France; and the nobles agreed that the king should assume the government, with the assistance of eight councillors, among whom was the earl of Angus, who soon got the whole authority into his own hands. James was continually surrounded by the earl's spies and confidants, who closely watched his motions; he, however, eluded all their vigilance, and escaping from Falkland, fled to the castle of Stirling, the residence of the queen, his mother, and the only place of strength in the kingdom which was not in the hands of the Douglasses. The nobles soon appeared at Stirling; and the court of James was presently filled by persons of the first distinction. In a parliament held soon after, Angus and his adherents were attainted, and he was at length obliged to fly to England for refuge.

James had now not only the name, but the authority of a king. His understanding was good, and his person graceful; but his education had been neglected. He, however, formed a plan for humbling the power of the nobles, more profound and more systematic than any of his predecessors. The Scottish monarchs had the sole right of nomination to vacant bishopries and abbeys; and James naturally concluded, that men who expected preferment from his favour would be willing to merit it by promoting his designs. Happily for him, the nobles had not yet recovered the blow which fell on their order at Flodden, and James treated them with coldness and reserve. Those offices which, from long possession, they considered as appropriated to their order, were bestowed on ecclesiastics, who alone possessed his confidence, together with a few gentlemen of inferior rank. These ministers were chosen with judgement; and cardinal Beaton was a man of superior genius. However, a false step which they took presented to the nobles an advantage which they did not fail to improve.

Henry VIII. of England, uncle to James, proposed a personal interview with him at York, with a view to induce him to throw off his allegiance to the pope; and James accepted the invitation. By the persuasion of his ministers, however, James broke his agreement with Henry, who, in expectation of meeting him, had already come to York; and that haughty monarch resented the affront, by declaring war against Scotland. James was now obliged to have recourse to his nobles for the defence of his dominions. At his command they assembled their followers, it is true; but with the same dispositions which had animated their ancestors in the reign of James III. The king, perceiving their designs, disbanded the army, and returned into the heart of the kingdom.

Impatience, indignation, and resentment against the nobles filled his bosom by turns. He became pensive, sullen, and retired. In order to revive his spirits, an inroad on the western border was concerted by his ministers, who prevailed upon the barons in the neighbouring provinces to raise as many troops as were thought necessary, and to enter England. But nothing could remove the king's aversion to his nobility, or diminish his jealousy of their power. He would not even trust them with the command of the forces which they had assembled, but appointed Oliver Sinclair, his favourite, to that post. As might have been foreseen, Sinclair no sooner appeared to take upon him the dignity conferred, than a universal mutiny took place in the army. Five hundred English, who happened to be drawn up in sight, taking advantage of this disorder, attacked the

Scots; when hatred to the king, and contempt for his general, produced an effect to which there is no parallel in history. Ten thousand men fled before an army so vastly inferior, without striking a blow. About thirty were killed; above a thousand were taken prisoners, and among them one hundred and sixty persons of condition. The small number of the English prevented their taking more prisoners.

As soon as this affair reached the king, all the violent passions which are the enemies of life preyed on his mind: the deepest melancholy and despair succeeded to the furious transports of his rage. Death relieved him from his anxiety; but whether from the diseases of his mind, or by poison, is not sufficiently ascertained. It took place in December 1542.

CHAPTER III.

The Reign of MARY.—*House of Stuart.*

A.D. 1543.—MARY, only child of James V. and Mary of Guise, who was born only a few days before the death of her father, succeeded to the crown. The situation in which he left the kingdom, and the perils to be apprehended from a lengthened regency, alarmed all ranks of men with the prospect of a turbulent and disastrous reign.

Cardinal Beaton, who for many years had been considered as prime minister, was the first that claimed the high dignity of regent; in support of his pretensions, he produced a will, which he himself had forged in the name of the late king, and, without any other right, instantly assumed the title of regent. He hoped, by the assistance of the clergy, the countenance of France, the connivance of the queen dowager, and the support of the whole popish faction, to hold by force what he had seized on by fraud. But Beaton had enjoyed power too long to be a favourite of the nation. James Hamilton, earl of Arran, the next heir to the queen, was called forth, by the general voice of the nation, to take upon himself the high office; and the nobles, who were assembled for that purpose, unanimously proclaimed him regent.

The earl of Arran had scarcely taken possession of his new dignity, when a negotiation was opened with England, which gave rise to events of the most fatal consequence to himself, and to the kingdom. This negotiation embraced a proposal from Henry, of the marriage of Edward, his only son, with the young queen of Scots. All those who feared the cardinal, or who desired a change in religion, were pleased with the idea of an alliance that would afford protection to the doctrine which they had embraced, as well as to their own persons, against the rage of that powerful and haughty prelate.

The designs which Henry had formed upon Scotland were obvious from the marriage which he had proposed, and he had not dexterity enough to disguise them. He demanded that the young queen should be put under his care, and the government of the kingdom placed in his hands during her minority.

The Scots parliament consented to a treaty of marriage and of union, but upon terms somewhat more equal. The Scots agreed to send their sovereign into England as soon as she had attained the age of ten years; and to deliver six persons of the first rank, to be kept as hostages by Henry till the queen's arrival at his court. On the side of Henry, it was agreed that the queen should continue to reside in Scotland, and himself remain excluded from any share in the government of the kingdom.

The cardinal complained loudly that the regent had betrayed the kingdom to its most inveterate enemies, and sacrificed its honour to his own ambition: he lamented to see an ancient kingdom consenting to its own servitude, and descending into the ignominious station of a province; and in one hour, the weakness or treachery of one man, surrendering everything for which the Scottish nation had struggled and fought during so many ages. These remonstrances of the cardinal were not without effect, and the whole nation declared against the alliance which had been concluded.

Argyll, Huntley, Bothwell, and other powerful barons, declared openly against the alliance with England. By their assistance the cardinal seized on the persons of the young queen and her mother.

On the 25th of August, 1543, the regent ratified the treaty with Henry, and proclaimed the cardinal, who still continued to oppose it, an enemy to his country. On the 3rd of September, he secretly withdrew from Edinburgh, and had an interview with the cardinal at Callandar, where he not only renounced the friendship of England, and declared for the interests of France, but also changed his sentiments concerning religion, and publickly renounced the doctrine of the reformers in the Franciscan church at Stirling.

The cardinal was now in possession of everything his ambition could desire, and exercised all the authority of a regent, without the envy and opprobrium attached to the name. Henry VIII. was not of a temper to bear tamely the indignity with which he had been treated both by the regent and the parliament of Scotland, and determined on invading that country. The earl of Hertford had the command of the army destined for the enterprise, and landed it, without opposition, a few miles above Leith. He marched directly for Edinburgh, which city he entered May 3rd, 1544. After plundering the adjacent country, he set fire to both these towns; then putting his booty on board the fleet, reached the English borders in safety. Peace followed soon after; but cardinal Beaton had previously been murdered by the means of Norman Leslie, eldest son of the earl of Rothes, whom the cardinal had treated not only with injustice, but contempt.

The prelate resided at that time in the castle of St. Andrew's, which he had fortified at a great expense, and, in the opinion of the age, had rendered it impregnable. His retinue was numerous, the town at his devotion, and the neighbouring country

full of his dependents. In this situation Leslie, with fifteen others, undertook to surprise his castle, and assassinate him; and their success was equal to the boldness of the attempt. May 20th, 1546, early in the morning, they seized on the gate of the castle, which was open for the accommodation of the workmen who were employed in finishing the fortifications; and having placed sentries at the door of the cardinal's apartment, they awakened his domestics one by one, and turning them out of the castle, they murdered him without offering violence to any other person; thereby delivering their country from a man whose pride was insupportable, and whose cruelty and cunning were great checks to the reformation. The death of Beaton was fatal to the catholic religion, and to the French interest in Scotland. The regent threatened vengeance, but the threat was as impotent as it was unwise.

The death of Henry VIII., which happened January 28th, 1547, blasted the hopes of the conspirators, who had been supported by him both with money and provisions. Henry II. of France sent powerful succours to the regent, under the command of Leon Strozzi; and the conspirators, after a short resistance, surrendered, with the assurance of their lives, and were sent prisoners to France. The castle, the monument of Beaton's power and vanity, was demolished in obedience to the canon law, which denounces its anathemas even against the house in which the sacred blood of a cardinal happens to be shed, and ordains it to be laid in ashes.

Edward VI. was now king of England; and the earl of Hertford, now duke of Somerset, and protector of the kingdom, entered Scotland at the head of 18,000 men: at the same time a fleet of sixty ships appeared on the coast, to second his land forces. The Scots had for some time seen this storm gathering, and were prepared for it. Their army was almost double that of the enemy, and posted to the greatest advantage on a rising ground above Musselburg, not far from the banks of the Esk. Confident of success, they attacked the English, under the duke of Somerset, near Pinkey, September 10th, 1547, who, taking advantage of their impetuous haste, routed them with considerable loss The encounter in the field was not long, but the pursuit was continued for some time, and to a great distance: the three roads by which the Scots fled were strewed with spears, swords, and targets, and covered with the bodies of the slain. More than 10,000 men fell on this day, one of the most fatal Scotland had ever seen. A few were taken prisoners, and among them some persons of distinction.

A.D. 1548.—The Scottish nobles falling in with the prejudices of the queen dowager in favour of France, in the violence of their resentment against England, voluntarily proposed to Henry II. of France a marriage of their young queen, only six years old, with the dauphin, eldest son of Henry II., and to send her to his court for education. Henry without hesitation accepted these offers, and prepared for a vigorous defence of his new acquisition. On the 15th of June, 1548, the treaty was concluded by the parliament assembled in the camp before Haddington; and Mary was immediately sent to France, at that time notoriously the most corrupt court in Europe. Here she acquired every accomplishment that could add to her charms as a woman, and contracted many of those prejudices which occasioned her misfortunes as a queen.

Peace was soon afterwards made with England; and both the British and Scottish nations lost power by this unhappy quarrel, while France obtained a decisive advantage. The reformation, however, gained ground. At this time appeared the famous John Knox, a man whose natural intrepidity of mind placed him above fear. He began his public ministry at St. Andrew's in 1547, with that success which always accompanies a bold and popular eloquence. He was patronised by the conspirators while they kept possession of the castle, which he made the place of his abode.

At this time the queen dowager, Mary of Guise, aspired at the office of regent. She had already nearly engrossed the administration of affairs into her hands. Her designs were concealed with the utmost care, and advanced by address and refinement her brothers entered warmly into the scheme, and supported it with all their credit at the court of France. The queen dowager visited France in 1550; from thence overtures were made to the regent to resign his situation in her favour, which the king of France enforced, by an artful admixture of threats and promises; so that he was induced to relinquish his power, which he formally laid down in 1554; and the parliament raised Mary of Guise to that dignity. Thus was a woman, and a stranger, advanced to the supreme authority in Scotland!

A.D. 1558.—On the 14th of April, the marriage of the young queen took place with the dauphin Francis; and the parliament of Scotland sent eight of its members to represent their whole body at the nuptials. In the treaty of marriage, the dauphin was allowed to assume the title of king of Scotland as an honorary title. The French king, however, soon after insisted that the dauphin's title should be publicly recognised, and all the right appertaining to the husband of a queen should be vested in his person: upon which the Scots' parliament (Nov. 29) passed an act conferring the crown matrimonial on the dauphin. The earl of Argyll, and James Stuart, prior of St. Andrew's, were appointed to carry the crown and other ensigns of royalty to the dauphin. But from this they were diverted by the part they were called upon to act in a more interesting scene, which now began to open.

The bigoted queen Mary, of England, whose religious persecutions had earned for her a still more offensive name, died on the 17th of November, 1558; and Elizabeth, her sister, took possession of the English

throne. In order to gratify the arbitrary caprice of Henry, Elizabeth, as well as her predecessor Mary, had been declared illegitimate by the parliament; but in his last will he declared them the successors on the throne to their brother Edward; at the same time passing by the posterity of his sister Margaret, queen of Scotland, and continuing the line of succession to his sister, the duchess of Suffolk. Rome trembled for the catholic faith under a queen of such abilities as Elizabeth was known to possess. Spain and France were equally alarmed. Instigated by the impetuous ambition of the Guises, who governed the court of France, Henry, soon after the death of Mary, persuaded his daughter-in-law, and his son, her husband, to assume the title of king and queen of England. They affected to publish this to all Europe, and used that style and appellation in public papers. The arms of England were engraved on their coin, and on their plate, and borne by them on all occasions; but no preparations were made to support this impolitic and premature claim. Elizabeth was already seated on her throne: she possessed all the intrepidity of spirit, and all the arts of policy, which were necessary for maintaining that station; and England was growing into reputation for naval power, while that of France had been utterly neglected.

It was absurd to expect that the Scottish protestants would assist to dethrone a queen whom all Europe began to consider as the most powerful guardian and defender of the reformed faith. Yet, absurd as it was, in 1559, the queen-regent issued a proclamation, enjoining all persons to observe the approaching festival of Easter according to the Romish ritual. The protestants, who saw the danger approaching, in order to avert it, engaged the earl of Glencairn, and sir Hugh Campbell, to expostulate with her. Without disguise or apology, she avowed to them her resolution of extirpating the reformed religion out of the kingdom; and soon after summoned all the protestant preachers in the kingdom to a court of justice, to be held at Stirling on the 10th day of May. The reformed met in great numbers to attend their pastors to Stirling. The regent being alarmed at their being so numerous, although unarmed, promised to put a stop to the intended trial, and they dispersed towards their own habitations.

The regent had little regard to her promise. The 10th of May arrived. The names of those were called who had been summoned; and, upon their non-appearance, they were pronounced outlaws. This conduct occasioned an insurrection in Perth: the churches were defaced, the altars overturned, the images broken in pieces, the pictures torn, and the monasteries almost levelled with the ground. A truce was soon after concluded between the regent and the protestants, which was presently broken by the former; and the protestants again took to arms, not only with a view of redressing their religious, but their civil grievances: and the protestant army, wherever it came, spread the ardour of reformation. The gates of every town were thrown open to receive them; and, without striking a blow, they took possession of Edinburgh, June 29, 1559.

On the 8th of July, Henry II. of France died; and Francis, the husband of Mary, queen of Scots, succeeded to the throne. The queen-regent was soon after deprived of her power by the protestants; but the French garrison in Leith refused to surrender that place, nor were the Scots in a condition to oblige them.

In this situation of affairs, application was made to Elizabeth for assistance. She sent to them a supply of four thousand crowns, which was intercepted by Bothwell, and carried off. A second application was made, imploring her assistance. Elizabeth had observed the prevalence of French counsels, and had already come to a resolution with regard to the part she would act, if their power should grow more formidable.

In January 1560, an English fleet arrived in the frith of Forth, and cast anchor in the road of Leith. The English army, consisting of 6,000 foot and 2,000 horse, under the command of the lord Grey of Wilton, and attended by a prodigious number of protestants, entered Scotland early in the spring, and advanced towards Leith, which they invested.

Nothing could now save the French troops shut up in Leith, but the immediate conclusion of a peace, or the arrival of a powerful army from the continent. They chose the former; and Elizabeth not only obtained honourable conditions for her allies, but for herself; particularly an acknowledgment of her right to the crown of England from Francis and Mary, who in the treaty solemnly engaged neither to assume the title, nor to bear the arms of king and queen of England, in any time to come: this peace was signed July 6, 1560. While this peace was negotiating, the queen regent died; and on the 4th of December Francis II. paid the debt of nature. He was a prince of a weak constitution, and still weaker intellect. The ancient confederacy of the two kingdoms had already been broken; and by the death of Francis the chief bond of union which remained was dissolved.

In 1561, the convention invited the queen to return to Scotland, her native country, and to assume the reins of government. She sailed from Calais in a galley, and on the 19th of August landed safely at Leith, where she was received by her subjects with acclamations of joy.

With a view to gain Elizabeth's favour, and conformably to the plan which had been concerted in France, Mary committed the administration of affairs entirely to protestants. Elizabeth commanded Randolph to congratulate her on her safe return; and Mary sent Maitland to the English court with ceremonious expressions of regard for the queen.

Mary had now been several years a widow, and numerous applications from different courts were made for her hand with

out effect. The queen of England recommended Robert Dudley, afterwards earl of Leicester, to her choice. The high spirit of Mary could not well bear the first overture of a match with an English subject. She dissembled, however, with the English resident, and married her cousin, lord Darnley, eldest son of the earl of Lenox. The ceremony was performed in the queen's chapel, according to the rites of the Romish church, on the 25th of July 1565.

Darnley's external accomplishments had excited that sudden and violent passion which raised him to the throne. But his understanding was weak, and he was inexperienced and conceited. A few months after marriage their domestic quarrels began to be observed.

Rizzio, an Italian musician, whom Darnley had at first taken into great confidence, had now incurred his displeasure; he imputed the change in the queen's conduct towards him to his insinuations; and Mary's behaviour was undoubtedly such as to confirm and strengthen these suspicions. She treated this Italian with a familiarity, and admitted him to a share in her confidence, to which neither his first condition, nor the office of French secretary to the queen, which she had lately bestowed on him, gave him any title. He was perpetually in her company; and, together with a few favourites, was the companion of all her private amusements. The haughty spirit of Darnley could not bear the intrusion of such an upstart; and, impatient of any delay, he resolved to get rid of him by violence.

Nothing now remained but to concert the plan of operation, and choose the actors. The place appointed for Rizzio's murder was the queen's bed-chamber. Darnley himself selected it, in order that he might have the satisfaction of reproaching him with his crimes before the queen's face. On the 9th of March, 1566, Morton entered the court of the palace with one hundred and sixty men, and seized all the gates without resistance. While the queen was at supper with the countess of Argyll and Rizzio, the king suddenly entered the apartment. Close behind him was Ruthven, clad in complete armour; and three or four others followed him. Rizzio, supposing himself their victim, took shelter behind the queen, taking hold of her, hoping that she might prove some protection to him. Numbers of armed men rushed into the chamber. Ruthven drew his dagger, and furiously commanded Rizzio to leave a place of which he was unworthy, and which he had occupied too long. Mary employed tears, entreaties, and threatenings, to save her favourite; but notwithstanding all these, he was torn from her by violence; and before he could be dragged through the next apartment, his body was pierced with fifty-six wounds.

Mary was but a very short time without a favourite. James Hepburn, earl of Bothwell, a man of base character, gained an ascendency over her heart; and the king was treated with indifference and neglect. On the 19th of June 1566, she was delivered of a son. This event did not in the least alter her opinion in favour of her husband; her aversion to him was excessive. Bothwell was the object of her admiration. Henry had for some time resided at Glasgow, where he had suffered severely from illness. Thither Mary went, and prevailed upon him to come to Edinburgh, to which place he was carried in a litter.

The house prepared for his reception belonged to the provost of a collegiate church, called Kirk of Field, and had all the advantages of healthful air to recommend it; and its solitude rendered it a proper place for the commission of that crime, with a view to which it seems manifestly to have been chosen.

Mary attended the king with assiduous care; she even slept two nights in the chamber under his apartment. On Sunday the 9th of February 1567, about eleven at night, she left him, in order to be present at a masque in the palace. At two o'clock the next morning the house was blown up with gunpowder. The dead body of the king, with that of a servant who slept in the same room, were found lying in an adjacent garden, without the city wall, untouched by fire, and with no bruise or mark of violence. [For a more detailed account of this dark transaction, the reader is referred to the 'History of England.']

The queen and Bothwell were generally suspected of the murder, not only by her own subjects, but by all Europe, over which the news spread rapidly, and excited universal horror: but what contributed most to convince the world of her guilt, was her marriage, on the 15th day of May following, with Bothwell. This indecent act excited particular indignation and abhorrence in the Scots; and in one month Bothwell was obliged to make a hasty flight to Norway, where he died in a miserable state; while Mary surrendered herself to the nobles, who conducted her to Edinburgh, amidst the execrations of the soldiers and the multitude. The following evening she was conveyed, under a strong guard, to Lochlevin castle, and put under the care of William Douglas, the owner of it, to keep her as a prisoner. In this place she resigned the crown to her son, and appointed the earl of Murray regent.

A.D. 1567.—James VI., at the time an infant, was crowned at Stirling on the 29th day of July 1567; and the earl of Murray assumed the regency, the good effects of which were quickly felt. He called a parliament, that confirmed the proceedings of the confederates. Here the letters which Mary had written to Bothwell were produced, which proved her to be accessory to the murder of the king.

George Douglas, a youth of eighteen, and brother to William Douglas, who had charge of Mary, was induced, by her affable and insinuating manner, to let her escape. On Sunday, the 2nd of May, while his brother was at supper, he procured the keys which unlocked her apartment; and the queen and one of her maids were suffered to escape to a boat in the lake ready to receive her. She travelled all night, attended by Douglas, Seton, and sir James Hamilton, and in two

days reached Hamilton, where she raised a large army.

The regent was at Glasgow, holding a court of justice, when he heard of Mary's flight; and her army, already strong, was only eight miles distant. In this dangerous exigency the superiority of Murray's genius appeared, and he was soon in a condition to take the field. Between the two armies, and on the road towards Dumbarton, lay Langside-hill. This the regent had the precaution to seize, and here he waited the approach of the enemy. The encounter was fierce and desperate: at length the queen's army was obliged to give ground, and the rout immediately became universal. Mary witnessed the battle from a hill; and when she saw the army, her last hope, thrown into irretrievable confusion, she began her flight, and never slept till she reached the abbey of Dundrennan, in Galloway, full sixty Scots miles from the field of battle. From thence she escaped in a fisherman's boat to Carlisle, with about twenty attendants. This event took place on the 16th of May, 1568.

Elizabeth no sooner heard that Mary had arrived in England than she resolved to detain her. With this view she instantly despatched lord Scrope and sir Francis Knollys, with letters full of kindness and condolence; but at the same time gave orders to prevent her escape. Mary was soon after conducted to Bolton, a seat of lord Scrope's, on the borders of Yorkshire. She was some time after, on account of a rebellion in her favour, removed to Coventry, a place of strength, which could not be taken without a regular siege.

Weary of keeping such a prisoner as the Scots queen, Elizabeth resolved to deliver her to the regent on certain conditions. But while this affair was in negotiation, the regent was murdered by Hamilton, of Bothwellhaugh, a person who owed his life to the regent's clemency. Thus ended that celebrated man, James Stuart, natural son of James V., by lady Erskine, and natural brother to Mary, queen of Scots. He possessed personal intrepidity, military skill, and sagacity. He was a friend to learning, zealous for the reformed religion, and liberal to all whom he esteemed worthy of his confidence and friendship. He was long and affectionately remembered among the people by the name of the 'good regent.

A. D. 1570.—The earl of Lenox, father of the unfortunate Darnley, the murdered husband of Mary, was elected regent on the 12th of July, 1570; and in 1571 Dumbarton castle was attacked and taken by captain Crawford; a service of great importance to the regent, being the only fortified place in the kingdom that held out for the queen. He was, however, surprised and murdered at Stirling on the 3rd of September 1571.

The earl of Mar was chosen regent by a majority of voices, on the 6th of September 1571; but he retained the situation no longer than the 29th of October 1572, when the earl of Morton was elected; the fourth who had held that dangerous office in the space of five years. James was now in the twelfth year of his age. Alexander Erskine had the chief direction of his education; and under him the celebrated Buchanan acted as preceptor, assisted by three others of the first ability. The nation groaned under the oppressions of Morton, and those about the king infused into him suspicions of his power and designs. The earls of Athol and Argyll were animated against him with implacable resentment: they besought the king to call a council of the nobles. James consented, and letters were issued for that purpose. This council met March 24, 1578, and advised the king to deprive Morton of the regency, and take the reins of government into his own hands. Morton immediately acquiesced; and a council of twelve peers were appointed to assist the king in the administration of affairs. Morton, however, gained the ascendency within a month, and resumed his former authority.

James early discovered that excessive attachment to favourites which accompanied him through life. Esme Stuart, second brother of the earl of Lenox, by birth a Frenchman, and captain James Stuart, second son of lord Ochiltree, were most in his confidence. Both these favourites laboured to undermine the authority of Morton: they accused him of the murder of the late king, and offered to verify this charge by legal evidence. Morton was confined first to his own house, and afterwards in the castle of Edinburgh; and he was soon after tried, condemned, and executed. What he confessed with regard to the crime for which he suffered is remarkable: it amounted to this, that Bothwell and Huntley were the perpetrators, and that the queen was the author of it. Morton was executed in 1581.

The enterprise called the 'raid of Ruthven' happened in the following year, when the king was seized in Ruthven castle, by Gowrie, Boyd, Glamis, and Oliphant. This conspiracy, it is said, was countenanced by Elizabeth. James, however, in June 1583, escaped out of the hands of the conspirators, after upwards of ten months' confinement.

In 1584, the partisans of Mary were busied in a conspiracy against Elizabeth. This plot was called the *Great Plot* or *Designment*, which she no sooner discovered than she resolved to take Mary out of the hands of the earl of Shrewsbury, who had had the care of her fifteen years, and appointed sir Amias Paulet and sir Drue Drury to be her keepers. Soon after this an act was passed, which rendered Mary accountable not only for her own actions, but for those of others: in consequence of which she might forfeit her right of succession, and even her life itself. From this period Mary was treated with increased rigour; almost all her servants were dismissed, and she was removed to Tutbury.

Not long after, the inconsiderate affection of the English catholics towards Mary, and their implacable resentment against Elizabeth, gave rise to a conspiracy which proved fatal to the former. Having, however, taken up this subject at considerable length in Eli-

zabeth's reign (v. 'ENGLAND,' p. 356—8), and given all the necessary particulars of Mary's trial and execution, we shall here omit the description of those degrading, yet truly affecting scenes, thereby avoiding needless repetition; and pass on to the next event of importance connected with the court of Scotland; viz. the marriage of James to the princess Ann of Denmark, which took place Nov. 24, 1589.

As the prospect of succeeding to the crown of England drew near, James thought it prudent to endeavour to gain a party in that country. Edward Bruce, his ambassador at the court of Elizabeth, solicited her in the most earnest manner to recognise his title by some public deed; but a general and evasive answer was all that James could obtain. As no impression could be made on the queen, the ambassador was then ordered to sound the disposition of her subjects. In this he succeeded; and many of the highest rank gave him repeated assurances of their resolution to assert his master's right against every pretender.

During the summer of 1600, Scotland enjoyed an unusual tranquillity: when, in the midst of this security, the king's life was exposed to the utmost danger, by a conspiracy altogether unexpected, and almost inexplicable. The authors of it were John Ruthven, earl of Gowrie, and his brother Alexander, the sons of that earl who was beheaded in the year 1584.

On the 5th of August, as the king, who during the hunting season resided at Falkland, was going out to his sport early in the morning, he was accosted by Mr. Alexander Ruthven, who with an air of importance, told him, that the evening before he had met an unknown man, of a suspicious appearance, walking alone in a by-path, near his brother's house at Perth; and on searching him, had found under his cloak a pot filled with a great quantity of foreign gold; that he had immediately seized both him and his treasure; and without communicating the matter to any person, had kept him confined and bound in a solitary house; and that he thought it his duty to impart such a singular event first of all to his majesty. James immediately suspected this unknown person to be a seminary priest supplied with foreign gold, in order to excite new commotions in the kingdom, and resolved to empower the magistrates of Perth to call the person before them, and enquire into all the circumstances of the story. Ruthven violently opposed this resolution, and with many arguments, induced the king to ride directly to Perth, and to examine the matter in person. When within a mile of the town, Ruthven rode forward to inform his brother of the king's arrival, with about twenty attendants. No preparations were made for his entertainment: although the earl appeared pensive and embarrassed, he took great pains to atone, by his courtesy, for the common fare with which he treated his guest. As soon as the king's repast was over, his attendants were conducted to dinner in another room. Ruthven told him, now was the time to go to the chamber where the unknown person was kept; and conducting the king up a staircase, and then through several apartments, the doors of which he locked behind him, led him at last into a small study, in which stood a man clad in armour, with a sword and a dagger by his side. The king, who expected to have found one disarmed and bound, started at the sight. Ruthven snatched the dagger from the girdle of the man in armour and held it to the king's breast. 'Remember,' said he, 'how unjustly my father suffered by your command. You are now my prisoner; submit to my disposal without resistance or outcry, or this dagger shall instantly revenge his blood.' James expostulated with Ruthven, entreated and flattered him. Words had no effect. Ruthven told him he must die, and attempted to bind his hands. James, unarmed as he was, scorned to submit to that indignity: and, closing with the assassin, a fierce struggle ensued; the man in armour standing motionless all the while, and the king dragging Ruthven towards a window which was open. The king then, with a voice of terror, loudly exclaimed, 'Treason! treason! help! I am murdered!' His attendants heard and knew his voice, and saw at the window a hand which grasped the king's neck with violence. They flew to his assistance; and sir John Ramsay first entering the apartment, rushed upon Ruthven, who was still struggling with his royal master, struck him twice with his dagger, and thrust him towards the stairs, where sir Thomas Erskine and sir Hugh Herries met and killed him. Gowrie now rushed into the room, with a sword in each hand, followed by seven of his attendants well armed, and with a loud voice, threatened them all with instant death. Notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, they encountered the earl, and sir John Ramsay pierced Gowrie to the heart, who fell without uttering a word. His followers, having received several wounds, immediately fled.

The parliament lost no time in proceeding against the conspirators. The dead bodies of the two brothers were produced there according to law; an indictment for high treason was preferred against them; witnesses were examined; and by a unanimous sentence, the punishment due to traitors was inflicted on their dead bodies. The parliament also enacted that the surname of Ruthven should be abolished.

Queen Elizabeth died on the 24th of March, 1604, in the seventieth year of her age, and the forty-fifth of her reign. A short time previous to her death, she declared to Cecil and the lord admiral, 'that her cousin, the king of Scots, should be her successor.' This she confirmed on her death-bed. As soon as she had breathed her last, the lords of the council proclaimed James king of England. All the intrigues carried on by foreigners in favour of the infanta, all the cabals formed within the kingdom to support the title of lady Arabella Stuart and the earl of Hertford, disappeared in a moment. Sir Charles Percy, brother to

the earl of Northumberland, and Thomas Somerset, son of the earl of Worcester, were despatched to Scotland with a letter to James, signed by all the peers and privy councillors then in London; informing him of Elizabeth's decease, and of his accession to the throne. He prepared to set out for London, and appointed the queen to follow him within a few weeks.

On the 5th of April James began his journey with a splendid train, and entering London on the 7th of May, took peaceable possession of the throne of England.

From this period to the legislative union of the kingdoms, Scotland declined not only in importance but in wealth. Instead of enjoying any advantages by the alliance, it was considered rather as an appendage of England, than as an important part of Great Britain, and it was consequently neglected. Hence it became a scene of civil strife and national disturbances, rather than a land united in the strong ties of mutual interests and reciprocal attachments. Not that this state of things commenced immediately after the accession of James to the crown of England, or even during his life; but that, perhaps, must be attributed more to the personal attention of the sovereign, than to the transfer of the sovereignty.

There were seven Scottish parliaments called after the accession of James, wherein he presided by a commissioner.

An act was passed in 1600 for the restoration of the estate of bishops; which was followed by a great variety of laws for giving proper effect to the general principle; and there were also many laws enacted for promoting domestic economy. After governing Scotland with considerable success during his occupation of the throne of England, he died on the 27th of March, 1625, and was succeeded by his son Charles I., then in the twenty-fifth year of his age.

CHAPTER IV.

From the Accession of CHARLES I. *to the Death of* WILLIAM III.

DURING the first ten years of Charles's reign nothing occurred in Scotland calculated to disturb the serenity of his rule; but this calm was succeeded by frequent broils and contentions, arising from many causes, but chiefly originating in ecclesiastical matters. Among many laws of a salutary tendency, they passed an act, reserving to the crown those lands which the baronage had wrested from the church; the clergy were thus benefited, the people were relieved, but the barons were offended. Charles, who was attached to episcopacy from sincere religious convictions, as well as from views of political expediency, formed the scheme of assimilating in all respects the churches in England and Scotland. With this view he determined to introduce a liturgy, which in Scotland had never been regularly used; and he insisted upon the reception of a set of canons abolishing the control over ecclesiastical measures which the inferior church judicatories had been permitted to exercise. The violence with which all this was resisted was carried to the most extravagant pitch: the clergy were insulted, and episcopacy was again contemplated as the engine of popery and despotism. The dissensions which soon arose in England cherished this state of mind: the discontented in Scotland made common cause with the disaffected in the southern part of the island: they bound themselves by the extraordinary deed which they entitled 'the solemn league and covenant,' to exterminate prelacy as a corruption of the Gospel; and they took an active part in those violent scenes which ended in the death of Charles and the erection of the commonwealth.

To describe the battles which took place between royalists and roundheads, or to make comments on the hypocrisy and faithlessness of the times, would be to repeat that which has already found a place in this volume. We shall therefore merely observe that after the execution of Charles I., in 1648, the Scots proclaimed his son king, under the title of Charles II.; and that some months after his defeat at Worcester, Scotland was incorporated into one commonwealth with England.

On the restoration of Charles II., the Scottish parliament assembled, under the earl of Middleton, the king's commissioner, on the 1st of January, 1661. He declared the king's resolution to maintain the true reformed protestant religion, as it had been established during the reigns of his father and grandfather; intimating, however, that he would restore the episcopal government, though he allowed, meanwhile, the administration of sessions, presbyteries, and synods. This endeavour to establish episcopacy was violently opposed, and led to the most cruel persecution of the presbyterians, which lasted, with more or less severity, during the whole of his reign. Numbers were executed; others were fined, imprisoned, and tortured; and whole tracts of the country were placed under a military despotism of the worst description. Driven to desperation, the presbyterian party had several times recourse to arms, and, although in some cases successful, they were finally defeated and scattered at Bothwellbridge.

A.D. 1685.—On ascending the throne, James II. professed his intention to support the government, in church and state, as by law established; yet his predilection for the catholic religion was evident in his very first acts. Compliant as the Scottish parliament was in what related to their civil liberties, they were resolved to adhere to their religious principles. On this point, indeed, the people of Scotland were unanimous, and when they heard of the landing of the prince of Orange, and read his declaration in favour of liberty and in support of law, they hailed his advent with joy. The nobles began to intrigue; the populace, in their zeal, broke out into insurrection against the catholics at Edinburgh; and all classes looked up to the prince of Orange as the deliverer of the two nations from popish dominion. William consulted several of the Scottish no-

dies, clergy, and gentry, regarding the state of their country, and issued circular letters, summoning a convention at Edinburgh, on the 22nd of March 1689. When they met, they decided that king James, by his abuse of power, had forfeited the rights to the crown; and immediately declared the prince and princess of Orange to be king and queen of Scotland. This act, which involved such mighty consequences, was attended by a declaration of their wrongs and rights. Former insurrections, though accompanied by many mischiefs, passed away without any advantage to the nation. Though the revolution of 1689 brought with it a civil war, it was the means of strengthening the constitution, of preserving public liberty, and securing private rights. The presbyterian church was now erected on the ruins of episcopacy; the prerogative was restrained to its proper functions; and many salutary laws for promoting domestic economy were enacted.

Although the great bulk of the people was in favour of the revolution, it must not be forgotten that there was a very considerable party that remained attached to the exiled family of the Stuarts; and it was found to be no easy matter to reconcile the Highlanders to the expulsion of their ancient race of monarchs. Many of them were in an open state of rebellion. However, in August 1692, a proclamation of indemnity had been passed to such insurgents as would take the oath of allegiance to the new government on or before the last day of December. The last man to submit was Macdonald of Glencoe, and he, owing to the snows and other interruptions which he met with on the road, did not reach Inverary, the county town, in time, and the benefit of the indemnity was therefore strictly forfeited. William was informed, and fully believed, that Macdonald of Glencoe was the chief obstacle to the pacification of the Highlands, and a warrant of military execution was procured from him against the unfortunate chief and his whole tribe. A detachment of soldiers, one hundred and twenty in number, commanded by captain Campbell, was ordered, on the 1st of February, to repair to Glencoe, where they were quartered for a fortnight among the inhabitants of that sequestered vale. On the evening of the 13th, orders arrived to attack the Macdonalds while asleep at midnight, and not to suffer a man to escape their swords; an order which the soldiers obeyed with ruthless barbarity. Thirty-eight persons, among whom were Glencoe and his wife, thus mercilessly perished; the rest, alarmed by the report of musketry, escaped to the hills, and were only preserved from destruction by a tempest that added to the horrors of the night. The carnage was succeeded by rapine and desolation; the houses were burned to the ground, and women and children, stripped naked, were left to die of cold and hunger. This horrible massacre excited universal execration; and, naturally enough, rendered the government of William odious to the Highlanders.

CHAPTER V.

The Union of the two Kingdoms.

WILLIAM III. died in 1702; and the crowns of the two nations devolved on Anne, who assured the parliament that she would support the government as then established. But they refused to tolerate episcopacy, and they declined to concur in adopting the protestant succession for the crown; nay, they issued a declaration which intimated a purpose, in case of the demise of the crown, to appoint a different sovereign from whosoever might be the English king. The English statesmen, foreseeing what this was likely to produce, recommended the appointment of commissioners to treat of a union between the two kingdoms. Instead of regarding it as an identification of the interest of both kingdoms, the people generally considered it as a total surrender of their independence into the hands of a powerful rival. Addresses against it were presented from all quarters, and in several places the populace rose in arms, and formed themselves into regiments of horse and foot in order to oppose the union. Nor were the commercial part of the community, who were supposed to benefit largely by it, satisfied with its terms. Notwithstanding every opposition, however, the treaty of union was ratified by both parliaments, and on the 1st of May 1707, the legislative union of England and Scotland was ratified.

For several years the union was unproductive of those advantages which were at first expected: no new manufactures were attracted to Scotland, and commerce grew more languid than before. But by a considerable assimilation of the laws to those of England, the courts of justice were better regulated, and legal redress more easily obtained; while the barbarous practice of subjecting prisoners to the torture was abolished. It was stipulated by the treaty that no alterations should be made in the church of Scotland; that the commercial laws and customs should be the same in all parts of the United Kingdom; that the Scotch royal burghs should retain all their ancient privileges; and that no persons should be deprived of those hereditary rights and offices which they had enjoyed by the laws of Scotland. Looking at these and other conditions of the union, it was certain that if the Scotch would abandon prejudices that ought to be obsolete, and resolve to profit by the connexion, they would soon have ample opportunity of so doing; while, on the part of England, it was evident that the zealous cooperation of her northern neighbour in times of war must tend to the security of the whole island, and in peace contribute to its commercial importance. Queen Anne died on the 1st of August 1714; and, under the act of settlement, the united crown was transferred to George I.

We conceive it to be unnecessary to carry the general narrative beyond this period; the affairs of Scotland being henceforth detailed, in common with those of England, in the history of that country. But, in concluding this sketch, it appears requisite to

give a brief account of the peculiarities which attach to matters ecclesiastical.—In 1560, the Roman catholic religion was abolished, and the reformation was sanctioned by act of parliament, the distinguishing tenets of the Scotch church having been first embodied in the formulary of faith attributed to John Knox, who had adopted the doctrines of Calvin, established at Geneva. General assemblies at that time began, and continued to meet twice every year, for the space of twenty years; after which they were annual. From 1572 to 1592 a sort of episcopacy obtained in the church, while the ecclesiastical form of government was presbyterian. Meantime, the dignitaries of the church and the nobility monopolised the revenues of the church, and left the reformed clergy in a state of indigence. After much deliberation, the protestant leaders resolved to provide a state-maintenance for their teachers, and the following plan was adopted. Two-thirds of all ecclesiastical benefices were reserved to the present possessor, and to the crown the remainder was annexed, out of which a competent subsistence was to be assigned to the protestant clergy. But the revenue thus appropriated, instead of being duly applied, was diverted into other channels. In 1587, all the unalienated church lands were annexed to the crown; and the tithes alone were reserved for the support of the clergy. Bishops continued till 1592, when presbyterian government was established by an act of parliament, and a division was made of the church into synods and presbyteries. But the king, desirous of having the power of the bishops restored as a balance to the nobles in parliament, prevailed on a majority of the clergy, in 1597 and 1598, to agree that some ministers should represent the church in parliament, and that there should be constant moderators in presbyteries. By an act of parliament in 1606, the temporalities of bishops were restored, and they were allowed a seat in parliament; and thus the presbyterian government was overturned. But episcopacy at length grew so obnoxious to the people, that in 1689, prelacy was declared, by a convention of estates to be a national grievance, which ought to be abolished; and in the following year the presbyterian government was restored and established by parliament; and the general assembly met, after it had been discontinued from the year 1652. Hitherto the provision for the maintenance of the clergy was inadequate, but their stipends were now raised and regulated by the price of grain.

The presbyterian church government, afterwards secured in the treaty of union, is founded on a parity of ecclesiastical authority among all its presbyters or pastors, and modelled after the Calvinistic plan, which Knox recommended to his countrymen. This form of government excludes all preeminence of order, all ministers being held equal in rank and power. In matters relating to discipline a pastor is assisted by elders, who ought to be selected from among the most intelligent and consistent of the parishioners, but have no right to teach, nor to dispense the sacraments. Their proper office is to watch over the morals of the people, and to catechise and visit the sick. They likewise discharge the office of deacons by managing the funds for the maintenance of the poor within their districts. The elders and ministers compose what is called a *kirk* or *church*-session, the lowest ecclesiastical judicature in Scotland. When a parishioner is convicted of immoral conduct, the church-session inflicts some ecclesiastical censure. If a person considers himself aggrieved, he may appeal to the presbytery, which is the next superior court. The ministers of an indefinite number of contiguous parishes, with one ruling elder chosen half-yearly, out of every church-session, constitute what is called a *presbytery*, which has cognisance of all ecclesiastical matters within its bounds. *Synods* are composed of several presbyteries, and of a ruling elder from every church-session within their bounds. They review the proceedings of presbyteries, and judge in references, complaints, and appeals from the inferior court. But their decisions and acts are reversable by the *general assembly*, which is the highest ecclesiastical court, and from which there is no appeal.

THE HISTORY OF FRANCE.

FRANCE, which in the times of the Romans was called Gaul, or Gallia, extended from the Pyrenees to the Rhine, and on the side of Italy, beyond the Alps to the Adriatic; that which was situated on the Italian side of the Alps being named Cisalpine Gaul, and that beyond the Alps, Transalpine Gaul. The part of Transalpine Gaul nearest Upper Italy, and stretching along the Mediterranean towards the Pyrenees, was conquered by Fabius. As this was the first part that was converted into a Roman province, it was called, by way of eminence, the *Provincia*. It was bounded by the Alps, the Cevennes, and the Rhone. Cæsar, who conquered Transalpine Gaul at a later period, found it divided into three parts: 1. Aquitania, extending from the Pyrenees to the Garonne, chiefly occupied by Iberian tribes; 2. Gallia Celtica, from the Garonne to the Seine and Marne; 3. Gallia Belgica, in the north, extending to the Rhine. But subsequently, by the command of Augustus, a very different and much more minute division of the country took place, which, however, it is not here necessary to describe.

The Gauls were the chief branch of the great original stock of Celts; and as they called themselves *Gaël*, the name Gaul probably thus took its rise. A great resemblance appears to have existed among all the Celts; and although they were divided into numerous tribes, there were but few branches that were perceptibly different from each other. The period of their earliest migrations is, however, too remote for history, and, moreover, inapplicable to our present object.

Cæsar represents all the Gallic tribes as warlike, going always armed, and ready on all occasions to decide their differences by the sword; as a people of great levity, and little inclined to idleness; but hospitable, generous, confiding, and sincere. The Druids, their priests, who were the sole depositaries of learning amongst them, were indebted to the credulity of the people for the deference they paid to them. They had also bards or poets, who composed war songs to animate the combatants, and to perpetuate the memory of their heroes. The elders, or senators of their towns, together with the military and their chiefs, formed what we call the nobility; these, in conjunction with the priests, possessed the riches and the power: vassalage and misery were the portion of the commonalty.

The discipline of the Romans, and the genius and good fortune of Cæsar, triumphed in ten years over the valour of the Gauls. Colonies had commenced the work of their subjugation, and conquest completed it; Gaul became a Roman Province. The municipal regulations, and the agriculture of the Romans, soon rendered the country flourishing; but despotism afterwards despoiled it. This state of things continued for four centuries, when the people were reduced to the lowest depths of misery, impoverished by the proconsuls, the prey of factions, and alternately passing from insurrection to slavery, under tyrants who were perpetually changing. But the 'incursions of the barbarians' on the Roman territory had by this time greatly humbled the former mistress of the world. The civilisation, arts, and literature of the Romans were on the decline; the empire, divided and weakened, was falling into ruin, discipline was relaxed; the glory of the Roman name faded before the barbaric hosts that issued from the north, and overran the five provinces, which had flourished under the administration of a Trajan and an Antonine.

Upwards of four hundred years after the Roman conquest, and under the reign of the weak Honorius, a people known by the name of Franks, from Franconia in Germany, abandoned their morasses and their woods, in search of a better country. Under the direction of their king Pharamond, they passed the Rhine, and entered Gaul, but carried their arms no further than Belgic Gaul, the country till lately called the Netherlands. Pharamond died soon after he had effected the settlement.

The long list of kings which followed Pharamond are divided into three races. The *first* is called the MEROVINGIAN, from Merovius, the third king of the Franks: it produced twenty-one kings to France, from the year 448 to the year 751, and ended with Childeric III. surnamed the Foolish. The *second* race began with Pepin, mayor of the palace, who did not take upon himself the title of king; nor did his son, the celebrated Charles Martel. Pepin the Short, his son, deprived Childeric III. of his crown. This race, called the CARLOVINGIAN, gave thirteen kings to France. It acquired much glory under Charlemagne, but became very weak under his successors, and terminated with Louis V. called the Sluggard, after having possessed the throne 235 years, from 752 to 987. The *third* race, called the CAPETINE, commenced with Hugh Capet, and gave to France thirty-three kings, who reigned 806 years, and finished with Louis XVI., who was beheaded January 1793. France then became a republic, which lasted until May 1804; when it was transformed into an empire by Napoleon Buonaparte, who had risen on the ruins of the republic, and had been dictator of France under the appellation of chief consul. The imperial title, however, lasted but ten years; Napoleon having been driven from his usurped throne, and

Louis XVIII. restored to the throne of his ancestors.

In tracing the obscure records of the early periods, we behold alternately wars and alliances among the Romans and Franks, the Visigoths, and other barbarians; ambitious generals raised to power by the imperial court, but quickly overcoming their feeble masters, and calling in the aid of the barbarous tribes to serve the ever-varying purposes of their personal ambition. The western empire was then declining: the Saxons seized upon Anjou and Maine; the Burgundians occupied the country near the Seine; the Goths and Visigoths extended their dominions as far as the Loire; the Franks and the Allmanns, branches of the different hordes, which issued from Germany, contended for the possession of the north; while the Romans or Gauls kept the remaining part of the country.

We may here observe, that on the conquest of Gaul by the Franks, the lands were distributed among their officers; and these, with the clergy, formed the first great councils or parliaments. Thus the government was evidently a kind of mixed monarchy, in which nothing of moment was transacted without the grand council of the nation, consisting of the principal officers, who held their lands by military tenures. It appears, indeed, that when Gaul became the possession of northern invaders, it did not acquire that degree of freedom to its constitution which Britain received about the same time, from conquerors who sprung from the same common stock.

The Merovingian Dynasty, or First Race.

A.D. 420.—Pharamond, the first king of the Franks, was succeeded by Clodio, who extended the bounds of his kingdom. Merovius secured the acquisitions of his predecessor; and Childeric, his son, pushed his conquests to the banks of the river Seine. Clovis, his son, and the inheritor of his ambition, aggrandised his kingdom, and so far extended his power, that he is ranked as the founder of the French monarchy. This prince, the first of the Frank kings who had embraced Christianity, brought almost all the Gauls under his government. He parted his dominions, before he died, between his children.

Clovis owed his conversion to Christianity from his marriage with a Christian princess of Spain, and his example was followed by most of the Franks, who until that time had been pagans. He was baptised with great splendour in the cathedral at Rheims; on which occasion the king granted freedom to a number of slaves, and received the title of 'Most Christian King,' which has ever since been retained by the monarchs of France.

Clotaire I., the youngest and most barbarous of the sons of Clovis, and the last survivor of them, at the time of his death possessed the whole of France; his dominion extended from the banks of the Elbe to the sea of Aquitaine, in the Atlantic Ocean; and from the Scheldt to the sources of the Loire. At his death he divided it among his four sons. The kingdom was soon after rendered miserable, from the jealousy of two ambitious women, the queens Fredigonde and Brunehaut. The former was a prodigy of boldness, of wickedness, and genius; and gained several battles in person: the other is described as a woman who, under the exterior graces of beauty, practised the worst of vices, and expiated her crimes by a shocking death.

A.D. 613.—Clotaire II., the worthy son of Fredigonde, became sole monarch of France. Under this prince the *mayors of the palace* began to have considerable power, which increased under Dagobert I., and became excessive under Clovis II. and his successors. We see in the first race little more than the shadows of kings, whilst their ministers governed and tyrannised over the people.

Pepin Heristal, mayor of the palace to Childeric the Foolish, seized the whole authority. His son, Charles Martel, a bold and enterprising warrior and great politician, with more ambition even than his father, increased his power by his brilliant achievements, and governed France under the title of duke.

The Carlovingian Dynasty, or Second Race.

As mayor of the palace, Charles Martel had long exercised the sovereign power in the name of Childeric, a weak and indolent prince. The Saracens, who had made themselves masters of the south of France, penetrating into the heart of the kingdom, were at length entirely defeated by him, in one great battle fought between Tours and Poitiers, which lasted seven days, and in which 300,000 Moslems were slain. In consequence of this splendid victory, he was considered the champion of Christendom; and such was his popularity, that, with the consent of the people, he assumed the dominion of France: for, having a victorious army at his command, he not only deposed the king, but rendered himself an absolute prince, by depriving the nobility and clergy of their share in the government.

A.D. 752.—His son Pepin succeeded him in the throne; but restored the privileges of the nobility and clergy, on their agreeing to exclude the former race of kings. He also divided the provinces among his principal nobility, allowing them to exercise sovereign authority in their respective governments; till at length, assuming a kind of independency, they only acknowledged the king as their head; and this gave rise to the numerous principalities, and their several parliaments, every province retaining the same form of government that had been exercised in the whole; and no laws were made, or taxes raised, without the concurrence of the clergy.

A.D. 768.—Charles, his son, called Charlemagne, was valiant, wise, and victorious. He conquered Italy, Germany, and part of Spain, and was crowned emperor of the Romans (the western empire), by pope Leo III. He established a regular and popular government, compiled a code of laws, favoured the arts and sciences; and died with

the glory of being beloved by his subjects, and feared by his enemies.

Louis I. le Debonnaire, the only surviving son of Charlemagne, began his reign with the most cruel executions. His children revolted against him; he was compelled to do public penance, and declared to have forfeited the imperial dignity.

The Normans renewed their incursions and their ravages under Charles the Bald; besieged Paris in the reign of Charles the Gross; and at length obtained a fixed establishment under Charles the Simple. The royal authority became weakened, while the power of the lords considerably augmented: the imperial dignity was already lost to the house of Charlemagne; and it was soon followed by the loss of the crown of France.

FIRST BRANCH.—*The Capetine Dynasty, or Third Race.*

A.D. 987.—After the death of Louis V., the last of the Carlovingian race, Hugh Capet usurped the throne. This Hugh was the grandson of Robert, whom the French had elected king in the room of Charles the Simple. His father had rendered himself much respected by the nation, in defending Paris against the attacks of the barbarians. Hugh Capet, inheriting the valour of his ancestors, saved France under Lothaire. This family possessed the duchies of Paris and of Orleans; and these two cities, by their situation on the Loire and the Seine, were the strongest bulwarks of the monarchy against the Normans.

Hugh associated his son Robert in the kingdom. Robert, as pusillanimous as his father was courageous, reunited the duchy of Burgundy to the crown; but his weakness tarnished his virtues.

A.D. 1031.—Henry I., who had the misfortune to see his own mother armed against him, to deprive him of his crown and give it to his brother, with the assistance of the Duke of Normandy, forced his brother to content himself with Burgundy, which this branch of the royal family possessed 300 years.

At this period the tyranny of feudalism was at its height. Overwhelmed with services, tolls, and subsidies of all sorts, imposed by the military or the ecclesiastics, the people fought only to rivet their chains more firmly. Those who lived in the country were called villeins; those of the cities and towns, bourgeois. Neither of them could labour but for the advantage of their lords, who often quartered their military retainers upon them. Among themselves the lords were equally ferocious; their declarations of war extended to relations and allies, and the quarrel of a single family was sufficient to involve a whole community in the fiercest war for years together. Thus France became one vast field of blood, and perpetual carnage at length wearied even ferocity itself.

A.D. 1060.—The long reign of Philip I., son of Henry I., is an epoch of remarkable events. William, duke of Normandy, crossed the Channel, and effected the conquest of England in 1066, where he established his own rigorous modification of the feudal régime; and he had the firmness to refuse homage to the pope. A jest of the king of France on the obesity of William kindled a war, from which may be dated a long-continued enmity between France and England.

A.D. 1108.—Philip was succeeded by his son, Louis the Gross. The first years of his reign were disturbed by insurrections of his lords in different parts of the kingdom; and these insurrections were the more troublesome, as they were secretly fomented by the English king, that by weakening the power of France his duchy of Normandy might be the more secure. These wars between the two countries were often interrupted by treaties, but as often re-lighted by national ambition and antipathy.

Louis the Young, unfortunate in the crusades, at his return repudiated his wife, in whose right he inherited Guienne and Poictou. He died in 1180, and was succeeded by his son, Philip II. surnamed the August.

Philip II. defeated John, king of England, and wrested from him Normandy, Maine, and Anjou. He then went on the crusade with Richard Cœur-de-Lion, to rescue Jerusalem from the Saracens. The two kings succeeded only in taking Acre; and Philip, on his return, treacherously invaded Normandy during Richard's absence.

A.D. 1223.—Philip Augustus was succeeded by his son Louis VIII., surnamed the Lion. His short reign was not marked by any great events; but he distinguished it by enfranchising a great number of serfs or villeins. He signalised his courage against the English; and died of a contagious distemper, at the age of thirty-nine years.

A.D. 1226.—Louis IX., surnamed for his piety Saint Louis, having defeated the king of England, and many of the grand vassals of France, at Taillebourg, conducted an army to Palestine, took Damietta in Egypt, and distinguished himself at Massous, where he was taken prisoner. He was a friend to the indigent, and a zealous advocate for the Christian religion. He died before Tunis, where he had gone upon a second crusade against the infidels. Philip III., surnamed the Bold, his son, was proclaimed king by the army; he was liberal, benevolent, and just, but displayed no striking abilities. He was succeeded by his son, Philip the Fair.

A.D. 1285.—Philip IV., surnamed le Bel, or the Fair, celebrated for his disputes with Edward the First of England, and Pope Boniface VIII., abolished the order of the Templars, reduced the Flemings, and made the seat of the parliament permanent in Paris. He was of a lively disposition, but cruel and unfeeling; and employed ministers who possessed all his defects, without his good qualities. In his reign the states-general, or representatives of the three estates of the kingdom, the nobility, clergy, and commonalty, were first assembled. Philip IV. was succeeded by his son, Louis X., during whose reign, which was short, the people were burdened with imposts.

The two brothers of Louis, Philip the

Long and Charles IV., succeeded successively. Philip signalised himself by a number of wise regulations in the courts of justice. Charles followed his brother's steps in this particular; but the state was loaded with debts and badly governed.

SECOND BRANCH.—*House of Valois.*

A. D. 1328.—Queen Jane, wife of Charles IV., being delivered of a posthumous daughter, the House of Valois mounted the throne; the states of France having decreed females to be incapable of inheriting the crown of France. This is called the *Salic* law, from its having been the practice of a tribe of Franks, called Salians, to exclude females from all inheritance to landed property. Philip IV., soon after his succession, defeated the Flemings; but was defeated by the English in a sea-fight near Sluys; also at Cressy and Calais. In this reign Dauphiny was annexed to the crown of France.

A.D. 1350.—John, a brave prince, but without genius or political discernment, succeeded Philip. He continued to war against England, but was defeated and taken prisoner at the battle of Poitiers. The kingdom became the theatre of factions and carnage, and was drained of its valuables to ransom the king. He had stipulated for the cession of one-third of the kingdom, and 3,000,000 of gold crowns. Not being able to raise this enormous sum, John voluntarily returned to London, where he died in the Savoy, A.D. 1364. His son, Charles, surnamed the Wise, succeeded him.

Charles V., seconded by De Guesclin, constable of France, avenged the honour of the nation, and reestablished order in the state. Everything wore a new face under this king, who was wise, laborious, and economical; a friend to the arts, to letters, and to virtue.

A.D. 1380.—Charles VI. succeeded to the crown; and France, under his government, fell into great disorder. This prince having lost his reason, and recovering it at intervals, nothing decisive could be effected. The English king Henry V. entered France, and gained the battle of Agincourt. Henry, by treaty, became heir to the crown; but died a few days before Charles VI. Henry VI. of England was crowned king of France at a very early age. His uncle John, duke of Bedford, acted as regent, and during his life the power of the English increased in France. About this time Joan of Arc, an enthusiast in the cause of her country, reanimated the valour and patriotism of the French nation. She fought several battles with success; but was at length taken at Compiegne, and burnt as a witch by order of the English. (See 'ENGLAND,' *Henry VI.*)

During this time, Charles VII. reigned only over a part of France. But the duke of Bedford was no sooner dead, than the duke of Burgundy became reconciled with Charles. Normandy, Guienne, and the other provinces which had been held by the power of the duke of Bedford, acknowledged Charles; and the English were compelled to evacuate France.

Charles VII. was succeeded by Louis XI., his rebellious son. He established the posts He was a bad son, and as bad a father; a severe prince, but a deep politician. Some important changes in the political condition and the manners of the nation were produced in this reign. The royal power was extended and consolidated; the knights and nobles assisting in this, because it gave scope for their exploits. The gendarmerie, or body of permanent cavalry, was formed, and a corps of foot archers.

Charles VIII., who succeeded him, married Anne of Brittany; thereby putting an end to the last of the great feudal fiefs of France. He restored to Ferdinand V. Cardagne and Roussillon. He was an amiable prince, and his death was considered as a public loss.

The House of Valois-Orleans.

A.D. 1493.—Charles VIII. dying without children, Louis, duke of Orleans, descended from Charles V., obtained the crown, of which he appeared worthy by his good qualities and virtues. He commenced his reign by forgiving his enemies, and befriending his people. He conquered the Milanese, which he afterwards lost. He made himself master of the kingdom of Naples, conjointly with the king of Arragon. He made war also against pope Julius II. Gaston, duke of Nemours, and the chevalier Bayard, greatly distinguished themselves; but the French were obliged to quit Italy. Louis XII. acquired glory more durable, by gaining the love of his people, and by his extraordinary affability, than by his wars.

House of Valois-Angoulême.

A.D. 1515.—A prince of the house of Valois-Angoulême ascended the throne after the death of Louis XII., who left an only daughter, married to Francis, count of Angoulême, heir to the crown. Francis defeated the Swiss at Marignan; reunited Brittany to the crown; and conquered Luxembourg. He was the protector and promoter of the fine arts, and a great encourager of the learned. He died with the reputation of being the most polite prince in Europe.

A.D. 1547.—Henry II. succeeded Francis. The face of affairs changed at the commencement of the reign of this prince. He joined the league of the protestant princes against the emperor, and made himself master of Metz, Toul, and Verdun. The emperor, Charles V., besieged Metz: the duke of Guise obliged him to raise the siege and defeated him at Renti. Henry afterwards entered into a league against the house of Austria in Spain: and Philip II. avenged the honour of the Spaniards at St. Quintin. The duke of Guise took Calais from the English; and the peace of Chateau Cambresis terminated the war. Francis II., his son, succeeded to the throne: a prince without any remarkable vices or virtues. He was married to Mary, Queen of Scots, and died at the age of seventeen.

A.D. 1560.—Francis II. was succeeded by Charles IX. The religious wars, the seeds of which had been previously sown, broke

out with fury in this reign. The massacre of Vassi was the signal, and France presented nothing but one continued scene of sanguinary factions for years. The massacre of St. Bartholomew's day covered the land with the bleeding bodies of the protestants. On the eve of St. Bartholomew, orders had been sent to the governors of provinces to fall upon the protestants in every department throughout France; and though an edict was published before the end of the week, assuring them of the king's protection, and that he by no means designed to exterminate them because of their religion, yet private orders were sent of a nature directly contrary; in consequence of which the massacre at Paris was repeated in many of the principal towns; so that in the space of two months 50,000 protestants were cruelly butchered. From the time of this most atrocious order, given by Charles himself, he was taken ill, and languished with bodily pains until relieved by death A.D. 1572.

Charles, dying without issue, was succeeded by his brother Henry III., who, in 1575, concluded the celebrated 'edict of pacification' with the protestants; the substance of which was, that liberty of conscience, and the public exercise of religion, were granted to the reformed, without any other restriction than that they should not preach within two leagues of Paris, or any other place where the court was. This edict caused the Guises to form an association called the 'catholic league.' This struck at the very root of the king's authority; for, as the protestants had already their chiefs, so the catholics were for the future to depend entirely upon the chief of the league, and execute whatever he commanded. Hence arose another persecution of the protestants, and another reconciliation. In the end, however, the king perished by assassination at the hands of a monk, in the year 1588. Before the king's death he nominated Henry of Bourbon, king of Navarre, as his successor on the throne of France.

THIRD BRANCH.—*House of Bourbon.*

A.D. 1589.— Henry IV. took the title of king of France and Navarre; and his first care was to put an end to the religious disputes which had so long distracted the kingdom. For this purpose he subsequently promulgated the celebrated edict of Nantes, which reestablished all the favours that had ever been granted to the reformed by other princes. He was acknowledged by the lords of the court, but opposed by the catholic league, which set up the old cardinal of Bourbon as king, under the title of Charles X. Henry IV., with a small army and little money, was obliged to conquer his kingdom. He raised the siege of Paris, and defeated the duke of Mayenne at Arques and at Ivri. After this success, he presented himself before Paris, and before Rouen, which places he besieged in form; but was compelled to abandon them by the duke of Parma. The duke of Mayenne assembled the states-general for the election of a king of France; but the victory gained by Henry at Dreux, and his abjuration of the protestant religion, overthrew all their projects; and Paris, with the greater part of the cities in the kingdom, submitted to his government. The duke of Mayenne retired into Burgundy; but the leaguers, supported by Spain, were still in opposition in Brittany. Henry declared war against Spain, and defeated the Spanish army at Fontaine-Françoise.

With the assistance of his sagacious friend and minister, Sully, he established order in the finances, and in every department of the state; and whilst intent on reducing the dangerous power of the house of Austria, and rendering still greater service to the people, he was stabbed by a fanatical priest named Ravaillac. Thus fell the greatest prince ever known in France; the best and bravest of its kings.

A.D. 1610.—Louis XIII., surnamed the Just, succeeded Henry IV. Being a minor, Mary de Medicis was declared regent of the kingdom, and dispensed with profusion the riches which Henry had amassed to render France powerful. The queen's favourite, a Florentine, named Concini, governed the state. The lords, dissatisfied with the pride and despotism of this stranger, took to arms; and the death of the favourite calmed the intestine division. But no sooner was Concini in his grave, than another favourite, De Luynes, appeared, possessing more power, if possible, than the former. Louis banished his mother to Blois. The celebrated Richelieu, then bishop of Luçon, effected a reconciliation between them, and received, as a reward, a cardinal's hat. The protestants, much aggrieved by the catholics, took to arms. The king marched against them, and was victorious in every quarter, except at Montauban, from whence he was obliged to retire with great loss. The credit and ambition of Richelieu increased daily, until he was declared minister of the state. The war was renewed with the protestants; and Rochelle, the bulwark of the Calvinists, was, after a severe conflict, reduced by the king. The queen-mother, and Gaston d'Orleans, became jealous of the authority of Richelieu, and, disgusted with his pride, left the kingdom; and the duke de Montmorenci was beheaded at Toulouse. Richelieu died in the fifty-eighth year of his age; and his death was soon followed by that of the king, who was succeeded by his son.

A.D. 1643.—Louis XIV., being only six years old when his father died, the queen Anne of Austria was declared regent of the kingdom, and appointed cardinal Mazarin as minister. Condé defeated the emperor at Rocroy, at Fribourg, at Nordlingen, and at Lens; and these successes, seconded by those of Turenne's, determined the emperor to conclude peace. The Spaniards still continued the war. The young king took the field in person at the head of his armies, and Stenay and Montmedi were the fruits of his first effort for military fame. Peace was soon after concluded between Don Louis de Haro, on the part of the Spaniards, and cardinal Mazarin, on that of the French. The cardinal died soon

after, leaving the finances in the most deranged state, and the navy nearly ruined. Louis XIV. now took the reins of government into his own hands. He thirsted for glory, and had the discernment to choose great men as his ministers. Colbert and Louvois filled the first offices of the state. The finances, the commerce, the marine, the civil and military governments, the sciences, and the arts, experienced a happy change.

The death of Philip IV. of Spain occasioned the renewal of war. Louis headed his troops, showing a great example of activity and courage; and his conquests were the means of reestablishing peace. The success of his arms alarmed the neighbouring powers, who entered into a defensive league against France. Louis again took the field, and conquered the greater part of Holland, which he was obliged to evacuate through the firmness and intrepidity of the stadtholder, afterwards William III. king of Great Britain. The theatre of the war was soon after changed, and Franche Compté was reconquered.

In the zenith of his conquests, Louis dictated the conditions of the peace of Nimeguen; but this peace was soon after broken. The Spaniards lost Luxembourg: Algiers, Tripoli, and Geneva were bombarded, and obtained peace by making reparation in proportion to the offences they had given.

The princes of Europe formed the league of Augsburg against Louis, of which William, prince of Orange, was the soul. Louis revoked the edict of Nantes, thereby depriving himself of the services of many thousands of his best and most useful subjects, the protestants, whom he threw into the arms of his enemies. Having so done, he marched against the allied powers. He took, in person, Mons and Namur; and under Luxembourg, Catinat, and Vendome, the French signalised themselves at Fleurus, at Steinkirk, at Neuvinde, at Barcelona, and elsewhere.

James II. of England, having abdicated his throne, flew to France as an asylum; and Louis endeavoured, but in vain, to reestablish him. Peace was made at Ryswick, and Europe once more enjoyed repose.

Peace was of short duration: the death of Charles II. of Spain rekindled the flames of war. Philip, duke of Berri, by the will of the late king, was named heir to the Spanish throne, which he ascended by the name of Philip V. The emperor claimed the crown of Spain for his son. War was declared; and the fortune of arms appeared to have abandoned Louis, who, as well as Philip, sued for peace; but the terms offered by the allies were so hard as to excite the indignation of the Bourbons. The war was continued; and at length terminated in favour of France, who saw Philip in peaceable possession of the crown of Spain, secured by the peace of Utrecht in 1713. Two years after, Louis died, having reigned seventy-two years.

The reign of Louis XIV. has been celebrated as the era which produced every thing great and noble in France. He has been held up to the world as the munificent patron of the arts, and a prince whose conceptions and plans were always grand and dignified. The true character of kings can only be justly determined by posterity, and the reputation of this celebrated monarch has not been strengthened by time. After every proper tribute of applause is rendered him, it may be asserted that, in general, he rather displayed a preposterous vanity than true greatness of character, which has been productive of such baneful effects, that the decline of the French monarchy may be said to have mainly originated from his conduct. It must be admitted that in the earlier years of his reign, Louis was a liberal patron of letters, and many of the most celebrated writers flourished; as Corneille and Racine, the two greatest tragic poets of France, and Moliere, the first comic writer; Boileau, the satirist; Fontaine, Fenelon, Massillon, and others. The close of the long career of Louis, once styled by the French 'the great,' was disgraced by a gloomy and bigoted intolerance.

A.D. 1715.—Louis XV. succeeded his grandfather at the age of five years and a half. The regency was conferred on his uncle, the duke of Orleans, under whose auspices the unfortunate Mississippi scheme, planned by Law, a Scotchman, took place. The king took the government upon himself at the age of fifteen, and appointed cardinal Fleury, his preceptor, prime minister. The emperor disturbing the peace of Europe, Spain and Sardinia united with France, and declared war. The taking of Philipsburg, the victories of Parma and Placentia, and the conquests of Don Carlos, put an end to this short war, which gave Lorraine to France.

The death of the emperor Charles VI. plunged Europe again into war. France favoured the pretensions of the elector of Bavaria. The combined armies of France and Bavaria subdued Upper Austria, and possessed themselves of Prague, where the elector was crowned king of Bohemia. But a sad reverse was soon after experienced. Austria and Bohemia were torn from Charles VII., who had been elected emperor by the assistance of France; and peace was demanded of the Hungarian queen, but refused.

Louis XV. who, after the death of cardinal Fleury, governed for some time in his own person, set four armies on foot, and marched into Flanders. He took Menin, Ypres, and Furnes; whilst the prince of Conti signalised himself in Italy. In the meantime Alsace was attacked: Louis flew to its assistance, and fell sick at Mentz. As soon as his health was reestablished, he besieged Friburg, which surrendered. Several campaigns followed with various success, until peace was made at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748.

War recommenced in 1755, between the English and French. In Germany it was carried on with advantage to the latter. Hanover was taken, and the duke of Cumberland made the capitulation of Closterseven, disgraceful to the English. The king of Prussia defeated the French and Aus

trians at Rosbach, which instantly changed the face of affairs. Hanover was retaken, and the French beaten at Crevelt, by the prince of Brunswick. They were defeated at Warburg, and at Minden, by the English, who proved successful both by sea and land. Spain, alarmed at the many conquests of their arms, joined a confederacy of the princes of the house of Bourbon, known by the name of the 'family compact;' and the flame of war raged in both hemispheres, to the glory of the English nation and the loss of the Bourbons. The peace of 1763 put an end to this war.

During the interval of peace, Louis conquered Corsica, after a desperate struggle on the part of that brave people for their independence, under Pascal Paoli. He died in 1774. He was a prince of very moderate parts, and was governed in a great measure by his mistresses and his favourites, who also governed France.

A.D. 1774.—Louis XVI., grandson of the last king, succeeded to the throne, having, in 1770, married Marie Antoinette, princess of Austria. He regenerated the marine, much weakened by the successes of the English in the late war; and the navy of France, in a few years after his succession, could boast of one hundred sail of the line. He assisted the Anglo-Americans to throw off the yoke of the mother country, which they effected; but it was in this war that the seeds were sown of that revolution which proved his ruin.

The war of American independence had, in truth, taught the people of every country to know their power; and in France, the influence of the nobility and the crown had been annihilated, by their contemptible profligacy in the preceding reign. A set of powerful but intolerant writers had also arisen, at the head of whom were Voltaire and Rousseau, who attacked all existing institutions with a wit and eloquence that made them universally popular. The taxes were most unjustly distributed; the clergy and nobility being exempt from taxation, and the middling classes and the poor being obliged to defray the whole.

Towards the close of the year 1788, when famine stared the miserable peasants in the face, the greatest difficulty was found to supply the enormous expenses which were every day increasing. The king was advised to call a meeting of the states-general; a measure seldom recurred to but in cases of the greatest necessity. The states-general, consisting of the nobles, clergy, and others, assembled, and commenced their sittings in the king's royal palace at Versailles, May 5th, 1789. They soon discovered the situation of the country; and they also felt their power and their consequence, from the eyes of all France being directed to their proceedings. They bound themselves, by an oath, never to separate until the constitution of the kingdom, and the regeneration of public order, were established and fixed on a solid basis. They declared themselves inviolable, by a majority of 493 against 34; and seemed passionately in love with freedom and their country. The celebrated Necker was dismissed the ministry, and retired from France.

A state of universal agitation was now on the eve of commencing; an awful scene approached—a scene from which we date the period of the French revolution. The citizens of Paris, who had assembled on Sunday evening, the 12th of July 1789, in the public walks of the Palais Royal, proceeded from thence to the house of an artist on the Boulevards; and having procured a bust of M. Necker, and also of the duke of Orleans, they adorned them with crape, and carried them through the streets in triumph. When they came to the Square or Place Vendôme, they were stopped by the German regiment of horse, who dispersed the people, and broke the bust of Necker. Some few were wounded; but they soon rallied in increased numbers. The army, which had been stationed round Paris, now came forward in full force with a body of cavalry; and the prince de Lambesq, of the house of Lorraine, at their head. He had received orders from marshal Broglio to take post near the gardens of the Tuilleries, and maintain himself in that position, without doing any mischief to the people: but they were now assembled in such numbers, and were so tumultuous, that the prince, finding himself hemmed in, and fearful of being cut off, entered the gardens of the Tuilleries at the head of his German regiment, and, with his drawn sword, wounded a peaceable citizen who was walking there. The disorder from that time became universal; the soldiers fired on the people; and what with the shrieks of the women, the groans of the wounded, and the arbitrary behaviour of the military, the whole city was in an instant thrown into a convulsed state.

The general cry was, 'To arms!' Muskets, and other weapons of defence, were soon in every hand. The French guards not only refused to fire on their countrymen, but united in their cause. They marched to the Place of Louis XV. to meet the German regiment. They soon came up with them as well as with some hussars of the Hungarian light-horse, who had joined the Germans. A smart action took place, and the Germans were driven back in great disorder, leaving eleven of their comrades killed or wounded behind them.

On the 14th of July, in the morning, almost every person in Paris was armed; the soldiers mingled with the populace, and all at once a numerous body exclaimed 'Let us storm the Bastile!' That instant they proceeded towards it, and presented themselves before the tremendous fortress, by the great street of St. Anthony. M. de Launay, the governor, caused a flag of truce to be hung out; upon which a detachment of the patriotic guards, with five or six hundred citizens, introduced themselves into the first court. The governor, having advanced to the drawbridge, enquired of the people what they wanted. They answered, 'ammunition and arms.' He promised to furnish them; instead of which, he caused the drawbridge to be raised, and a discharge of artillery on all

those men who were in the first court, whereby many were killed and wounded. The governor now turned the cannon on the city. The populace, burning with revenge, sent for the cannon from the Invalides; upon which five pieces were soon brought them, and delivered to experienced gunners. Three pieces of artillery, under the direction of M. Hulin, were also brought into the court of the Saltpetriere, contiguous to the Bastile, and immediately pointed against that fortress, on which they fired with great vivacity. The governor, perceiving he could not hold out against such a phalanx as opposed him, threw out a white flag. The besiegers, however, would look at nothing that might lessen their resentment, or excite pity in favour of the besieged. The governor made a second attempt to pacify them, but in vain. He acquainted them, by a paper introduced through a crevice in the drawbridge, that he had 20,000lb. weight of gunpowder; and would blow up the garrison, and all its environs, if a capitulation was not accepted. The besiegers despised this menace, and continued their firing with additional vigour.

Three cannon were brought forward to beat down the drawbridge. The governor then demolished the little bridge of passage on the left-hand, at the entrance of the fortress. Hely, Hulin, and Maillard leaped on the bridge, and demanded that the inmost gate should be instantly opened. The besieged obeyed; and the besiegers pushed forward to make good their entrance, slaying all who came in their way; and soon after the standard of the victors was seen hoisted on the highest tower. In the meantime the principal drawbridge was let down; the populace rushed in, every one eager to discover the governor, and to plunge his sword into his treacherous bosom. A grenadier singled him out, seized and disarmed him, and delivered him up to Hulin and Hely.

The deputy governor, the major, and the captain of the gunners, were also seized. The victors proceeded with their prisoners to the Hôtel de Ville; but they were scarcely arrived, when the mob tore them from the hands of those who held them in security, and trampled them under foot; and De Launay, and the major, pierced with countless wounds, expired.

Thus fell the Bastile, after a siege of three hours only: a fortress that the most experienced generals of the age of Louis XIV. had deemed impregnable. It was begun by Charles V. in 1369, and finished in 1383.

The court, utterly astounded at these proceedings, now ordered the dismissal of the troops, and the recall of Necker. Bailly, who presided at the tennis-court, was nominated mayor of Paris, and Lafayette became commander of the national guards. A crowd of the lowest rabble, accompanied by some of the national guards, proceeded to Versailles, and entered the palace amidst threats and execrations the most indecent and revolting. The king was compelled to accompany them to Paris, and to receive from the hands of Bailly the tri-coloured cockade, as a mark of his union with the people.

At this period the famous Jacobin club was formed: an illegal and violent power, which raised itself at the side of the national representation in order soon after to crush it. At first it consisted of a few well-disposed deputies and patriots; but it soon changed its character, and became the focus of insurrection and treasonable excitement.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.—*The Limited Monarchy.*

A.D. 1789.—We now come to the month of August, an ever-memorable era in the history of France. The new constitution was finally ushered into the national assembly on the 1st day of the month. The articles being all discussed, the king accepted it with seeming sincerity, returning the assembly thanks for the title they had bestowed on him; that of 'restorer of the liberties of France.'

It was not long after this, however, that Louis, probably from finding his power circumscribed, attempted to leave France, with the queen and family, and had actually approached the frontiers, when he was recognised by Drouet, son of the postmaster at Varennes, who contrived to impede his journey by overturning a cart in the way In the meantime he conveyed the intelligence to the guard. The king was now fully identified, but denied having any intention of leaving France. He was, however, conveyed back to Paris, where he had been but a very short time missed. His brothers escaped by taking different routes.

This attempt of Louis to leave the kingdom irritated the Parisians almost to frenzy; and he was soon after conveyed to the Temple as a prisoner, together with his queen, his children, and his sister, Madame Elizabeth. Here he suffered a rigorous confinement, until he was brought to trial before the national convention; for by that appellation the national assembly was then known. Being convicted of what they termed treason against that constitution which he had sworn to defend, he was condemned to die by the guillotine; which death he suffered on the 21st of January 1793, with great fortitude, and was buried privately in a churchyard of Paris; his grave being filled with lime, in order to prevent his partisans from removing his body. Thus died Louis XVI., who, if not the greatest of the French monarchs, was certainly one of the most unoffending; but he was irresolute, brought up in the habits of indolence, and of a court famous for its breach of faith. He was, in fact, in every respect, unsuitable to the government of the French nation, whether as a despotism or a free government: the latter he himself certainly was the means of introducing, by the part he took in the contest between Great Britain and her American colonies.

2. The Republican Government.

A.D. 1792.—During the confinement of Louis, the constitution was modelled anew

The limited monarchy gave way to the republican government, which took place the 23rd of September 1792. The death of the queen soon followed: the absurd and infamous charges brought against her astonished all Europe. But no power could save the once beautiful Marie Antoinette: her doom had doubtless long been decreed; and she suffered by the axe of the guillotine, on the 16th of October 1793, after having been treated with every possible indignity. Her body was immediately interred in a grave filled with quick lime, like that of her husband. This highly accomplished woman, who is described as a model of grace and beauty, was in her 38th year, and sister of Leopold II., late emperor of Germany.

La Vendée rose, and the continent as well as England armed in hostility to the convention, whom nothing seemed to intimidate. Fourteen armies, without experience, and merely with the aid of paper money, were set in motion. Custine took Mentz; Montesquieu invaded Savoy; Lille repulsed the Austrians, who bombarded the city; and Dumouriez, making a descent upon Belgium, carried the redoubts of Jenappe at the point of the bayonet. The generals had only to sound the Marseillais hymn, and the citizen soldiers saw in the republic a futurity of peace and prosperity, although the roots of what was called the tree of liberty were saturated with blood.

Lyons, after a two months' siege, surrendered to the republicans, and there are few examples, even amid the horrid scenes of barbarous warfare, of more vindictive cruelty than took place there. The guillotine being deemed too slow an engine of destruction, crowds were driven into the Rhone, or butchered in the squares by discharges of grape-shot. Barrère sent a flaming account to the convention, which decreed that the walls and public buildings of the city should be razed, and Lyons henceforth called *La Ville Affranchie*.

The excesses and enormities of this period of French history are almost, indeed, too incredible for the sober pen of history to record. A new calendar was formed; and in order to obliterate the remembrance of the Christian sabbath, each month was subdivided into three decades, the first days of which were festivals or days of rest. A few days after, the municipal authorities of Paris appeared in the convention, attended by the bishop and clergy decorated with caps of liberty, who publicly renounced their offices of Christian pastors. The bishop of Moulins threw down his mitre, and preached the doctrine that 'death is an eternal sleep.' Various allegorical creations, such as Liberty and Equality, were deified, and a young woman of abandoned character was enshrined as the Goddess of Reason on the altar of Notre Dame, to receive the adoration of the multitude.

The reign of Robespierre was now in its plenitude. The guillotine was in constant action, and thousands were immolated to his sanguinary vengeance. Royalists and republicans indiscriminately felt the axe; and amongst his victims were Madame Elizabeth, sister to the king, and the duke of Orleans, the king's cousin, who had, in the national convention, voted for the death of Louis. The latter not only died unpitied, but execrated by both parties, for the infamous part he had acted towards his near relation. This 'bold bad man,' who had renounced his title, and adopted the name of Philip Egalité, was in his 46th year, and met death with apparent indifference. Under the mask of patriotism he aspired to the throne, but met his just reward (though not for his regicidal and unnatural crime) from the guillotine. Who at that time could have imagined that young Egalité, his son, who had fought under the banners of the republic, would one day be saluted as Louis Philippe, king of the French!

This era was appropriately termed 'the reign of terror.' But the power of Robespierre was not to endure for ever. Tallien had the virtue and courage to denounce him, in the convention, for his numberless barbarities. The members well knew they held their heads by the slight tenor of his will only: they were therefore gratified by the opportunity which now offered itself for his destruction; they supported the denunciation against him; and but a few hours elapsed between his accusation and his death, on that scaffold where he had so recently sent his victims by dozens. This event, which gave general satisfaction, took place the 28th of July 1794.

The constitution of the third year was soon after the death of Robespierre, in some degree, put into force. A directory, consisting of five, forming the executive power, was appointed: it consisted of Reubel, Barras, La Reveillière Lepaux, Merlin, and Treilliard; and two councils: the first, of the 'elders;' and the latter of 'five hundred,' formed the legislative part. One third of each chamber was to be renewed annually; and one of the 'directors' was to go out yearly, and be replaced by the election of another.

The armies of France had been contending, from the year 1792, with those of almost every power in Europe. Prussia was, indeed, early drawn off from the contest; though it had penetrated the French territory. The republican arms were in general successful by land; and, in the beginning of 1795, they were in possession of all the Austrian Netherlands, Holland, and Germany, to the banks of the Rhine; they were also masters of Savoy on the side of Italy.

Early in 1796, Buonaparte, a young man, till then unknown in the world of politics, was appointed, through the powerful interference of the director Barras, to the command of the army of Italy. No sooner had he taken the field, than victory appeared to have adopted him as her favourite son. His prodigious successes astonished the world. He defeated the Austrians and Piedmontese in the battles of Montenotte and of Milesimo, in April 1796; compelled the king of Sardinia to conclude a treaty

of peace, in which Savoy and Nice were given up to France; on the 8th of May he crossed the Po; on the succeeding day he forced Parma to consent to an armistice; defeated general Wurmser on the 3rd of August at Lonado, and on the 5th at Castiglione; advanced against the Tyrol; defeated Alvinzi at Arcole on the 15th of November, and at Rivoli on the 14th of January 1797; concluded the peace of Tolentino, in which the pope yielded Avignon to France; and Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna to the Cisalpine republic, on the 19th of February; defeated the archduke Charles at Lesonzo; and signed preliminaries of peace with Austria at Leoben on the 16th of April 1797, and by the peace of Campo Formio the Austrian capital was saved from destruction.

This treaty led to a congress to be held for the adjustment of claims, and to bring about that desirable blessing, peace. Rudstadt was the place appointed for the meeting of the ministers of the different powers who were to assist. Fifteen months elapsed in negotiation, which terminated in delusion; and the French plenipotentiaries, Bonnier and Roberjot, were assassinated by some German soldiers on their return to France. Both parties having in the interim recruited their strength, renewed the war.

During the above-mentioned negotiation, a plan was laid in France for the conquest of Egypt. They accordingly fitted out a formidable fleet at Toulon, on board of which were embarked 42,000 troops, the flower of Buonaparte's victorious Italian army. All Europe was interested in the destination of so formidable an armament, but more particularly England. Buonaparte, it was generally understood, was to have the command; but the great secrecy with which everything relating thereto was conducted, baffled all the efforts at the discovery of his real designs. It left Toulon in May 1798 under the command of Brieux as admiral, and Buonaparte as commander-in-chief of the troops, and steered to the eastward. In June, Malta submitted; and on the 2nd of July, it reached Alexandria, in Egypt; having had the good fortune to escape the vigilance of admiral Nelson, who had been despatched in search of it as soon as it was known for a certainty that it had gone to the eastward. Alexandria was taken on the 3rd; and the beys and Mamelukes were defeated in several actions. Egypt, including its capital, Grand Cairo, was in the possession of the French in twenty-one days from their landing.

Buonaparte had landed his forces but a short time before the English fleet appeared on the coast of Egypt. The French fleet lay in the bay of Aboukir, moored in the greatest security: the intrepid Nelson attacked it on the 1st of August, and gained a victory as complete as any in the naval annals of our country.

Buonaparte having brought Egypt under his power, his next object was Syria, for the invasion of which he was in readiness early in February 1799. He marched from Grand Cairo across the Desert. He took El Arish, Joppa, and Jerusalem, and penetrated the country as far as Acre, which place he besieged. Here he met with an unexpected foe, in the captains and crews of a small English fleet, commanded by sir Sidney Smith, which had come to the assistance of the pacha; and after many most daring attempts to take that city, during forty days and upwards, he retired with considerable loss.

It was during the siege of Acre that Buonaparte first heard of the reverses of the French, and the loss of the greater part of his conquests in Italy. He soon afterwards defeated the army of the pacha of Natolia at Aboukir, and his departure from Egypt followed immediately on that event. He left the government of his new conquest under general Kleber; and embarking on board a small vessel, with a few of his principal officers, had the good fortune to escape the numerous English cruisers, and arrived at Frejus on the 13th of October. He was received in Paris on the 16th amidst the acclamations of the people; and was soon made acquainted with the external and internal situation of France. He deplored the loss of those conquests which had acquired to him immortal fame; but he further deplored the state of the country, torn into a variety of factions. An army, unclothed, unfed, and unpaid; a part of the interior of the republic in rebellion; a host of foes from without pressing it on all sides; the finances in the utmost possible state of derangement; and the resources drained almost to the last livre. The quick discernment of Buonaparte told him that nothing short of a grand effort could save France from ruin. He soon made up his mind to the action, and, assisted by a few friends, his generals, and his army, actually assumed the government on the 9th of November; abolishing, at the same time, the constitution of the third year. He was soon after elected first consul, with extraordinary powers.

The scene that took place on this memorable occasion is well worth transcribing:—The legislature met at St. Cloud: the council of elders in the great gallery; and that of five hundred, of whom Lucien Buonaparte was president, in the orangery. Buonaparte entered the council of elders, and, in an animated address, described the dangers that menaced the republic, and conjured them to associate their wisdom with the force which surrounded him. A member using the word 'constitution,' Buonaparte exclaimed, 'The constitution! It has been trodden under foot, and used as a cloak for all manner of tyranny.' Meanwhile a violent debate was going on in the orangery, several members insisting upon knowing why the place of sitting had been changed. The president endeavoured to allay this storm; but the removal had created great heat, and the cry was, 'Down with the dictator! No dictator!' At that moment Buonaparte himself entered, bareheaded, followed by four grenadiers: on which several members exclaimed, 'Who is that? No sabres here! No armed men!' while others descending into the hall, collared him, calling him 'Outlaw,' and

pushed him towards the door. One member aimed a blow at him with a dagger, which was parried by a grenadier. Disconcerted by this rough treatment, general Lefebvre came to his aid; and Buonaparte retiring, mounted his horse, and addressed the troops outside. His brother Lucien also made a forcible appeal to the military; and the result was, that a picket of grenadiers entered the hall, and, the drums beating the *pas de charge*, cleared it at the point of the bayonet. This truly Cromwellian argument decided the affair, and in the evening it was declared that the directory had ceased to exist; that a provisional consular commission should be appointed, composed of citizens Sièyes, Ducos, and Buonaparte; and that the two councils should name committees, of 25 members each, to prepare a new constitution. In the interval between the abolition of one constitution and the creation of another, the consuls were invested with a dictatorship. Lucien Buonaparte was made minister of the interior; Talleyrand, of foreign affairs; Carnot, of war; and Fouché, of police.

The Consular Government.

A.D. 1800.—The new constitution consisted of an executive composed of three consuls, one bearing the title of chief, and in fact possessing all the authority of a conservative senate, composed of 80 members, appointed for life; the first 60 to be nominated by the consuls, and the number to be completed by adding two, annually, for ten years: a legislative body of 300 members; and a tribunate of 100. Buonaparte was nominated the first consul, for ten years; Cambacères and Lebrun, second and third consuls, for five years. Sièyes, who had taken an active part in bringing about the revolution, and in framing the new constitution, was rewarded by the grant of an estate worth 15,000 francs per annum.

One of the first acts of the consulate was a direct overture from Buonaparte to the king of England for peace; which was replied to by the English minister, who adverted to the origin of the war, and intimated that 'the restoration of the ancient line of princes, under whom France had enjoyed so many centuries of prosperity,' would afford the best guarantee for the maintenance of peace between the two countries. This was of course construed, as it was meant, as a rejection of the offer.

The strength and energy of the new government made itself visible in the immediate union of the best leaders of all parties; in the return of many thousand emigrants in the humbler ranks of life; and in the activity which was displayed by all who held office under the consular government. Buonaparte soon put himself at the head of the army of Italy, and by the rapidity of his operations out-generaled his opponents. Having made himself acquainted with the position of the Austrian army, encamped in a valley at the foot of Mount St. Bernard, he formed the bold design of surprising them by crossing that part of the Alps, which was before considered inaccessible to a regularly equipped army. It was, in truth, a most difficult and daring exploit, exceeding anything that had occurred since the days of Hannibal: but in proportion to the peril of the undertaking, was the glory that awaited it. The battle of Marengo, which was fought on the 14th of June 1800, decided the fate of Italy. Moreau, who was at this time commanding the army of the Rhine, gained the battle of Hohenlinden, December 3rd, and threatened Vienna. These great victories were followed by the conclusion of a treaty with Austria, in its own name, and that of the German empire, but without the concurrence of England, on the 9th of February 1801.

In this peace, the course of the Rhine was fixed as the limit between France and Germany. Those German princes who lost their territories beyond the Rhine by this new arrangement, were to be indemnified by additional possessions on the right bank of that river. In Italy the course of the Adige was fixed as the boundary between Austria and the Cisalpine republic, and the former power gave the Briesgau and Ortenau to the duke of Modena. The territories of the grand duke of Tuscany were erected into the kingdom of Etruria, which was given to the hereditary prince of Parma, according to a treaty between France and Spain: while the grand duke was to be indemnified in Germany for the loss of his territories. This peace was the prelude to others. On the 29th of September 1801, Portugal concluded a treaty with France; and Russia and Turkey on the 8th and 9th of October.

A.D. 1802.—England was also now disposed to enter into negotiations for peace; and the terms of the treaty of Amiens were soon arranged. France retained her acquisitions in Germany and the Netherlands, and her supremacy in Holland, Switzerland, and Italy. England consented to resign Malta to the knights of St. John, to make the Ionian islands an independent republic, and to restore all the colonies she had taken from France, except Ceylon and Trinidad. France, on the other hand, guaranteed the existence of the kingdoms of Naples and Portugal. The treaty was signed on the 27th of March 1802; and for a short time the inhabitants of Europe were flattered with the prospect of continued tranquillity.

In May, Buonaparte founded the legion of honour; and soon after, he was chosen first consul for life. He had just before concluded with the new-elected pope a concordat for the Gallican church, the articles of which were—the establishment of the free exercise of the catholic religion; a new division of the French dioceses; the bishops to be nominated by the first consul, and to take an oath of fidelity to the republic. He also put an end to the proscription of the emigrants, and numbers returned to end their days in the land of their birth.

But his extraordinary successes, the adulation of the army, and his elevation intoxicated the chief consul; so much so,

indeed, that it was not long before he took an opportunity of openly insulting the English ambassador. A renewal of hostilities was the natural result; and to such an extent did Buonaparte carry his animosity towards England, that on the ground that two French ships had been captured prior to the formal declaration of war, he issued a decree for the detention of all the English in France; and under this infringement of international law, the number of British subjects detained in France amounted to 11,000, and in Holland to 1,300.

A.D. 1804.—In February a plot was discovered in Paris for the assassination of Buonaparte and the overthrow of the consular government. The principals in this conspiracy were general Pichegru; Georges, an enthusiastic loyalist; and Lajolais, a friend of general Moreau, who also was charged with disaffection to the consular government. Pending the trials Pichegru was found strangled in prison; Georges and some of his accomplices were publicly executed; and Moreau was sentenced to two years' imprisonment, which was commuted to banishment to America.

One of the foulest atrocities of modern times was next perpetrated by the order of Buonaparte. The duke d'Enghien, eldest son of the duke of Bourbon, was seized in the neutral territory of Baden, and taken first to Strasbourg, thence to Paris, and afterwards to the castle of Vincennes, where a military commission met on the night of his arrival, to try him, on the charges of having served in the emigrant armies against France, and of being privy to the conspiracy of Georges. It, however, signified little what the charges were; he was predestined for immediate execution; and, in defiance of every barrier of international law, justice, and humanity, he was taken out and shot in the castle ditch, almost immediately after his midnight trial was concluded. The prince had the reputation of being a brave soldier and a virtuous man; hence he was the more obnoxious!

The ambition of Buonaparte to obtain the imperial dignity, and his denunciations against England, seemed to occupy all his thoughts; and, truly, these were objects of no little magnitude. At length, on the 1st of May, a motion was made in the tribunate for conferring on Napoleon Buonaparte the rank of emperor, with hereditary succession in his family. The decree of the tribunate was adopted by the senate; and power given to Buonaparte, if he had no male issue, to adopt an heir from the children of his brothers. The title of prince, princess, and imperial highness, were conferred on all members of the Buonaparte family. Thus ended the French republic, under all its phases. It had lasted eleven years and four months—almost the exact duration of the English commonwealth from the death of Charles I.

Pope Pius VII. now proceeded to Paris, and on the 2nd of December solemnly anointed the new emperor, who himself placed the imperial crown upon his own head. The Italian republic followed the example of France; and on the 15th of March 1805, having named their president king of Italy, Napoleon, on the 26th of May, with his own hands also placed the new crown of the Lombardian kings upon his own head, and was anointed by the archbishop of Milan.

During his presence in Italy, the senate of the Ligurian republic demanded and obtained the incorporation of the Genoese state with the French empire, on the 4th of June; and the small republic of Lucca was transformed in the same year into an hereditary principality for Buonaparte's sister, the princess Eliza. He was already, also, preparing thrones to establish his brothers.

The threatened invasion of Britain had long been the theme of every tongue, and the people of France had been diverted from all other thoughts during the momentous changes which, with a magician's wand, had taken place in that system of government for the attainment of which the blood of Frenchmen had flowed with such reckless prodigality. A third coalition against France was concluded at Petersburgh, between England and Russia, April 11: Austria joined the confederacy in August; and Sweden likewise was made a party to it, and received a subsidy. But the emperor Napoleon felt assured that while he could detach Prussia from the alliance, which he did by promising Hanover to the king, he had no great reason to apprehend any serious injury from the other powers.

In Italy the archduke Charles was opposed to marshal Massena; at the same time 25,000 French marched under St. Cyr from Naples into Upper Italy, after a treaty of neutrality had been concluded between France and Naples. The Austrian army in Germany was commanded by the archduke Ferdinand and general Mack. This army penetrated into Bavaria in September 1805, and demanded that the elector should either unite his forces with the Austrians or disband them: upon which the elector joined Napoleon; and a similar course was adopted by the dukes of Wirtemburg and Baden.

Forsaking the camp of Boulogne, where he had been preparing the 'army of England' for the projected invasion, Napoleon hastened towards Wirtemburg, and issued a declaration of war. The corps of Bernadotte and the Bavarians having marched towards the Danube, through the neutral province of Anspach, belonging to Prussia, the latter power, which had assembled its armies in the neighbourhood of the Russian frontier, renounced its obligations to France; and by the treaty of Potsdam, concluded on the 3rd of November, during the stay of the emperor Alexander at Berlin, promised to join the enemies of Napoleon. The Prussian armies, in conjunction with the Saxons and Hessians, took up a hostile position extending between the frontiers of Silesia and the Danube. But the Austrian armies in Suabia had been rapidly turned and defeated by the French, in a series of operations extending from the 6th to the 13th of October; upon which Mack, in the

infamous capitulation of Ulm, surrendered with 30,000 men, but the archduke Ferdinand by constant fighting reached Bohemia. The French now penetrated through Bavaria and Austria into Moravia, and after having obtained possession in November of the defiles of the Tyrol, and driven back several Russian corps in a series of skirmishes, they occupied Vienna on the 13th of November, and afterwards took possession of Presburg. The next great battle, fought at Austerlitz on the 2nd of December, decided the war, although it had only lasted two months; and the archduke Charles, having received information of the event in Suabia, retired through the German provinces after having fought a dreadful battle upon the Adige, which lasted three days. The battle of Austerlitz, in which Napoleon so signally defeated the allies, was well contested by the troops on both sides. The Austro-Russian armies amounted to 80,000 men, commanded by general Kutusoff and prince Lichtenstein; but 100 pieces of cannon, and 30,000 killed, wounded, and prisoners on the side of the allies, was an irresistible proof of the desperate nature of the conflict, as well as of the good fortune of Napoleon. An immense number perished in a lake by the ice giving way. Davoust, Soult, Lannes, Berthier, and Murat most distinguished themselves among the French marshals.

An interview between Napoleon and Francis II. immediately followed, and an armistice was concluded on the 6th. By the treaty of peace of Presburg, Austria yielded its Venetian possessions to the kingdom of Italy; the Tyrol and several German countries to Bavaria; Briesgau to Baden, and other Suabian possessions to Wirtemburg. She also recognised the electors of Bavaria and Wirtemburg as kings, and the elector of Baden as sovereign elector. These and other concessions Austria was compelled to make. But during the victorious course of the armies of France by land, she suffered deeply from the naval power of England; the united fleets of France and Spain, under Villeneuve and Gravina, being nearly annihilated by Nelson in the battle of Trafalgar. This took place on the 21st of October.

On the 15th of December the emperor concluded a treaty with Prussia at Vienna, in which the alliance between both these powers was renewed, and a reciprocal guarantee of the ancient and newly-acquired states exchanged. France pretended to give Hanover to Prussia; and, on the other hand, Prussia yielded to France, Anspach, Cleve, and Neufchatel. Prussia was now obliged to act offensively against England, as well by taking possession of Hanover as by excluding English vessels from the ports under her control. Joseph, the elder brother of Napoleon, was by an imperial decree named king of Naples and Sicily, which had been conquered by marshal Massena, who marched with an army from Upper Italy into Naples, on account of a pretended breach of neutrality occasioned by the landing of the English and Russians. But Ferdinand IV. took refuge in Sicily with his family; and that island being protected by the English fleet, formed merely a nominal appendage to the crown of Joseph Buonaparte. Prince Eugene Beauharnois, son of the empress Josephine by her first husband, was named viceroy of Italy; Talleyrand received the nominal title of prince of Benevento; Bernadotte was proclaimed prince of Ponte Corvo; and Louis, the second brother of the emperor, was proclaimed hereditary and constitutional king of Holland. With the same disregard of political justice, the constitution of the German empire, which had lasted for above a thousand years, was overthrown on the 12th of July 1806, to make way for the Rhenish confederation, of which the emperor Napoleon was made protector.

Prussia, at this period, still trembling for her own safety, was once more excited by England and Russia to resistance; upon which Napoleon transported his immense army across the continent, and in less than one month he arrived at Berlin, having gained the ever-memorable battle of Jena, in which 250,000 men were engaged in the work of mutual destruction. More than 20,000 Prussians were killed and wounded, and 40,000 taken prisoners, with 300 pieces of cannon. Prince Ferdinand died of his wounds. A panic seized the garrisons, and all the principal towns of Prussia west of the Oder surrendered to the French soon after the battle; and on the 25th of October Napoleon entered the capital.

Buonaparte next promulgated the celebrated Berlin decree, or 'continental system,' by which the British islands were declared in a state of blockade; all articles of British manufacture were interdicted; and all vessels touching at England, or any English colony, excluded from every harbour under the control of France.

Beyond the Vistula, the war between France and Russia was opened on the 24th of December 1806, by the fight of Czarnowo, in which the French carried the Russian redoubts upon the left bank of the Ukra. On the succeeding morning Davoust drove field-marshal Kameuskji out of his position; and on the day following the marshal renounced the command-in-chief, in which he was succeeded by Benningsen. This general suddenly transported the theatre of war into eastern Prussia, where the Russians, on the 23rd of January 1807, attacked the advanced posts of the prince of Ponte Corvo, who engaged them on the 25th at Mohrungen, and by his manœuvres covered the flank of the French army until a junction was formed. After continual fighting from the 1st to the 7th of February, the battle of Eylau took place. The slaughter was dreadful; both parties claimed the victory, and both were glad to pause while they recruited their respective armies.

The next operation of consequence was the siege and bombardment of Dantzic, by Lefebvre; and general Kalkreuth was compelled to capitulate on the 24th of May, after marshal Lannes had defeated a body of Russians who had landed at Weichselmunde with the view of raising the siege.

At last, after a series of skirmishes between the different divisions of the hostile armies, the decisive victory of the French over the Russians at Friedland, on the 14th of June 1807, led to the peace of Tilsit; which was concluded on the 9th of July, between France and Prussia, by Talleyrand and count Kalkreuth, after an interview between the three monarchs upon the Niemen, and subsequently at Tilsit. In this peace Prussia was shorn of territories containing upwards of one half of the former population of that kingdom; and from the various districts which fell into the conqueror's hands were formed two new states: the kingdom of Westphalia, and the dukedom of Warsaw. The former was given to Jerome Buonaparte, and the king of Saxony was flattered with the title of duke of Warsaw. Upon the intercession of Russia, the dukes of Mecklenburgh-Schwerin, Oldenburg and Coburg were reinstated; and France and Russia exchanged reciprocal guarantees of their possessions, and of those of the other powers included in this peace.

Never had the fortune of man been more brilliant: the whole world was struck with astonishment at victories so rapid, and seemed to bow itself before so colossal a power. But his ambition was boundless; and under the guise of giving freedom to the world, he became its greatest tyrant. No sovereign could be more absolute; he regarded other men as insignificant ciphers destined to increase the amount of that unity which centered in himself. He talked of the glory of France; but thought only of his own exaltation, and was gratified with the incense of servile adulation. He re-established the imposts, the abuses, and prodigalities of the ancient monarchy. The aids and monopolies re-appeared under the name of united duties. The press was kept under by a merciless censorship; juries were perverted; prefects and other petty despots assumed the place of free administrations of justice; the emperor nominated all the public functionaries, and all were inviolable: the council of state, a dependent and removable body, was the sole arbiter of their responsibility. The election of the deputies was ridiculous in this pretended representative government, the laws of which were the dicta of the emperor, under the name of decrees or senatorial edicts. Individual liberty no longer existed: a police, that was a true political inquisition, suspected even silence itself; accused even the thoughts of men, and extended over Europe a net of iron. All this time too, the conscription, a dreadful tax upon human life, was levied with unsparing activity; and the French youth were surrendered to his will by the senate as a sort of annual contribution.

The affairs of Spain now began to occupy the attention of Napoleon: one of his first objects, however, was to destroy the English influence in Portugal. A French army, in concert with a Spanish one, marched against that kingdom, the partition of which had been concerted between France and Spain, on the 27th of October 1807; the northern part being given to the house of Parma; the southern part to Godoy, who received the title of prince of peace; and the middle, on the conclusion of peace, to the house of Braganza. Tuscany was to be given to France, and the king of Spain to be declared protector of the three states erected out of Portugal; the Spanish monarch was also to assume, after the maritime peace should be concluded, the title of emperor of both Americas. In conformity with this treaty, Tuscany was given up to Napoleon in 1807, and afterwards incorporated with France; and marshal Junot, duke of Braganza, entered Lisbon on the 30th of November, after the royal family had embarked with their treasures, and a few of the principal nobility, in a British fleet for the Brazils. But, in 1808, the Spanish nobility, tired of the government of the prince of peace, formed a plot to raise Ferdinand VII. to the throne, and free their country from foreign influence. It required no great effort to induce Charles to resign in favour of his son; but this was an arrangement to which Napoleon would not consent; and both father and son now became pensioners of the French conqueror, who invested his brother Joseph, at that time king of Naples, with the sovereignty of Spain and India. The people now rose *en masse* to vindicate their rights, and that struggle commenced in which the patriotic Spaniards were so warmly and successfully supported by the British under Wellington, during the long and arduous military operations which in England are known as the 'Peninsular war.'

The war in Spain appeared to give Austria a new and favourable opportunity for attempting the reestablishment of her former influence in Germany. The emperor Francis accordingly declared war against France, and his armies advanced into Bavaria, Italy, and the dukedom of Warsaw. But the rapid measures of Napoleon baffled the Austrian calculations; and, collecting a large army, he defeated the archduke Louis so severely at Eckmuhl and at Ratisbon, on the 22nd and 23rd of April, that he was compelled to cross the Danube. Vienna was thus opened to the conquerors, and Napoleon took possession of that capital. The archduke Charles was, however, undismayed; he attacked the French in their position at Aspern, on the21st of May, and the battle continuing through the next day, Napoleon was compelled to retreat into the isle of Lobau, where his army was placed in a situation of great jeopardy, the flood having carried away the bridge that connected the island in the middle of the river with the right bank of the Danube; and two months elapsed before he was able to repair the disasters of the battle, and again transport his army across the river. Then followed the great battle of Wagram, which was fought on the 5th and 6th of July; and in this desperate conflict the loss of the Austrians was so great that they immediately sought an armistice, which led to the peace of Vienna, signed on the 14th of October 1809.

By this peace Austria was obliged to resign territories containing three millions of subjects. Saltzburg, Berchtolsgaden, &c. were given to Bavaria; the whole of Western Gallicia, and a part of Eastern Gallicia, with the town of Cracow, were united to the dukedom of Warsaw; and other provinces, with part of the kingdom of Italy, were destined to form the new state of the Illyrian provinces; while Austria was absolutely cut off from all communication with the sea, by the loss of her ports on the Adriatic.

The Tyrolese, who had been transferred to the king of Bavaria by the treaty of Presburg, finding that their ancient immunities and privileges had been violated, and that they were crushed by severe taxation, seized the opportunity of the Austrian war to raise the standard of revolt; and in their early operations they expelled the Bavarians from the principal towns. A French army entered the country and laid it waste with fire and sword; and the Tyrolese, animated by an heroic peasant named Hoffer, expelled the invaders once more, and secured a brief interval of tranquillity. The results of the battle of Wagram, however, gave the French and Bavarian forces an opportunity of overwhelming them; they penetrated their mountain fastnesses, desolated the land, executed the leading patriots as rebels, and the land was again subjected to the tyranny of Maximilian Joseph, the puppet of Napoleon. Several efforts were simultaneously made in Germany to shake off the French yoke; but after the overthrow of the Austrians there were no longer any hopes for them, and the emperor of the French exercised an almost unlimited power over the northern part of continental Europe.

In this concise history we are obliged to pass over those transactions which we have recorded elsewhere, and shall therefore not enter further than is absolutely necessary upon the particulars of the peninsular contest, the chief events of which are given under 'ENGLAND' and 'SPAIN.' This, in fact, should be borne in mind, generally, while turning over the subsequent pages; for, during the long war in which England and France were the principal belligerents, such were the alliances on both sides, that the leading events properly belonging to other countries, were too involved in the affairs of England to be there omitted; and where space can so ill be spared, though the reader may sometimes find a 'thrice-told tale,' we wish to take credit for the avoidance, as far as is possible, of tautology.

During Napoleon's residence at Vienna, he abolished the temporal power of the pope, and united the remaining territories of the states of the church with France, to which he had previously united Piedmont, Liguria, Tuscany, and Parma, besides Savoy and Nice. A pension was assigned to his holiness, and the city of Rome declared an imperial and free city. The pope was conducted to Fontainebleau, where Napoleon concluded a second concordat with him, in which, though the pope did not resume his temporal jurisdiction, he obtained the right to keep ambassadors at foreign courts, to receive ambassadors, and to appoint to certain bishopries.

One of the consequences of the peace of Vienna was the dissolution of the marriage between Napoleon and Josephine, which took place in December 1809; and his second marriage with the archduchess Maria Louisa, daughter of the emperor of Austria, in April 1810. And when Napoleon declared the papal territory a province of France, and Rome a city of the empire, he determined that the heir apparent of France should bear the title of king of Rome, and that the emperor of France should be crowned in Rome within the first ten years of his government. The firmness with which he was opposed in Spain; the perseverance of Great Britain in maintaining the orders in council, to counteract the decrees of Berlin and Milan; and the daily increasing prospect of an approaching war in the North, where longer submission to the arbitrary mandates of Napoleon was refused, did not augur favourably for the future stability of his vast power. The British also carried on an important commerce with Russia, through Gottenburg and the ports of the Baltic, of which complaints were made to the courts of Stockholm and Petersburg. The commercial policy of Russia in 1810 and 1811, and its disapprobation of the treatment of the duke of Oldenburg (a near relation of the emperor Alexander), had excited the distrust of Napoleon; and he spoke the language of offended confidence in remonstrating with 'his brother the emperor.'

At length Russia and Sweden made common cause with Great Britain in opposing Napoleon's darling 'continental scheme;' while the latter arrayed under his banners the military strength of western and southern Europe, and, trusting to the vast number of his victorious legions, he crossed the Niemen, and directed his march to the capital of Lithuania. As the French advanced, the Russians retired, wasting the country in their retreat. Napoleon then with his main body marched upon Moscow, while a large division of his forces menaced the road to St. Petersburg. But the main force of the invaders advanced to Smolensko, which was justly regarded as the bulwark of Moscow. This strongly fortified position was taken by storm on the 17th of August, after a brief but bloody struggle; the Russian general, Barclay de Tolly, firing the town on his retreat.

But Moscow was not to be abandoned without another effort. Kutusoff, who now assumed the command of the Russians, fixed upon a position near the village of Borodino, and there firmly awaited the invading host. Nearly 70,000 men fell in this furious and sanguinary conflict; and as the French were joined by new reinforcements after the battle, Napoleon entered Moscow, and took up his residence in the Kremlin, the ancient palace of the czars. The citizens, however, under the direction, or with the sanction, of the governor Rostopchin, not only determined to

abandon their beloved metropolis, but to consign it to the flames; and scarcely had the French troops congratulated themselves on having secured winter quarters in that cold and inhospitable region, ere the conflagrations burst forth in every direction; and notwithstanding every device was tried to subdue the flames, they ceased not until more than three-fourths of the city were a mass of smoking embers.

In this unexpected and embarrassing position, Napoleon gave orders for a retreat. All the horrors that the imagination can conceive were now felt by the hapless fugitives, who so lately were the boasted conquerors of southern Europe. The winter had set in unusually early, and brave as the French soldiers were, the climate of Russia was an enemy too powerful for them to contend with. Thousands upon thousands perished with cold and hunger; thousands upon thousands fell beneath the swords of their relentless pursuers, who, maddened by the recollection that their hearths and homes had been polluted by these invaders, and that their ancient city lay smouldering in the dust, heeded not their cries for mercy. But why should we repeat the tale of horrors? Suffice it to say, that the wreck of this mighty army retreated through Prussia and Poland, into Saxony; while Napoleon, bent on providing for his own personal safety, and anxious to devise some new plan by which the progress of the enraged enemy might be impeded, hastened to Paris with all the speed that post horses could effect, and with all the comfort that a close carriage and fur garments could bestow.

Napoleon appealed to the senate for men, money, and the other munitions of war, and his appeal was promptly responded to. Notwithstanding his recent reverses, he felt that he still possessed the confidence of the French nation; and a large conscription was ordered to supply the losses of the late campaign; as soon, therefore, as the new levies were organised, he hastened to the north; and, to the astonishment of all Europe, the army under his command was numerically superior to those of his adversaries. The public voice in Prussia loudly demanded war with France, and the Prussian monarch took courage to assert his independence and enter into alliance with Alexander. The armies of these newly-united powers sustained a considerable loss at Lutzen on the 2nd of May, and at Bautzen on the 21st and 22nd, in engagements with the French, but neither battle was decisive; and Napoleon, alarmed at the magnitude of his losses and the obstinacy of his enemies, consented to an armistice. During the truce the British government encouraged the allies by large subsidies; but what was of more consequence, the emperor of Austria, who had never cordially assented to an alliance with his son-in-law, now abandoned his cause, and took an active part in the confederation against him.

Napoleon established his headquarters at Dresden, and commenced a series of operations against his several foes, which at first were successful; but the tide of fortune turned; different divisions of his army were successively defeated; and he collected his scattered forces for one tremendous effort which was to decide the fate of Europe. Retiring to Leipsic, he there made a stand, and under the walls of that ancient city he sustained a terrible defeat, Oct. 18, the Saxon troops in his service having deserted in a body to the allies during the engagement. Compelled to evacuate Leipsic, he retreated upon the Rhine, followed by the allied troops; and after a severe struggle at Hanau, Oct. 30, in which the Bavarians, under the command of general Wrede, took a decisive part against the French, they were defeated, and multitudes were made prisoners. Bernadotte undertook the task of expelling the French from Saxony. The sovereign governments in the kingdom of Westphalia, the grand dukedom of Frankfort and Berg, and the countries of the princes of Isenberg and Vonder Leyen, were now overturned; the elector of Hesse-Cassel, the duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttel, and the duke of Oldenburg, returned to their own country; the Hanoverians again acknowledged their old paternal government; and the Russian administration was re-introduced into the provinces between the Rhine and the Elbe. Considerable masses of troops, partly volunteers, and partly drafted from the Prussian militia, enthusiastically followed the Austrians, Russians, and Prussians across the Rhine. The flame of independence spread to Holland, the yoke of France was spurned, and the hereditary claims of the house of Orange were rapturously acknowledged.

A.D. 1814.—While the allies were thus effecting the humiliation of Napoleon by following up their successes to the very gates of Paris, Wellington's army advanced slowly but steadily towards Bayonne. As he advanced, the old partisans of the Bourbons began to revive, the exiled family was proclaimed, and the white flag floated on the walls of Bordeaux. Napoleon had the advantage over Blucher at Brienne on the 29th of January, but was forced to retreat at La Rochière, where the allies had concentrated their forces. He now retired between the Loire and the Marne, with the view of covering Paris; and it was not without difficulty that Blucher succeeded in penetrating the French line. But the order of march was still 'forward! forward!'

On the 31st of March 1814, the allied troops entered Paris, and Alexander declared, in the name of the allied sovereigns, that they would not negotiate with Napoleon Buonaparte, nor with any of his family; but they acknowledged the right of France only to the territory embraced within its ancient limits under its kings; and, finally, that they would acknowledge and guarantee the government which the French nation should adopt. They therefore invited the senate to establish a provisional government for the administration of the country and the preparation of a constitution. Accordingly, the senate assembled April 1, under the able presidency

of Talleyrand (a man ever skilful in taking advantage of circumstances), whom, with four other members, they charged with the provisional government. On the next day, it declared that Napoleon and his family had forfeited the throne of France. The legislative body ratified this decree; and the recall of Louis XVIII. to the throne of France was soon after made known. Meanwhile, April 11, Napoleon had resigned the crown conditionally in favour of his son, at Fontainebleau; and a treaty was concluded the same day, ceding to him the island of Elba.

Wearied with the imperial yoke, and with continual war, France hailed the return of peace with acclamations of joy and hope. The senators, in conjunction with some others, formed a chamber of peers. At the same time was convened the legislative body of the empire, which formed the chamber of deputies: and Louis, who had declared his determination to adopt a liberal constitution, granted the charter, which, notwithstanding some omissions and imperfections, contained sufficient guarantees for liberty. The new constitutional charter was presented to the nation by the king on the 4th of June. It contained the principles of a limited monarchy; as, the equality of all Frenchmen in the eye of the law; the equal obligation of all to contribute to the expenses of the state; the equal right of all Frenchmen to all offices; personal liberty; the free exercise of religion, and the liberty of the press; the security of property; oblivion of the past; and the suppression of the conscription. The person of the king (in whom was vested the executive power, the command of the forces of the kingdom, the right of declaring war and making peace, of appointing officers, and proposing and publishing the laws) was declared to be inviolable; the legislative power was vested in him in conjunction with the two chambers; laws relating to imposts and taxes were required to be presented first to the chamber of deputies; and the legislature was required to grant the civil list of the king for the period of his reign. The king convoked the chambers, named the peers, hereditary or personal, prorogued the chambers, and dissolved the chamber of deputies, but was required to summon a new one within three months. The chamber of deputies was to be composed of deputies chosen by the electoral colleges, one fifth part to be renewed yearly; to be eligible as a deputy, it was necessary to be forty years old, and pay 1,000 francs of direct taxes. On the 14th of May Louis created the new ministry, and on the 3rd of August a new council of state. The royal orders of the Holy Ghost, of military merit, the order of St. Louis, and that of St. Michael, were revived: the legion of honour received a new decoration (the portrait of Henry IV.) and a new organisation, and the order of the silver lily was founded.

There were still, however, many prejudices in favour of the abdicated emperor to overcome, and many restless spirits to soothe. It was soon perceived that a great difference of opinion prevailed among the members of the royal family and among the ministers. The honours conferred on the old nobility and the emigrants who had returned with the court, excited great discontent; and the national pride was offended by the public declaration of the king that he owed his crown to the prince regent of Great Britain. The army, so long used to war and the rewards which awaited a successful career, was in a state of the highest irritation; the remembrance of him by whom they had so often been led to victory was yet fresh, when they saw their corps dissolved, their dotations, their pay, and their pensions diminished, their importance and their influence destroyed, and they themselves compelled to change their favourite badges for others on which they had formerly trampled. The holders of the national domains feared to lose them. The people were discontented with the burden of the taxes, the alleviation of which had been promised to them. In this state of public feeling nothing could be more fatal for the royal government then the sudden re-appearance of Napoleon on the coast of France, the 1st of March 1815. These circumstances explain why, without the existence of an actual conspiracy in favour of Napoleon, the measures taken to oppose his progress were unsuccessful; why the army and a great part of the nation declared for him; and why, after a march of eighteen days, which resembled a triumph, he was able to enter Paris without shedding a drop of blood.

The king and his adherents left the country. Napoleon immediately annulled most of the royal ordinances, dissolved the two chambers and named a new ministry. He declared that he should content himself with the limits of France, as settled by the peace of Paris, and that he would establish his government on liberal principles. But he could not satisfy the expectations of the different parties; much less could he avert the danger of a new war with Europe.

As soon as the news of Napoleon's landing in France was known at Vienna, the ministers of all the allied powers, who were assembled in congress there, denounced him as the enemy and disturber of the repose of the world; and declared that the powers were finally resolved to employ all means, and unite all their efforts, to maintain the treaty of Paris. For this purpose, Austria, Russia, Britain, and Prussia concluded a new treaty, on the basis of that of March 1st, 1814, whereby each power agreed to bring 150,000 men into the field against Napoleon; who, on his part, was indefatigable in making preparations for war. At the same time, April 22, he published the additional act to the constitutions of the empire, and summoned the meeting of the *Champ de Mai*, which accepted that act, June 1.

As we gave in the 'History of England' a succinct account of the operations of the French and allied armies, which ended in the battle of Waterloo; as also the deportation of Napoleon to St. Helena, and the events which immediately followed the

second restoration of Louis XVIII., we shall not repeat them in this place; but carry on our narrative to the period when the two chambers passed the law of amnesty proposed by the king, by which all those who had voted for the death of Louis XVI., or had accepted offices from Napoleon, during the 'hundred days,' were for ever banished from the kingdom.

With the evacuation of the French territory by the foreign troops, which was determined on by the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, the 9th of October 1818, and accomplished in the course of the same year, was connected the payment of the expenses of the war, and of the individual claims of the subjects of foreign powers on the French government and nation. Here French diplomacy was successful; and ultimately a very small proportion of the real claims was accepted as a liquidation of the whole. France was now admitted into the alliance of the great European powers. But the return of France to royalty, and in a great measure the *ancien régime*, was far from satisfactory to the bulk of the people; and the government was kept in a continual state of oscillation,—now a set of ultra-royalists, and now the liberal party, directing the national councils.

While strict monarchical principles were gradually gaining strength and influence in all departments of the domestic administration, the French cabinet entered more deeply into the continental system of the great European powers. The election laws were found too favourable to the liberal party, and the ministry therefore proposed a new election law, for the purpose of giving the richest landholders the preponderance in the elections of the deputies, and, at the same time, some laws of exception, relative to personal liberty and the liberty of the press, for the purpose of checking public opinion. Under these circumstances much acrimonious discussion took place in the French chambers; and the sessions of 1819 and 1820 were agitated by the most violent conflicts. The two parties attacked each other with reciprocal accusations, and Decazes, the president of the ministry, had already proposed several bills, calculated to gain over the moderate of both sides to the ministry, when, in February 1820, the assassination of the duke of Berri by Louvel (who to the last moment of his life expressed his fierce hatred of the whole Bourbon race, and his detestation of royalty) drew forth the most virulent accusations from the extreme right. The minister Decazes resigned, and the duke of Richelieu succeeded him. A new law of election was carried, amid the most violent opposition on the part of the *doctrinaires* (members who defended a consistent maintenance of the principles of the *charte*) and the liberals. Many officers of government, by their writings, and in their places as deputies, opposed the new system; so that with every new ministry there were numerous dismissions, and many names were even erased from the army-rolls for political opinions. It was evident, indeed, that many conspirators were secretly employed in attempts to excite the troops to a revolt, and some were tried, found guilty, and suffered the penalty due to treason.

The king opened the session of 1823 with a speech announcing the march of 100,000 French troops to Spain. He was alarmed for the safety of France by the revolutionary movements of his neighbours; and this army, which was commanded by the duke of Angoulême, was sent expressly to restore the royal authority. The invaders encountered no effective opposition; the cortes fled before them to Cadiz; and when king Ferdinand approached that city, they permitted him to resume his despotic sway.

During the last few years of the reign of Louis XVIII. he was much enfeebled by disease, and, consequently, unable to act with the energy necessary for establishing a firm and at the same time a conciliatory government. He died in September 1824, nine years subsequent to his restoration.

On his accession Charles X., brother of the deceased king, declared his intention of confirming the charter, appointed the dauphin (duke of Angoulême) as member of the ministerial council, and suppressed the censorship of the public journals. Villèle was his prime minister. In May 1826, the splendid coronation of Charles took place at Rheims, according to ancient custom, with the addition, however, of the oath of the king to govern according to the charter.

On Lafayette's return from America in 1825, the citizens of Havre having received him with some demonstrations of joy, the government manifested their resentment by ordering out the gendarmes, who charged the multitude with drawn sabres. The influence of the Jesuits was seen in the prosecution of the *Constitutionnel* and *Courrier Français*. Villèle, who had discernment enough to see to what this fanaticism would lead, and who was at the same time obnoxious to the liberals, on account of his anti-constitutional principles, and his operations in the funds, became less secure. The parties assumed a more hostile attitude towards each other. The royalists and the supporters of the Jesuits became more open in the expression of their real sentiments; the liberals became stronger and bolder; and the government assumed a tone ill calculated to conciliate its avowed opponents.

On the opening of the session, Dec. 12, 1826, Damas, minister of foreign affairs, informed the chamber that all the continental powers had endeavoured to prevent the interference of Spain in the affairs of Portugal; that France had cooperated with them, had withdrawn her ambassador from Madrid, and had entered into arrangements with England to leave Portugal and Spain to settle their affairs in their own way. Several unpopular measures brought forward by the ministers were, after violent discussions, rejected; among which was a proposed law concerning the liberty of the press. The withdrawal of this by an ordinance was regarded as a popular triumph. This event was followed by the disbanding of the national guards of Paris, a body of 45,000 men, who at a review in the Champ

de Mars, had joined the cries of hatred against the ministry. This was a highly unpopular measure; and Lafitte, Benjamin Constant, and some other members talked of impeaching the ministers; but Villèle took credit to himself for having ventured on a step which he knew to be unpopular, but considered necessary. Every proceeding, however, served to show that the ministerial party was gradually losing ground, and that no trifling concessions to their opponents would avail.

While Charles was much more resolutely opposed to the prevalence of democratic principles than his brother, and yielded to the counsels of priests who were intent on the restoration of the church to the power it possessed some centuries before, the people were taught to believe, and actually dreaded, that a plot was forming to deprive them of the constitutional privileges which they had gained after so long a struggle. Thus the nation became gradually alienated from the court, and the court from the nation; while every opportunity was seized by the turbulent spirits of the time to widen the breach, and, if possible, to overturn the monarchy. A new ministry was forced upon the king by the popular party; they professed moderate principles, it is true; but they had neither the abilities nor the influence necessary for steering a safe course between the extremes of royal prerogative on one side, and popular encroachment on the other: the consequence of which was, that while the ultra-royalists were deeply offended by their liberal measures, the revolutionary party treated them as drivellers and *incapables*. In this state of opposite feeling, Charles suddenly dismissed them, and intrusted the formation of a new cabinet to prince Polignac.

On Aug. 9, 1829, the following appointments were announced: prince Polignac, minister of foreign affairs; M. Courvoisier, keeper of the seals and minister of justice; count Bourmont, minister of war; count de Bourdonaye, minister of the interior; baron de Montbel, minister of ecclesiastical affairs, and public instruction; and count Chabrol de Crousol, minister of finance. To these was afterwards added M. d'Haussey, minister of marine and the colonies, in lieu of admiral count Rigny, who declined the offered portfolio. The ministry was decidedly ultra-royalist; and never, perhaps, had an administration in any country to encounter such a storm of virulence and invective as that which assailed the cabinet of Polignac. On looking dispassionately at their first measures, they appear dignified, moderate, and even conciliatory; but nothing could convince the democrats of the rectitude of the intentions of either Charles or his favourite ministers. And when it was seen that the king not only favoured the Jesuits and monastic orders, but that he showed a marked dislike to those who had acquired eminence in the revolution or under Napoleon, and that the rigid court etiquette of former days was revived, they were ready to believe the most absurd rumours of his intended designs, not merely to crush the rising spirit of liberty but to rule over France with the most absolute despotism. But though Charles and his ministers had endeavoured to uphold the aristocratic power of the state, many of their measures had a contrary effect. The nobles had ceased in France to form an aristocracy. Their great numbers and little wealth; the mixture of political elements they presented; their total want of any political privileges, &c., had left the noblesse entirely without consequence: and it was apparent from the first that neither the king nor Polignac fully comprehended the wishes or wants of the people, but trusted that something might arise to turn the popular current in their favour.

A.D. 1830.—Though they knew not the signs of the times, they did not, however, forget that Frenchmen were notorious for their love of military glory. War was therefore declared against Algiers, on account of insults some time before offered to the French flag, and also to resent a personal indignity committed on the French consul by the dey, who struck him while at a public audience. An armament was accordingly prepared with extraordinary care, and the success which attended it corresponded with the exertions made to insure it. On the 10th of May, the army, consisting of 37,577 infantry and 4,000 horse, embarked at Toulon, and the fleet, consisting of 97 vessels, of which eleven were ships of the line and twenty-four frigates, set sail. June 14, the army began to disembark at Sidi Ferrajh, on the coast of Africa. The city of Algiers was taken after a slight resistance, the dey was sent prisoner to Italy, and his vast treasures remained at the disposal of the conquerors. The maritime powers of Europe were naturally jealous at the establishment of French garrisons and colonies in northern Africa: and to allay their suspicions, it was declared that the occupation of Algiers would be merely temporary; but the French nation became so infatuated with their conquest, that to the present hour Algeria is looked upon by them as a most important acquisition, although it causes an enormous annual waste of blood and treasure, without conferring the slightest advantage either on Africa or on France. Resolved to take advantage of the moral effect which the 'conquest' of Algiers might produce, on the 17th of May appeared in the *Moniteur* the royal ordinance dissolving the chambers: at the same time, new elections were ordered, and the two chambers convoked for August 3rd. The *Moniteur* of June 15th contained a proclamation of the king, in which he called upon all Frenchmen to do their duty in the colleges, to rely upon his constitutional intentions, &c. In this proclamation are these remarkable words 'As the father of my people, my heart was grieved; as king, I felt insulted. I pronounced the dissolution of that chamber.' It ends thus; 'Electors, hasten to your colleges. Let no reprehensible negligence deprive them of your presence! Let one sentiment animate you all; let one standard be your rallying point! It is your king who demande

this of you; it is a father who calls upon you. Fulfil your duties. I will take care to fulfil mine. The elections for the new chamber took place in the latter part of June and in July. Though the success of the army in Algiers became known during the electoral struggle at home, and though all parties exulted in the success of the French arms, the ministry appeared to gain no popularity by it. All the returns of the new elections indicated a strong majority against the ministry, so that, in the beginning of July, intelligent men spoke of a change in the administration as a natural consequence. A crisis was evidently approaching.

A blind infatuation seems to have possessed prince Polignac and his colleagues: they preferred to attack the charter, violate the social contract, and expose France to a civil war, rather than to yield. During this time the king and queen of Naples visited Paris, and many festivals took place, strongly in contrast with the state of political affairs. The king also ordered *Te Deum* to be sung in all the churches of the kingdom for the victory of his army in Africa, the news of which reached Paris four days after the capture of Algiers.

Ardently as some of the fierce and unruly demagogues of Paris desired to see the monarchy overthrown, the majority of the commercial classes and landed proprietors in France dreaded the renewal of civil commotions; they knew there was an active republican party in the country, which, though not very numerous, was unscrupulous and energetic; and they had a just apprehension that if the revolutionary party gained the ascendency, it would lead to a renewal of those dreadful enormities which were committed during the reign of terror, when the Jacobins were in power. But at the same time they were hostile to the restoration of the ancient despotism, which they had been taught to believe was the determination of king Charles and the Polignac ministry to revive.

Had Charles X. dismissed his obnoxious ministers and formed a cabinet of moderate men, the crisis would, in all probability, have passed over without danger, and the prerogatives of a constitutional monarch would have been secured to him. Instead of which the ministers made a 'report to the king' (July 26), setting forth at length the dangers of a free press, and calling upon him to suspend the liberty of the press. 'The state,' they said, 'is in danger, and your majesty has the right to provide for its safety. No government can stand, if it has not the right to provide for its own safety; besides, the 8th article of the charter only gives every Frenchman the right of publishing his own opinions, but not, as the journals do, the opinions of others; the charter does not expressly allow journals and the liberty of the press. The journals misrepresent the best intentions of government; and the liberty of the press produces the very contrary of publicity, because ill-intentioned writers misconstrue everything, and the public never knows the truth.' This report was accompanied by three ordinances, which virtually subverted the constitutional privileges of the charter. The first dissolved the newly-elected chamber of deputies before it assembled; the second changed the law of elections, and disfranchised the great body of electors; and the third subjected the press to new and severe restrictions which would have completely annihilated its liberties. Astonishment and indignation seized the people of Paris as soon as the news reached the different quarters of the city; but no tumult occurred. While the ministers were congratulating themselves on the apparent tranquillity of the citizens, the latter had been actively employed in summoning the deputies of their party within reach, or in concerting measures for a vigorous resistance. The principal journalists prepared and printed a spirited protest against the restrictions on the press, declaring their right to publish as usual, and enforcing that right upon the ground that property in a journal differed in no respect from any other kind of property, and that it could only be attacked by regular judicial proceedings for a breach of the law. The liberal papers, notwithstanding, were all suppressed, and only those which were known to be favourable to the government allowed to appear.

It was impossible that this state of things could long exist. The deputies representing the electors of the city, and some from other parts of the kingdom who were then in Paris, in all thirty-two, assembled at the house of the deputy, M. Lafitte, the banker, to take the subject into serious consideration, and decide on some immediate course of action. A number of constitutional peers also met at the duke de Choiseul's. At each of these meetings it was resolved not to submit. The peers signed a protest, and sent it by a deputation to the king, who refused to receive it. The rejection strengthened the resolution of the deputies, and forty couriers were sent with despatches to towns and villages within a hundred miles of the metropolis, representing the outrageous conduct of government, and urging the inhabitants to cooperate with the Parisians in a determined stand for the liberties of France.

In the meantime the government was on the alert, and sent a general officer to Grenelle and another to Angers, for military purposes. The military command of Paris was intrusted to marshal Marmont, duke of Ragusa. Troops were ordered in from the barracks within fifty miles around, and the guards in the city were doubled. Towards the evening, bodies of *gendarmerie* were stationed about the Bourse and on the Boulevards. In consequence of the bank refusing to discount bills, the manufacturers perceived it had not confidence in the government, and they immediately discharged their workmen. These artisans congregated in the different streets, and reported what had happened to listening crowds. An ordnance was now issued by the prefect of police, declaring, among other things of a restricting kind, that 'Every individual keeping a reading-room

coffee-house, &c. who shall give to be read journals, or other writings, printed contrary to the ordinance of the king of the 25th inst, relative to the press, shall be prosecuted as guilty of the misdemeanours which these journals or writings may constitute, and his establishment shall be provisionally closed.' This ordinance showed a great ignorance of character; for a newspaper with a Frenchman's coffee is rendered by habit almost as indispensable as his morning's meal. Nevertheless, the officers of police cleared the coffee-houses, reading rooms, &c. and shut them up. By their interference also the theatres were closed. A sullen discontent was seen in every countenance, and occasionally was heard the cry of *Vive la charte*; yet during all this time, it would seem the ministers had no idea of the mischief that was brooding.

On Tuesday the 27th, in the forenoon, the police and a large force of gendarmes, mounted and on foot, appeared before the office of the *National*, a popular journal. They found the door fast closed; and, being refused entrance, broke in, seized the types, and carried the editor to prison. They then proceeded to the office of the *Temps*, another popular newspaper, which, though the door-way was barricaded, and a determined resistance was offered by the printers, they forced, and seized the printed papers and the types. This was the signal for a general resistance to the ordinances. All work was now abandoned, every manufactory was closed, and detachments of artisans with large sticks traversed the streets. Troops of gendarmes patrolled the streets at full gallop to disperse the accumulating crowds. The people were silent, and at an early hour the shops throughout Paris were closed. Troops of the royal guard and soldiers of the line came pouring in. The people looked sullen and determined. The chief points of rendezvous were the Palais Royal, the Palais de Justice, and the Bourse. There were simultaneous cries of '*Vive la charte*!' 'Down with the absolute king!' but no conversation, no exchange of words with each other. The king was at the Tuileries. In the Place Carousel there were stationed several thousands of the military, with a great number of cannon. At the Vendôme a strong guard of infantry was stationed around the column, to guard the ensigns of royalty upon it from being defaced; and there were crowds of people upon the spot, who menaced the troops. Several smart skirmishes between the citizens and the soldiers occurred in the evening, in which the latter were generally successful, so that Marmont sent a note to the king, congratulating him on the suppression of the riots. But when night closed in, the citizens destroyed every lamp, thus securing the protection of darkness for their preparations to renew the struggle in the morning.

On Wednesday, at an early hour, all Paris was in arms; the shops were closely shut, and the windows fastened and barred, as if the inhabitants fully anticipated an approaching calamity. The tocsin sounded, and the people flocked in from the fauxbourgs and different quarters of the city. The press had been in active operation during the night; handbills were profusely distributed, containing vehement philippics against Charles and his ministers, and summoning every man to arm for his country, and to aid in ejecting the Bourbons. Nor had the citizens in general been idle during that eventful night; they were ready and organised for a decisive contest; they were in possession of the arsenal and powder magazine; they had procured arms from the shops of the gunsmiths and the police stations; they had thrown up rude barricades across the principal streets to prevent the attacks of cavalry, and had selected leaders competent to direct their exertions. A red flag was hoisted on the several buildings, amidst the shouts of the people. Tri-coloured flags were promenaded in the streets, and tri-coloured cockades and breast-knots were worn by all classes. All Paris, in short, was in a state of insurrection, and every movement of the people portended a terrible conflict.

A deputation of the most influential men in Paris waited upon marshal Marmont, and represented to him the deplorable state of the capital; stating, at the same time, that they made him personally responsible, in the name of the assembled deputies of France, for its present alarming situation, and for the fatal consequences which must inevitably ensue. The marshal replied, 'The honour of a soldier is obedience; but, gentlemen,' said he, 'what are the conditions you propose?' To this M. Lafitte made answer—'The revocation of the illegal ordinances of the 25th of July, the dismissal of the ministers, and the convocation of the chambers on the 3rd of August.' The marshal replied, that though as a citizen he might even participate in the opinions of the deputies, as a soldier he had only to carry his orders into execution; but that if they wished to have a conference with M. de Polignac, he was close at hand, and he would go and ask him if he would receive them. A quarter of an hour passed, when the marshal returned with his manner much changed, and told the deputies that M. de Polignac had declared to him that the conditions proposed rendered any conference useless. 'We have then civil war,' said M. Lafitte. The marshal bowed, and the deputies retired.

As soon as Polignac's answer was made known, all the stifled feelings of resentment burst forth, and the people rushed eagerly forward to oppose the troops wherever a favourable opportunity presented itself. With a disinclination to take any decisive steps, it was noon before marshal Marmont determined to clear the streets by military force; and he then unwisely divided his troops into four columns, which he sent in different directions, thereby destroying the great advantage they possessed in being able to act in concert. The drums of the national guard soon beat 'to arms!' and the struggle began in earnest.

Every step taken by the columns was marked by a series of murderous conflicts; they were assailed by musketry from the barricades, from the windows and tops of houses, from the corners of streets, and from the narrow alleys and passages which abounded in Paris. The hottest engagement seems to have been in the Rue St. Honoré, opposite the Palais Royal, where the military were assembled in great force, and the people resisted them with desperate determination. At the Place de Grêve they fiercely contended with the Swiss guards, and compelled them to retreat with great loss. In the Rue Montmartre an attack was made by the duke of Ragusa in person; but the obstacles which everywhere presented themselves to the troops were so formidable, and the disinclination of the troops of the line to engage with the citizens so apparent, that the insurgents were enabled to seize many important posts; and when evening closed, the troops, defeated in every direction, returned to their barracks, weary, hungry, and dispirited; for while they had been the whole day without food, every family in Paris vied with each other in supplying their fellow-citizens with refreshment.

As soon as the firing ceased, the people made preparations for the next day by strengthening the barricades and increasing their number. Excellent materials were at hand in the paving stones, which were dug up and piled across the street in walls breast high, and four or five feet thick, about fifty paces distant from each other. Besides these defences, hundreds of fine trees were cut down for blockades; in short, nothing was left undone that ingenuity could devise, or perseverance accomplish, towards making an energetic and determined stand against the military on the morrow.

Thursday morning had scarcely dawned when the tocsin sounded 'To arms!' and the people began to assemble rapidly and in great crowds. The military, whose guard-houses had been destroyed, were chiefly quartered at the Louvre and the Tuileries, the Swiss and the royal guards being posted in the houses of the Rue St. Honoré and the adjacent streets. At the same time the students of the Polytechnic School joined the citizens nearly to a man; they then separated, proceeding singly to different parts to take the command of the people, and nobly repaid the confidence that was reposed in them, by the coolness and courage they displayed. The garden of the Tuileries was closed. In the Place du Carousel were three squadrons of lancers of the garde royale, a battalion of the 3rd regiment of the guards, and six pieces of cannon. The royal guards had hardly made themselves masters of the Hôtel de Ville, when they were assailed on all sides with a shower of bullets from the windows of the houses of the Place de Grêve and in the streets abutting on the quay. The royal guards resisted vigorously, but were ultimately compelled to retreat along the quay; their firing by files and by platoons succeeding each other with astonishing rapidity. They were soon joined by fresh troops, including 100 cuirassiers of the guard and four pieces of artillery, each of them escorted by a dozen artillerymen on horseback. With this reinforcement they again advanced on the Hôtel de Ville, and a frightful firing began on all sides. The artillery debouching from the quay, and their pieces charged with canister shot, swept the Place de Grêve in a terrific manner. They succeeded in driving the citizens into the Rues de Matriot and du Mouton, and entered for the second time that day into their position at the Hôtel de Ville; but their possession of it did not continue long, for they were soon again attacked with a perseverance and courage that was almost irresistible.

On the 29th general Lafayette was appointed commander-in-chief of the national guards by the liberal deputies, and was received with enthusiasm by the Parisians. A youth of twenty years of age belonging to the Polytechnic School, led the attack on the Louvre, from which the Swiss guards retreated to the Tuileries. This place was also taken by the people, with one of these youths at their head. The Luxembourg had already fallen into their hands. The young men of this school rendered the greatest service to the cause of the nation; and afterwards declined the medals granted to them, and also the rank of lieutenant, offered to each, in case he entered the army. Many of the soldiers solemnly vowed they would not continue to act against the people; others were disheartened and discomfited; and two whole regiments went over in a body to the side of the Parisians. At length, all the royal troops left the capital by the way of the Champs Elysées, and in their retreat were fired upon by the people. At night the city was partially illuminated, and perfect tranquillity prevailed, while strong patrols silently paraded the streets, and passed gently from barricade to barricade.

A deputation from Charles X. at St. Cloud, arrived at the Hôtel de Ville early in the morning. At eleven o'clock, the deputies and peers then in Paris assembled in their respective halls, and established regular communications with each other. The duke de Mortemart was introduced to the chamber of deputies, and delivered four ordinances signed the previous day by the king. One of them recalled the fatal ordinances of the 25th; another convoked the chambers on the 3rd; the third appointed the duke de Mortemart president of the council; and the fourth appointed count Gerard minister of war, and M. Casimir-Perier minister of finance. The reading of these ordinances was listened to with the greatest attention. But at the termination no observation was made—the most profound silence was for a time observed—and then the deputies passed to other business. The manner in which the duke and his communications were received by the deputies was an announcement that Charles X. had ceased to reign.

On the 31st of July the deputies published a proclamation, declaring that they

had invited the duke of Orleans to become lieutenant-general of the kingdom. At noon of the same day, Louis Philippe d'Orleans issued a proclamation, declaring that he had hastened to Paris, wearing the 'glorious colours' of France, to accept the invitation of the assembled deputies to become lieutenant-general of the kingdom. A proclamation of the same date appointed provisional commissaries for the different departments of government.

The king, with his family, had fled to St. Cloud. They now proceeded to Rambouillet, a small place six leagues WSW. of Versailles. Three commissioners were sent from Paris to treat with him; who, on their return, informed the authorities that the king wished to leave France by way of Cherbourg; to restore the crown jewels, which he had taken from Paris, &c. These concessions were produced by the advance of the national guard towards Rambouillet. On the morning of Aug. 2, the abdication of Charles X. and the dauphin, Louis Antoine, was placed in the hands of the lieutenant-general: the abdication, however, was made in favour of the duke of Bordeaux. A letter of the king, bearing that date, appointed the duke of Orleans lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and ordered him to proclaim the duke of Bordeaux king, under the title of Henry V.

The abdication of Charles was announced to the peers and the deputies by the lieutenant-general on the 3rd of August; and Casimir-Perier was at the same time chosen president of the chamber. On the 6th, the chamber of deputies declared the throne of France vacant, *de jure* and *de facto*, and discussed the provisions of the charter. On the 7th, new changes were adopted in it; and it was voted to invite the duke of Orleans to become king of the French, on condition of his accepting these changes. On the 8th, the chamber went in a body to the duke, and offered him the crown, which he accepted; and on the 9th, he took the prescribed constitutional oath.

The spirit of order, manifested by the people during the struggles in Paris, which prevented all outrage and plundering, was still further shown in the unmolested retreat of Charles X., who took passage for England in two American vessels. On arriving he was received merely as a private person. The revolution of July 1830 thus drove one dynasty from the throne of France, and seated another in its place. In theory it sanctioned the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, and dealt a fatal blow to the ancient notion of passive obedience; but in practice it disappointed the 'movement party,' who looked to see a monarchy shorn of its prerogatives and surrounded by republican institutions.

Though this extraordinary revolution had been effected with such comparative ease, justice could hardly be considered as complete without the trial of those responsible officers of government who had originated, or, at least, sanctioned, this war on the liberties of France. In the course of the month, four of the ex-ministers, Peyronnet, Guernon de Ranville, Chantelauze, and Polignac, were arrested, tried by their peers, and, being found guilty, were sentenced to imprisonment for life. While the trial was going on, the Luxembourg was surrounded by a clamorous mob, demanding the death of the prisoners, and threatening vengeance in case the sentence was not satisfactory. As the trial proceeded, and it began to be suspected that a capital sentence would not be pronounced, the violence of the multitude increased, and everything seemed to menace a new insurrection. The troops and national guards were kept under arms by night, and bivouacked in the public places. The whole personal influence of the king and of Lafayette was also employed to soothe the populace; still the number and clamour of the mob became so alarming, that it was determined to remove the prisoners secretly to Vincennes before sentence was pronounced; and the *ruse* succeeded.

In the beginning of the year 1831, the public mind continued to be agitated by conspiracies and rumours of conspiracies of Carlists, or partisans of the exiled family. Nor were there wanting, on the other hand, republicans and Buonapartists to fan the flame of insurrection both in the capital and in the provinces. In the midst of this anarchy, the king of the French, with that prudential foresight and conciliatory disposition which characterised most of his movements, determined on a tour through his dominions, one of his objects, doubtless, having been to attach to his person, by so popular a course, a large portion of his subjects who might otherwise feel disposed to join the disaffected; and the enthusiasm with which his majesty was everywhere received, might have led an ordinary observer to believe that the French nation could appreciate the combined advantages of a free yet fixed government. But soon afterwards, at Lyons, some slight riots resulting from lack of employment, swelled into a formidable insurrection; and the vacillating conduct of the national guard, with the weakness of the military, enabled the insurgents to gain possession of that city, which they held for several days. But the insurrection was at length suppressed; the insurgents were tried and convicted; and the conduct of the prisoners on their trial was made the pretext for an encroachment of the Crown on the rights of the subject, which it had been supposed the last revolution had for ever established.

Whether Louis Philippe was apprehensive that the peace of the country would not be of long duration, or whether he was anxious to prevent the citizens of Paris from showing another specimen of their courage, if by any chance they should be brought into collision with the military—or whether it were to provide equally against either contingency—is more than we will venture to offer an opinion on; but our sketch of French history would be incomplete, if we did not state, that on the advice of M. Thiers, measures were taken to fortify Paris in a manner calculated to afford great facilities to the troops in either emergency. These works were begun in September

1840, and finished in 1844. The city and suburbs of Paris are enclosed with a thick high wall, defended by bastions and moats in various parts. At some distance from this wall, exterior works, consisting chiefly of detached forts, now serve to protect the inner fortifications, and to prevent an enemy from approaching the walls of the city. This measure at first met with considerable opposition; but, viewing it as a defensive operation, and recollecting how in 1814 and 1815 the French capital was compelled to open its gates to an invading army, these defences came to be regarded with more satisfaction than displeasure.

Beyond the period to which we have brought this history, the chief events that have occurred in France are incidentally mentioned in the latter part of the 'History of England;' as, the various attempts against the life of the king; the expedition by Louis Napoleon, who had the temerity to land near Boulogne, in August 1840, with a handful of followers, under an idea that he could overturn the existing dynasty; the removal of the remains of Buonaparte from St. Helena to the chapel of the Invalides in Paris; the visit of Queen Victoria to Louis Philippe and family at the château d'Eu, &c. But we will here give a short summary of the leading incidents in its colonial and foreign policy, down to the forced abdication of King Louis Philippe.

During the first years of the new reign, the internal prosperity of France continued to increase in spite of the formidable insurrections which now and then broke out; but her African conquest seemed to be as far from being completed as ever. Abd-el-Kader, the indefatigable enemy of France in Algeria, continued to elude the grasp of the successive commanders employed against him; but he had frequently been driven, after successful combats, to take refuge in the territories of the emperor of Morocco, by whom the French had reason to expect he was encouraged and assisted. At length it was determined to take hostile measures against the emperor, and thus compel him to adopt, for the future, a strictly neutral policy. The prince de Joinville arrived off Tangiers, in the Pluton war steamer; and after some preliminary negotiations with Mr. Drummond Hay, the British *chargé d'affaires* at Tangiers, who had interfered with the view of averting actual hostilities, they were abruptly broken off by the commencement of a cannonade by the French guns upon the city of Tangiers. 'It was not possible,' says the prince, 'to hesitate longer: we were deceived with treacherous proposals at the moment that war was actively prepared against us; there was nothing left for us but to have recourse to arms.' In this affair the loss of the French amounted to only three killed, and sixteen wounded; while that of the Moors amounted to 150 killed, and 400 wounded.

The prince next directed an attack to be made on the town and fort of Mogador: he opened his fire from those vessels which could enter the harbour, consisting of the Belle Poule frigate, and three armed brigs. It was sustained the whole day with unabated vigour, and was replied to by a very severe fire from the batteries of the town, and of the island at the mouth of the harbour. About 500 choice troops afterwards effected a landing on the islet: they encountered a furious and sanguinary resistance; and nearly half the number of the Moorish soldiers who formed the garrison perished on the spot, with their yataghans in their hands. The work of destruction proceeded with frightful violence; the batteries on the shore were gradually silenced, and the walls of the town were reduced to ruins. The inhabitants fled from the city to escape the fire from the ships; and the wild hordes of the Kabyles descended from the hills, and plundered the houses, maltreating all who fell in their way. In the meantime, while the Moorish fortifications were crumbling away beneath the fire of the French ships, marshal Bugeaud, who commanded the army in Algeria, encountered the main body of the emperor's troops, on the banks of the Isly, and obtained a most complete victory. Being now convinced that he was unable to cope with the arms of France, the emperor of Morocco yielded to the demands of the French, and a treaty was executed between the two countries, whereby Abd-el Kader was outlawed from the Moorish territory, and the emperor engaged to prevent troops from assembling on his frontier. The French then evacuated Mogador, an exchange of prisoners took place, and thus terminated the short but spirited contest in which France and Morocco had been engaged.

Meanwhile, the indomitable Abd-el-Kader had hitherto baffled all the attempts made by the French to capture or destroy him; and if defeated in an engagement, he was sure to re-appear in a short time at the head of his gallant followers, to harass and wear out the European enemy, to whom the burning sun of Africa was of itself alone an intolerable scourge. And well, indeed, might the native chieftain thirst for their blood. A dreadful act of vengeance had been inflicted by the French, which invested the campaign of Algeria with the character of such unnatural ferocity as was never before heard of, even in the most barbaric periods of history. The Ouled-Riahs, a Kabyle tribe, were closely pursued by the French, and took refuge in some caverns or grottoes. They were summoned, but, refusing to surrender, preparations were made by their pursuers to suffocate them by placing lighted fascines at the entrance. This produced no effect; and Col. Pelissier, who commanded the French troops, ordered letters to be flung to them, in which they were told their lives would be spared, and liberty restored, if they surrendered their arms and horses. With these terms they agreed to comply, provided the French would withdraw to a distance. This condition, however, was rejected; and lighted fascines were again thrown into the caverns. On the second night of this horrible siege, the fires were kindled anew, and the cries of the victims, whom the smoke was about to suffocate, were heard

in the winding depths below; then fainter grew the cries: and in a short time nothing more was heard than the cracking of the green wood, of which the fascines consisted. It was afterwards ascertained that a terrible struggle had taken place in the cavern, some wishing to submit, and others stubbornly opposing it. A large number had received yataghan cuts, and bore the marks of deep wounds. Altogether, eight hundred men, women, and children perished; many of their bodies literally sticking to the heated sides of the grottoes. That such an act of remorseless vengeance would be followed by severe retaliation from the Africans, was naturally to be expected. A general rising of the Arab tribes, with the formidable Abd-el-Kader at their head, speedily took place; and the massacre perpetrated by the French in the caves of the Dairha produced some extraordinary exploits of savage valour on their part, and rendered the name of the Arab chief a greater terror than before. It was not until the close of 1847 that Abd-el-Kader, after being hemmed in on all sides, surrendered to general Lamoriciere, under certain conditions, which have never been fulfilled.

It was during sir Robert Peel's administration, that the French and English alliance reached its climax. Queen Victoria paid a visit to Louis Philippe at the château d'Eu, and shortly afterwards Louis Philippe visited the Queen at Windsor. But, notwithstanding this cordiality of the two crowns, there was no lack of difference, even at this time. In Greece, for instance, France constantly supported the Coletti administration, whilst England inclined to Maurokordatos. After Coletti's death, an insurrection broke out, which was supposed not to be looked upon with much disfavour by England; but the policy which Coletti had adopted finally prevailed, and it was generally understood that French influence carried the day.

But still greater was the result of the French policy in Spain. The interests of France and England were here brought into collision on the occasion of the projected marriage of the young queen of Spain and her sister. France desired that the Bourbon line should continue upon the Spanish throne. England would have liked to see a prince of the House of Coburg obtain the hand of the queen. The queen's mother, Christina, had previously been anxious to obtain the hand of the duke of Montpensier for her eldest daughter; but Louis Philipe showed his usual circumspection in declining this alliance for his son, the treaty of Utrecht having expressly declared that no prince of the House of Orleans should ever fill the Spanish throne. The candidates whom France one after the other proposed were the count of Aquila, brother to the king of Naples, count of Trapani, eldest son of Don Carlos, and the two sons of Don Francisco. As Louis Philippe engaged that his son should not enter the list as a candidate for the hand of the queen of Spain, Lord Aberdeen promised in return to support no other prince but one of the House of Bourbon, and the French cabinet expressly reserved to itself the right, if England should push forward a prince of Coburg, of making a French prince his rival competitor. It was understood that England would not oppose an alliance of the duke of Montpensier with the infanta, if her elder sister should have children. But, strangely enough, the English agents in Spain did not adhere to the instructions of their superiors. An invitation even was addressed to the duke of Coburg, who was at that time in Lisbon, to come to Madrid, in order to negotiate the marriage with a prince of his House. Queen Christina was probably aware of the terms that had been arranged between France and England, and accordingly hoped that France, now released from its engagements, would make the duke of Montpensier a competitor for the hand of her eldest daughter. But, scarcely had lord Aberdeen informed the French ministry of this unexpected step on the part of the Spanish government, and forbidden the English ambassador to enter into the Spanish proposal, when sir Robert Peel's ministry resigned, and was replaced by the Whigs, with Lord Palmerston as foreign secretary, in whom the French ministry had less confidence than his predecessor. Immediately after this event Queen Christina, dreading the English influence, urged count Bresson, the French ambassador at Madrid, to decide at once for a simultaneous marriage of the queen with the duke of Cadiz, and the infanta with the duke of Montpensier. Bresson, who had a quasi permission to enter into this proposal, adopted the project. But when this news reached the French court, Louis Philippe desired M. Guizot to compel Bresson to a formal disavowal. Whilst Louis Philippe was thus receding from the course taken by his representatives, the English ambassador in Madrid, Mr. Bulwer, received instructions from lord Palmerston, that the prince of Coburg was the real candidate of England. Louis Philippe now became alarmed, and hastened to confirm Bresson's arrangements for the simultaneous marriage of Queen Isabella and the infanta; and it was in this way that those important and much-talked-of Spanish marriages were accomplished, which certainly belong to the most important diplomatic victories ever gained by one cabinet over another. But there was no sympathy in France for Louis Philippe's triumph; on the contrary, his ministry was even attacked from all sides on account of it; and the so-called *entente cordiale* that subsisted between the English and French governments then sustained a shock from which it never fully recovered. These events took place in 1846.

But nothing contributed more to weaken Louis Philippe's government than a series of scandalous events, in which the year 1847 abounded. The duke of Praslin, a peer of France, who stood in the most intimate relations to the court, in that year murdered his wife, the daughter of marshal Sebastiani, under the most abominable circumstances. He was seized, and about to

be confronted with his judges, when it was suddenly known that he had found time to poison himself, and thus to escape the scaffold by suicide. Letters were published after his death, from which it appeared that he was engaged in an improper connection with the governess of his children, and that, for the sake of this person, he had not shrunk from the perpetration of this foul deed. General Despans Cubieres, peer of France, formerly minister of war, and the ci-devant minister Teste, one of the presidents of the Court of Cassation, were condemned for bribery and for corruption, by the Court of Peers; and after the most audacious denials, the latter was obliged to confess having accepted 100,000 francs for granting some privileges to a mining company. He tried to shoot himself in prison, and it was universally reported that his own son had procured him the pistols. Yet fate would have it that he should survive his own disgrace. The minister of justice, Martin du Nord, died suddenly a mysterious death; he is said to have sunk into imbecility, for he was discovered by the police in a secret gambling house, where they expected to find only debauchees, and other characters of the lowest description. Bresson, who had negotiated the Spanish marriages, cut his throat. Emile de Girardin accused Guizot of being willing to sell the dignity of the peerage, and he himself was convicted of having sued for this dignity for his own father, and having given a promise to withdraw from the opposition press, in the event of his request being granted. It became known at the same time that the minister of the interior had received 100,000 francs from a ministerial paper, to which he had granted a privilege. The minister of commerce was convicted of having accepted 500 railway shares from the Northern Company immediately after M. Guizot's declaration that a minister to whom such a charge could be brought home was to be considered infamous. Many other similar delinquencies were proved against government officials; but enough has been said to show how deep-seated was the disease, and consequently what inroads were daily made upon the popularity of King Louis Philippe and the integrity of his government.

But the proximate cause for the unpopularity of Louis Philippe was his speech, at the opening of the chambers on the 28th of December 1847. In that speech his majesty ascribed the reform agitation, which had spread over the whole country, to 'hostility and blind passions.' This angry phrase confounded, in one assertion, the mean with the extremes — the ultras with the moderates; those who might at the next turn of the political wheel constitute the new administration, with those whose only chance of power depended on a revolution.

Nineteen sittings were held before the address on the royal speech could travel through the chambers. Yet, obstinate in error, the king and the government proceeded to follow up the blow, by putting to issue the legal right of the constitutionally legitimate parliamentary opposition to a reform banquet, assembled not by the members of an extra parliamentary and law-prohibited association, but by those of a great party in the chamber, for the exercise of an undoubted constitutional right. The reform banquet was fixed to take place on Sunday the 20th; but was subsequently deferred until the following Tuesday.

That Tuesday morning the general committee appointed to organise the banquet, had desired only 'to make a legal and pacific protest' against the acts of the government — a protest which, as they publicly advertised, would 'be the more efficacious the more calm it was. Pursuant to this idea, they requested by their manifesto the citizens to utter no cry, to carry neither flag nor exterior emblem;' and such of the national guard as might join the procession, 'to present themselves without arms.' The dynastic opposition meanwhile had yielded to the conservative cabinet, and, much to the chagrin of the multitudes abroad on the morrow, had resolved on withdrawing from the banquet, and to rest satisfied with the impeachment of the ministry.

Notwithstanding the unpleasant state of the weather, groups of artisans and shopkeepers crowded the Boulevards and the Champs Elysées; and the whole of the immense area between the church of the Madeleine and the chamber of deputies was completely occupied. At noon there followed a procession of labouring men, dressed in blouses, who were soon dispersed by a regiment of infantry and a civil magistrate. To these succeeded a deputation of students bearing, unarmed, a petition to the chamber for the impeachment of ministers.

As the day advanced the money-changers on the Boulevard closed their shops: for the old *Marseillaise* hymn, and a new chorus, '*Mourir pour la Patrie*,' had been sung by the people densely massed in the Place de la Concorde. Moreover, as at the same hour on the 27th of July 1830, the official residence of the premier was attacked with stones, two panes of a mock window being broken. Thereupon followed a charge of cavalry, by which many were injured, some wounded, and one man had his head cleft open. The national guard, during the day, responded with reluctance to the beat of the *rappel*. A detachment of the seventh legion, on guard at the Chamber of deputies, had indeed, even early in the day, refused to clear the colonnade, lobby, and avenues. The populace from time to time attempted to erect barricades in the rues Royale, Rivoli, St. Honore, and St. Florentin, the Place de Châtelet, and other spots favourable to their purpose; but by midnight all had been thrown down, and the troops of the line bivouacked in the streets, along the quais, and in the market-places of Paris. But next morning the barricades were reerected, and stoutly defended, and some of the soldiers, by whom they were attacked, were slain. The national guard declared for reform and against the ministers. A company of the fourth legion appeared in arms before the cham-

ber, to present a petition in favour of reform; while detachments of the second, third, and seventh legions raised shouts of '*Vive la Réforme!*'—'*A bas l'homme de Gand!*'—'*A bas Guizot!*' A change of ministry was now inevitable, and the king's choice fell on count Molé. In the course of the night the supreme command of the national guards and of the troops of the line was confided to marshal Bugeaud; and count Molé having failed him, the king charged MM. Thiers and Odillon Barrot with the duty of forming a new cabinet.

But whatever hopes were indulged in from this arrangement were soon dissipated;—for an event had occurred which converted the insurrection into a revolution. A ball from a gun, then supposed to have gone off accidentally, struck on the leg the horse of a colonel of the 14th regiment of the line;—who, conceiving that he was attacked, ordered an instant discharge. At once muskets were levelled and fired—the shrieks and ravings of thousands were heard—and then sixty-two bodies lay weltering on the pavement. Over them drove a squadron of cuirassiers, sword in hand; and the whole scene about the Hôtel des Capuchines, where M. Guizot resided, was one of massacre. Seventeen of the corpses, being placed on a truck, were borne along from place to place, and exhibited for a spectacle by the ghastly glare of torch and gaslight. Stopping before the office of the *National*, MM. Garnier Pagès, Armand Marrast, and other popular citizens were called forth. Everywhere the multitude cried '*Aux armes! Nous sommes trahis!*' It became clear that on Thursday morning, no mere ministerial change would satisfy the people. The new ministry felt its weakness, and not further to exasperate their countrymen, directed the military—'not to fire.'

The troops of the line, paralysed by the order not on any account to fire, presented but a weak rampart against the insurgents; they fell back within the court of the Tuileries. The national guard had wholly disappeared; the insurgent crowd continued to advance; already was heard the discharge of their fire-arms. The ministers, in a state of consternation, lost all hope. Amid the terrible confusion which reigned round Louis Philippe, some exclaimed, 'Will you permit your whole family to be butchered!' others, 'The regency of the duchess of Orleans will save all!' The king signed his abdication, and withdrew from the palace of the Tuileries to retire to St. Cloud.

Meanwhile the duc de Nemours, doubtless with the design of protecting the king's retreat, was still on horseback in the court of the Tuileries, with two regiments of infantry. The position could, however, be defended no longer. The duke gave directions to abstain from firing, in order to spare useless bloodshed. He also, though in vain, sought to repel the multitude by a weak detachment of national guards that had just reentered the court. While these events were taking place, he learned that the duchess of Orleans, with her two sons, had quitted the Tuileries by the garden. It was in good time; an instant later and she must have been unable to save herself or her infant children, for armed bands were already making their way into the gardens through the railing of the Rue Rivoli. The prince ran to join her. On his arrival at the Place de la Concorde, he gave orders for the troops to be drawn up along the Champs Elysées, with a view to conducting the duchess of Orleans safely to the palace of St. Cloud. In the meantime he posted guards at all the exits of the place, and at the Pont Tournant. While the prince was superintending the execution of these different measures of precaution, the duchess of Orleans was, with her children, conducted into the chamber of deputies, in the midst of a group, in which were many members of the chamber, and officers in attendance upon the count of Paris. The chamber received the duchess with acclamations, which were redoubled after the speech of M. Dupin. On the benches of the deputies and in the tribune, 'Long live the regent!' 'Long live the count of Paris!' were loudly shouted. The sitting, however, was prolonged. The radical opposition drowned the voice of M. Odillon Barrot, who spoke in support of the regency. Finally, several orators, among whom was M. de Lamartine, insisted upon an appeal to the people. At this moment the headstrong rabble, armed with sabres, pikes, and firearms, preceded by persons in the uniform of the national guard, who bore a tricolour flag, threw itself into the hall. A young madman, in a blouse, from the height of the tribune, levelled a gun with direct aim at the president. Another stared with ferocious earnestness upon the group, in which were members of the royal family. The national representation was contemptuously disregarded, profaned, outraged, and dissolved; the regency was trampled under foot; the duchess of Orleans and her two sons withdrew; and the monarchy was at an end. Ledru Rollin then read out the names of the members of a provisional government. Thence they proceeded to the Hôtel de Ville, where the republic was formally proclaimed.

Meanwhile King Louis Philippe had fled from the Tuileries. When the people came thronging to the Tuileries, the national guard appeared to take their side, and it therefore seemed useless to call upon the troops to act. The king and queen then issued from the palace on foot, and walked on through the garden to the very spot where Louis XVI. had been murdered. Here they found themselves hemmed in on all sides, but no one offered them injury or insult. They got into a small one horse carriage and drove to St. Cloud, whence they directed their course for the coast, and on the following Thursday they got on board an English steamer, from which they landed next day at Newhaven, in Sussex.

Thus, after a duration of less than eighteen years, terminated the rule of the House of Orleans in France. 'If King

Louis Philippe,' says a contemporary writer, 'had not also been infatuated with the curse of his race — that of refusing to concede a simple and just demand, made in equity and moderation by the people — he would not in his old age have been exiled from his country. He had disdained to be taught even by all his eventful experience. He had forgotten or disregarded in power what he had written in adversity. In France, after two revolutions and more bloodshed in the name of liberty than in any country in the world the press was thoroughly fettered by the laws. No French citizen or foreigner could move in or out of or over France, without a written license, or permission to do so from the police. The freedom of assembling in public or private meetings was prohibited by the laws of September 1834—laws which Berryer with truth said, "put into execution the ordinances of Charles X." The representative system was so limited by the high money-rate in direct taxation required to be paid to qualify electors as to amount to a mockery of the whole population. In short, though there was civil, military, and legislative equality for all before the tribunals, and equality for all rich enough to qualify for electors, civil liberty did not exist in France.'

The republic having been proclaimed on the basis of *liberty, equality, and fraternity*, Dupont de l'Eure was named president of the council; Lamartine, minister of foreign affairs, Ledru Rollin, minister of the interior; M. Goudchaud, minister of finance; Crémieux, minister of justice; Francis Arago, minister of marine; general Bedeau, minister of war; Carnot, minister of public instruction; Bethmont, minister of commerce; Marie, minister of public works; Cavaignac, governor-general of Algiers; and Garnier Pagès, mayor of Paris; while Armand Marrast, Louis Blanc, Flocon, and Albert, *ouvrier*, were appointed secretaries.

The fortresses of Paris and Vincennes acknowledged this provisional government. Odillon Barrot, marshal Bugeaud, and numerous other members of the opposition, gave in their adhesion to it. The palace of the Tuileries was transformed into an hospital of invalids for the wounded workmen, to whom a million of money, due of the sum which had been granted for the civil list of the late king, was directed to be paid, in order to relieve the immediate wants of the unemployed labourers and citizens. All political prisoners were discharged; and the punishment of death was abolished for political crimes. It was declared that the national tricoloured flag should bear the words '*Republique Française, Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité*;' that the red *rosette* should be introduced as a souvenir of this last revolutionary act, and that it should be worn by the members of the provisional government. A strong garde mobile, consisting of twenty-four battalions of 1,048 men each, was formed for securing the tranquillity of Paris; and acts of accusation were drawn up by the procureur-general against the Guizot ministry, most of whose members had meanwhile fled to England.

But it soon became apparent that important differences of opinion existed amongst those whom a strange series of events had placed at the head of affairs. Lamartine, the presiding genius of the new movement, who sought, with Marrast and others, to govern the country according to the principles of constitutional liberty, was opposed by Louis Blanc and Ledru Rollin, who maintained that the last revolution, unlike all previous revolutions, was more social than political, and that measures should immediately be taken by the government for the organisation of labour, and the abolition of *misère*. To meet these views, a commission of enquiry was appointed to sit at the Luxembourg with Louis Blanc as president, and Albert, *ouvrier*, as vice-president. National workshops* too were opened, where two francs per day were awarded by government to each new comer, and where thus the idle and vicious had the same remuneration as the energetic and industrious. The enormous multitudes of working men flocking into Paris from the departments to take advantage of the new regulation, caused great excitement in the capital. These working men formed themselves into clubs, which became the centre of furious debates, and fomented such disorder in Paris, that many of the wealthy inhabitants, deeming a residence in the capital unsafe amid such elements of discord, quitted France, and trade was for a time prostrate. Meantime the assembly proposed to frame a new constitution, and divided the country into electoral districts. Great exertions were made by the extreme party, who now obtained the title of 'Red Republicans' from wearing the old red cap of liberty as their badge, to obtain a preponderance in the election of members for the national assembly. The assembly, though chosen by universal suffrage, being, notwithstanding all the efforts of the Red Republicans, composed of men of moderate views, great antagonism arose. A formidable outbreak on the 15th of May, resulting from the refusal of the assembly to appoint a minister of labour, and which eventually led to the expulsion of Louis Blanc, was suppressed by the vigorous efforts of Lamartine. This outbreak was followed by another of a most alarming character. In the month of June, the increase of labourers in the national workshops from 13,000 to 120,000, became a subject of apprehension to the government, who ordered that 30,000 of those who came from a distance should return to their homes. After an interview with the executive committee, a deputation

* It is but justice to M. Louis Blanc to state that, whatever evils these national workshops inflicted upon the community, he was in no respect to blame for their establishment. He has clearly exonerated himself on this point in his *Pages d'Histoire*; and his statement is fully corroborated by M. de Lamartine, who says, 'Bien loin d'être à la solde de Louis Blanc, ils (les ateliers nationaux) étaient inspirés par l'esprit de ses adversaires.'—*Histoire de la Rev. de Février*, t. ii. p. 120.

of men from the national workshops collected a riotous mob, as they marched through the streets of Paris, exclaiming against the measures of government. The rapidity with which barricades and preparations for civil war were commenced, proved that the conspiracies against the government were no hastily concerted plans, and the strong line of works, which embraced a great part of the city, induced the executive committee to resign their functions, and confer the command of the forces upon general Cavaignac. On the morning of the 23rd of June, the insurrection broke out; and in the course of a few hours the insurgents had taken possession of a segment of the town of which the river, the canal St. Martin, and the Rue and Faubourg St. Denis, formed the three principal sides. The whole of this ground was a mass of barricades. All the streets leading to the principal thoroughfares, such as the Rue St. Denis, and the Rue St. Jacques, were blocked up at the entrance; at the bridge of Austerlitz, on either side of the river, at the bridge St. Michael and that of Notre-dame, formidable têtes-de-pont were erected; every street was barricaded from one end to another, and the barricades were defended by loopholes made in the wall on each side. These were the defensive preparations; but the plan was to march simultaneously forward by the right bank on the Hôtel de Ville, the National Palace, the Chaussée d'Antin, and the Faubourg St. Honoré; by the centre on the Palais de Justice, the Louvre, the Bank, and the Mint; by the left bank on the Luxembourg, the offices of the ministry and the national assembly, and thus form a junction at the western extremity of Paris.

For three whole days this terrible conflict lasted from morning till night, and in spite of the barricades being breached by artillery, of shells being thrown into the whole district, of the mine being brought into play, the troops could gain their ground but step by step, the insurgents beaten from one stronghold rapidly reaching another. Finally on the fourth day, they were forced to retreat from all sides into the Rue du Faubourg St. Antoine, which offered a succession of very close barricades, almost all cannon proof, from one end of the street to another, the cross streets, leading on one side towards the canal and on the other towards the Seine, being likewise barricaded. At ten o'clock a battery of mortars on the Place de la Bastille bombarded the faubourg on that side; and in a short time, a few shells had set fire to some of the nearest houses. A mine also pushed some considerable distance threatened to blow up a considerable number of the insurgents, whilst their position was taken in flank by General Lamoricière. Perceiving the inevitable consequences of further opposition, they capitulated.

On both sides the loss of life was tremendous. Among the victims was the archbishop of Paris, who had nobly gone among the insurgents as the messenger of peace: but the firing which had ceased having been accidentally renewed, he was struck by a ball in the groin and died of the wound. Immediately after the suppression of the insurrection, general Cavaignac resigned the dictatorship, with which he had been invested; but was forthwith elected chief of the executive.

The constituent assembly, which had met on May 4th, now proceeded to draw up a constitution of which the outline was as follows:—The legislative power was to be voted in a single chamber, called the national assembly, consisting of 750 members, elected by universal suffrage, with a maximum duration of three years. The executive power was to be vested in a president, elected for four years by universal suffrage, with himself and his relations to the sixth degree ineligible for the next term. The national representatives were to receive 25 francs per day, and the president was to have a salary of 600,000 francs per annum with a residence.

These details being completed, the public mind was almost solely occupied by the election of the first president of the republic. The contest lay between general Cavaignac and Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, nephew of the emperor and eldest surviving son of Louis ex-king of Holland, who had been elected to the assembly by Paris and various other constituencies. On the day of election, Dec. 10, it was found that Louis Napoleon Bonaparte had upwards of five millions and a half of votes in his favour, while general Cavaignac had only about one million and a half. His name, no doubt, gained this great majority over his able competitor; and no more striking proof could have been given of the respect paid in France to the memory of Napoleon. But it should not be overlooked that general Cavaignac was supported only by republicans as sincere as himself; while his competitor obtained the suffrages, not only of the Orleans and legitimist parties, but of the so-called socialists, who thus avenged on the republican general their overwhelming defeat in the month of June. On the 20th of December, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte took the prescribed oath to observe the constitution, and was installed president of the republic amid imposing solemnities.

It would serve no useful purpose to dwell upon the events of the next three years. Ignorance and hero-worship, the superstition and idolatry of a name, raised Louis Napoleon on a lofty pedestal without a single claim or merit of his own; but the moment he was there, one party of the monarchists hailed him as their precursor, while another considered him a useful stopgap till they had matured their plans. But whatever rivalry existed between the different sections of the monarchical party, they all, legitimist, Orleanist, Bonapartist, combined to prevent the republic from having a fair trial. They did all that lay in their power to disgust France with the then existing form of government. They converted the national assembly into an instrument of oppression; they curtailed the liberty of the citizen, destroyed the independence of the press,

and undermined the educational institutions of the country. The choice of journals to be sold in the streets was actually left to the police; and the fundamental law of universal suffrage repealed without the sanction of the nation. If the cause of order lost adherents out of doors, the fault was with the party that called themselves its champions within the chamber. They possessed all the power, if not the will, to do good; the majority in the single chamber was omnipotent in the nation, the executive government was bound to obey their behests, and popular caprice could not affect their position; they were returned under a system of universal suffrage, and no legal power in the state existed to dissolve parliament. If they had been true friends to their country, and acted irrespective of party considerations, they would have consolidated the liberties, developed the resources, and strengthened the position of France. All power in the country was concentrated in their hands; they might have passed a habeas corpus act, relaxed their stringent commercial code, modified the system of centralisation, or asserted some principle in their action which would have made them the rallying point of rational liberty. Instead, however, of availing themselves of their impregnable position, and directing the progress of the nation, they only signalised themselves as exaggerated alarmists or faint-hearted reactionists. They seemed determined that France should enjoy the unabated excitement of a continual revolution; they protested against peaceful acquiescence in what had been adopted, and nothing annoyed them so much as the supposition that their constitution was finally settled; its very imperfections were a source of consolation to them, and any new evidence of its instability was hailed as a triumph to their principles. To create discontent with the existing form of government was their object; nor were their efforts without success; they seriously damaged the republic in the eyes of the people, and it was difficult to find any who were satisfied with its working.

But while the national assembly was thus reaping laurels in so unpatriotic a field, it was kept in countenance by the doings of the president. From the first it was apparent to all who were not struck with judicial blindness, that his own personal ambition, and not the maintenance of the constitution which he had sworn to uphold, or the prosperity of the country which had recalled him from exile, was the object he had at heart. In the prosecution of his aims he adopted a mingled policy of cunning and hypocrisy, to which there are few parallels in modern times. To gratify the army, he regaled them on champagne and sausages on the plains of Satory:—while the conservative majority in the assembly were won by his apparent adherence to their illiberal and reactionary measures. Thus he gave a ready assent to the law on the 31st of May 1850, repealing universal suffrage in the election of the president and the assembly (the very law which he afterwards struggled hard to get repealed), and in order to gain over the priesthood, he sent the army into Italy in 1849, which abolished the Roman republic, and reinstated the pope.

The close of the year 1851 had been long designated as the advent of a great convulsion; no pains were spared to prepare the public mind for some alarming event; it had been the policy of all parties to exaggerate the dangers society was exposed to, and Europe at large was willing to believe that secret associations for the worst of objects covered like a network the whole surface of France; a jacquerie was announced to be at hand, and many a Cassandra prophesied that hearth, altar, life, and property were about to be engulfed in a whirlpool of socialism. These and such like rumours were put in circulation by legitimist and Orleanist, monarchist and republican, each in the hope of turning the alarm they created to his own individual advantage. The greater the distrust in existing forms, the clearer, they thought, would be the field for their own systems; the day of confusion was to be the vigil of their success, the outbreak of revolution the eve of a restoration: France frightened from her propriety would fly to any standard which promised a momentary respite, and each party believed that theirs would be the first to wave over the scene of general confusion. But, strange to tell, while the friends of either branch of the Bourbons were thus building their hopes on a national panic, and both were busy scheming the fall of the republic, while monarchists were boasting of the sympathy of the people, and socialists beginning to believe in their rumoured importance, some half-dozen individuals swept away constitution, chamber, press, tribune, law and authority throughout the realm, and constituted themselves sole arbiters and absolute masters of life, limb, power, and property within the dominion of France.

On the 2nd of Dec. 1851, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, the president, whose tenure of office was to have expired the following May, under the pretext of 'saving society,' assailed the legislative power, arrested the representatives, drove out the assembly, dissolved the council of state, expelled the high court of justice, suppressed the laws, swept the streets of Paris with grape-shot, and terrorised France.

The audacity of the stroke was only surpassed by its success; no real opponent took the field: even the choice of evils was not left: the bewildered nation, reeling under the blow, threw itself at the feet of the power which had inflicted it. The courts of justice, it is true, and the national assembly did, to their immortal honour, protest; but the love of legality was so dead that their voice did not find a single echo. Nay more, the immense majority of the nation, when afterwards appealed to, conferred on the president almost despotic powers, and thus appeared to sanction his unheard-of deeds. In the constitution then granted to France, the form of liberty was maintained, but its

spirit was suppressed. It consists of a legislative chamber, a senate, and a council of state. The legislative chamber is to be elected every six years, by universal suffrage; and the members of the senate and the council of state are nominated for life. No man of sense for a moment supposed that the republic was to be maintained after what had happened; and hence, when the president, with a view to ascertain the opinion of the nation, made a progress through various parts of the country, soon after the *coup-d'état*, there arose on all sides a cry for the reestablishment of the *Empire*. This cry could not be misunderstood; and on Dec. 2, 1852, the anniversary of the *coup-d'état*, the empire was reestablished, the president assuming the title of Napoleon III., Emperor of the French.

The assumption of the imperial title was followed almost immediately by the marriage of the emperor. On the 22nd of January 1853, he announced to the deputations who met him at the Tuileries that he had resolved on a marriage which was not in accordance with the traditions of ancient policy, and in that lay its advantage. Instead of seeking a royal alliance, which generally substitutes family interest for that of a nation, he had chosen a daughter of a Spanish nobleman whose lineage was among the noblest and the most ancient in Spain. On the 29th of January the emperor celebrated his civil marriage with Eugenia de Montijo, countess-duchess of Zéba, and the ecclesiastical ceremony was performed on the following day in the cathedral of Notre Dame.

This year was marked by a reconciliation of the two branches of the Bourbon family, by an acknowledgement of the superior title of the duc de Bordeaux. From this step the duchess of Orleans withheld her sanction, as it gave up the right of her son the comte de Paris, who was the direct heir of Louis Philippe. In effect, it only postponed them by one step, as the duc de Bordeaux had no children by his marriage.

Into the part taken by France in the Crimean war it is not necessary to enter here, as a full account is given of it in the histories of Turkey and Russia. At home, the institutions of the old empire were revived in increasing completeness. The imperial guard was again embodied, and in January 1855 the emperor addressed them on the historical associations of their name. During that year two attempts were made to assassinate him: in the one case the criminal was executed, in the other lunacy was proved, and he was shut up in an asylum. On the 2nd of July the emperor addressed the corps legislatif on the ineffectual results of the Vienna conferences, after which the bills, presented for the new war, were taken up with singular rapidity, the sum of 3,600,000,000 fr. being subscribed by about 300,000 persons. When the legislative body met again on March 3, 1856, the emperor was able to announce that the plenipotentiaries were then met in Paris to arrange definitively the terms of the peace which was to end the Russian war. On the 16th of March the empress gave birth to a son, and a further prop was thus apparently added to the dynasty of Napoleon III.

The reconciliation of the branches of the Orleans family did not last long. A letter written in January 1857, by the duc de Nemours, stated that that reconciliation was not to be regarded as an engagement, unless the duc de Bordeaux consented to maintain the tricoloured flag, and to reestablish constitutional government. As the latter maintained the impropriety of regulating such questions before the time of action arrived, the fusion of the two branches was at an end.

In January of the following year the emperor narrowly escaped assassination as he was on his way to the opera house. It was found that the leader in the attempt was an Italian named Orsini, who was arrested with three accomplices named Rudio, Pieri, and Gomez. Orsini and Pieri were executed, the other two were condemned to the galleys for life. It was owing to this event that attempts were made in the English parliament to amend the law of conspiracy. How completely those attempts failed, and what were the causes of their failure, has been already related in its place in the 'History of England.'

On the 19th of August a convention was signed which closed the sittings of the conference of representatives of the great powers who had signed the treaty of Paris in 1856. The articles related to the organisation and government of the Danubian principalities, and placed Moldavia and Wallachia under the suzerainty of the sultan, of which it strictly defined the limits.

The next important event in the history of the empire was the share taken by the emperor in the Italian war of liberation; but it is unnecessary to repeat here a narrative which belongs to the history of Italy. In the year 1861 the subject of the public debt began to attract great attention, and caused much anxiety. An able scheme to meet the difficulty was proposed by M. Fould, who suggested that the emperor should relinquish the power of opening supplementary credits, as hitherto had been the practice, without the consent of the legislative body by simple decree. Instead of this, he urged that unforeseen needs should be met by transferring the supplies voted for one service to another; in other words, that when necessity arose, it might be lawful to break through that system of rigid appropriation which is carefully maintained in England. In this system of transfers M. Fould saw 'the only practicable and effectual means of securing the public services in the absence of the legislative body,' while it would be left to the government to regularise that operation on the meeting of that body, and to replace the sums so transferred under the chapter to which they belonged. He urged further that by conceding to this body its incontestable rights, the emperor would harmonise it with his government: he would give up a privilege which existed

more in fancy than reality, to secure a budget which would be strictly in accordance with the wants of the country. The result of these suggestions was their acceptance by the emperor, who appointed M. Fould to the ministry of finance.

The year 1862 brought with it no events of any great importance to the French empire. The Mexican expedition dragged on its length slowly, without achieving any positive result. The Mexicans declared their resolution to flood the country round the city of Mexico; but the French troops had not before the close of the year reached far enough to make such a measure an immediate necessity.

The year 1863 was marked by the proposal made by the emperor for a European congress for regulating the future condition of Europe. The invitation to take part in it was distinctly declined by the British government, and although the replies of most of the other powers to whom the invitation was addressed were favourable, the project was ultimately abandoned.

The debates in the French chamber are seldom without interest, but this interest is not unlike that which attaches to good discussions in a mere debating society. The words of the speakers may produce some effects hereafter; but they will be followed by none for the present; and thus to English readers the speeches of men like M. Thiers, demanding certain reforms and claiming certain rights as indispensable conditions of liberty, are apt to become wearisome. But there was no lack of such speeches in the year 1864; nor can it be denied that, in logical and moral cogency, the liberal speakers had very much the best of it. Meanwhile, although some were found on the ministerial side to declare that only cowardly governments have believed in the liberty of the press, there were many more who appreciated the benefits already produced by the free trade convention with England. The year was also marked by another conspiracy against the life of the emperor. Greco and the other assassins asserted that they acted by the instructions of Mazzini, who denied all knowledge of the affair. Although all were convicted, none were sentenced to death. A more significant trial was that of M. Garnier l'agès and twelve others, for acting as a committee to secure the return of liberal candidates. They were defended by the most eloquent of French advocates, M. Jules Favre and M. Berryer; but their rhetoric failed to secure their acquittal. They were each condemned to a fine of 500 francs, with the costs of the prosecution, or in default of this, six months' imprisonment.

When in 1866 an immediate outbreak of war was threatened between Austria, Prussia, and Italy, the emperor, in conjunction with the governments of England and Russia, proposed a conference for the settlement of the dispute: but the scheme fell to the ground, owing to the reply of the Austrian government, that it would send a representative only on the condition that no question of territorial aggrandisement for any of the contending parties was to be discussed. As this excluded not only the question of Prussian right to Schleswig-Holstein but also that of Italy to Venetia, the French emperor declared that the conference was impossible. When in a few weeks the war had come to an end, he asked from Prussia the concession of a small strip of territory to the extreme south of her Rhenish provinces, containing valuable coal-fields near Saarbruck and Saarlouis. This was peremptorily refused, and the demand was quietly dropped. But he declared publicly that the war had destroyed the Germanic confederation and definitively established Italian nationality, and that all the new arrangements resulting from it would be beneficial to those who underwent them and in a special degree to France herself.

In December the French garrison departed from Rome, leaving, as the emperor put it, the protection of France, by way of security for the holy father. They were soon, however, to return.

Some account of the Luxemburg conference proposed by the French emperor in 1867 will be found in the histories of England and Prussia for that year.

A visit paid by Louis Napoleon to the emperor of Austria at Salzburg in August, furnished a subject for much discussion; but it was announced that the visit had no other object than to condole with the emperor on the barbarous murder of his brother the archduke Maximilian by the Mexican republicans.

From the view which could be taken at the time, the prospects of the French empire for the year 1868 were on the whole satisfactory, if not encouraging. No sufficient reason could be seen to justify a doubt of its continuance for at least many years. It is true that there had been not a few prosecutions of newspapers for articles which were supposed to be hostile to the government, and in every instance these prosecutions had ended in conviction; but a new law relating to the press was supposed to grant a larger amount of freedom than had thus far been enjoyed, and against the passing of this law one vote only had been given—that of the illustrious advocate Berryer. The right of public meeting also had been placed, it was supposed, on a firmer basis; and a pamphlet, which was regarded as authorised by the emperor himself, recounted all the beneficial measures which he had succeeded in carrying, and pointed the contrast between his system and that of preceding sovereigns of the country. Finally, a new map of France was published by the government, for the purpose of showing at how much greater advantage she stood with reference to foreign powers than in the time of the republic founded in 1848

As grounds for confidence the preface stated that the German confederation had been dissolved, the federal fortresses had ceased to exist, and that Mainz (Mayence) was occupied by Prussia alone. In former years Prussia and Austria united had been rulers of Germany. Now the states surrounding France were independent, Belgium and Switzerland being neuter, while Prussia, with the north German confederation, counted 30,000,000; Austria, 35,000,000; Italy, 22,000,000; France, with her unity, and her 40,000,000, had nothing to fear from any one of them.

Taken literally, the statement was perhaps quite true; but to be of real use it should have been shown that there was either no possibility or no likelihood of a combination between any two or more of these powers. This same preface noted the fact that the south German states with 8,000,000 were in military alliance with Prussia; and evidently it was assumed that in the event of war between Prussia and France, these states would look on with indifference, while Austria might avail itself eagerly of the opportunity of revenge for Königgrätz and Sadowa by an open alliance with France. There can now be no doubt that this conviction fed a fatal illusion, and that this illusion led by way of necessary consequence to the disasters of 1870.

1869. For yet another year France was to remain in a state of tranquillity, which led many to think that the age of her revolutions and aggressive wars had passed away. Nor were there wanting those who thought that under the rule of the third Napoleon the country might be led onwards to something like the constitutional freedom of Englishmen. A sign of this change was seen in the abandonment of what was called personal government by the emperor, who now undertook to rule through ministers directly responsible not to himself but to the chambers, these ministers to be chosen consequently from the party which for the time had the majority. The movement was certainly one in the direction of greater liberty; but the real truth was that, to keep up the fabric of empire at all, it was necessary to make some movement, and unfortunately the one now made failed to give any permanent satisfaction. The city of Paris returned as one of its members M. Henri Rochefort, who had been recently sentenced to fine and imprisonment for a seditious libel. Returning from Belgium, whither he had fled before the trial, he was arrested on the frontier; but the emperor ordered a safe-conduct to be made out for him for the whole time of the elections. While he thus indulged the candidate for Paris, he declared that he would answer for the maintenance of the order necessary for the liberty which France desired to obtain.

1870. The year which was to be fatal to the second empire began with signs which pointed rather to internal than to foreign dangers. The new cabinet of M. Ollivier had scarcely entered on its task, when the murder of Victor Noir by prince Pierre Bonaparte, to whom he was bearing a challenge to a duel, provoked the fury of the populace, which became still more excited when the verdict on his trial pronounced him not guilty. Some rioting followed the attempt to arrest M. Rochefort, and loud cries were heard in favour of a republic. On the other hand, the emperor seemed to be carrying out the plan which was to give France a larger portion of constitutional liberty. The freedom of the press was conceded, under restrictions which might possibly be found not to make it nugatory; and of his new constitution, restricting the powers of the senate, the people were invited to express their opinion by a *plebiscitum*. Of the seven millions of votes which were given, one million and a half were negative. The greater portion of the favourable votes came from the rural population; but not less than 50,000 adverse votes were given by the army, and this unexpected result seemed to show the growth of a disaffection which filled the emperor with profound uneasiness, and probably drove him a few weeks later to make the fatal plunge into a war which was to soothe their displeasure by gratifying their love of glory.

Early in July the news came that the Spanish ministers had offered the crown of Spain to prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen; and we shall see that the Spanish people objected to him not for his German but for his French descent, for his paternal grandfather was a Murat, and his maternal grandmother a Beauharnais. Still it suited the French foreign minister, the duke of Gramont, to treat the proposal as a deliberate insult to France, and to assert that if the candidature were not withdrawn, the government would know how to fulfil its duties. Seeing the storm already excited, prince Leopold of his own accord withdrew from the scheme; but with a strange infatuation which the emperor probably dared not to resist, the French government insisted on receiving from the king of Prussia a pledge that under no circumstances should the candidature be renewed. The demand was superfluous and absurd. It was rejected by the king with contempt; and his answer was followed by an immediate declaration of war on the part of the French. The world supposed, as the French themselves declared, that the doom of the German nation was sealed. The war minister, marshal Lebœuf, when questioned on the matter, declared that everything was more than ready, and that the French armies could be thrown across the Rhine long before the German troops could be brought together. The artillery had been enormously increased in power by the invention of the mitrailleuse, a movable

cannon-revolver which could discharge three or four hundred bullets in about one minute. But the confidence thus inspired was damped when the plan of invasion which was to carry the French army to Berlin was found to be impracticable. Not half the troops which were supposed to be ready were forthcoming, and the Germans, almost unopposed, crossed the Rhine and the Saar into French territory. Then after an unimportant advantage gained by the French at Saarbruck, where the imperial prince was said to have received his baptism of fire, followed a series of disasters at which the world stood aghast. On the 4th of August general Douay was killed at the head of his troops at Wissemburg, 1000 soldiers with 18 officers being made prisoners by the Germans. Two days later, in the battle of Wörth, marshal MacMahon had 10,000 of his troops killed and wounded, while 6000 became prisoners of war; and of 40,000 men scarcely 5000 were able to effect a retreat towards Chalons.

At Paris, where the popular mind had been excited with announcements of imaginary victories, the tidings of these disasters stirred up a furious rage. At the meeting of the chambers Jules Favre became spokesman for those who desired the deposition of the emperor; but an effort was made to avert this step by the formation of a new ministry, count Palikao being placed at the head of the war department, while Leboeuf was superseded in the command of the army by marshal Bazaine; and even now preparations were begun for enabling Paris to undergo the siege which seemed already a possible result of the campaign. Meanwhile, after another battle near Courcelles, the French army had retreated into Metz, while the emperor with his son made his way to Chalons. On August 16 the French were defeated near Gravelotte. On August 18 the battle of Rezonville ended in fresh disaster, 50,000 men being lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners. Bazaine's army was now effectually shut up in Metz, while MacMahon was trying to work his way to the army reserve then forming at Chalons. From this place he began a north-eastward movement, by which he hoped to effect a junction with Bazaine, and to fall with the forces thus united on the army of the crown prince of Prussia. But the German commanders instantly took their measures, and they had to contend with none of the commissariat difficulties which delayed the march of MacMahon. The march of the latter was fatally arrested on the field of Sedan. His army, miserably reduced in number, was driven under the walls of the town, which the Germans were about to bombard when a flag of surrender was sent in. Among the captives was the emperor Napoleon, whose letter set forth that as he had been unable to die at the head of his troops, he placed his sword at the feet of the Prussian king. By this capitulation the Germans received nearly 100,000 prisoners, together with nearly 500 guns, 10,000 horses, and the flags of all the regiments. In his interview with the fallen emperor, count Bismarck broached the subject of peace; Napoleon's reply was that the empress was regent of France, and that he had surrendered himself simply as an individual. Nothing more, therefore, could be done than to send him as prisoner to Wilhelmshöhe, near Cassel.

At five minutes past one, on a Sunday morning, count Palikao announced the catastrophe to the legislative body at Paris, and was again confronted by M. Jules Favre, who demanded the deposition of the emperor and the appointment of a commission to be invested with all the powers of government. The sitting was resumed at noon on the following day; but their deliberations were interrupted by the rushing in of the populace. In a few minutes the opposition, left in possession of the chamber, declared the emperor deposed, and hastening to the Hôtel de Ville, proclaimed the republic. A provisional government was formed, of which general Trochu was president, with Favre for foreign minister, while Gambetta had the portfolio for the interior. The empress managed to make her escape from the Tuileries, where the National Guard seized the correspondence of the emperor. The old revolution scenes were again exhibited. The pictures, statues, and busts of Napoleon were defaced or shattered; his name was struck out from all public buildings; and the popular fancy found comfort in the alleged fact that the king of Prussia had gone mad.

The fall of the empire seemed to justify the expectation that, as the Prussians were fighting with a dynasty and not with the French people, there would now be no hindrance in the way of peace. But count Bismarck had already declared on the part of the Germans that they should insist on material guarantees which would give Germany the advantage in the event of any future war. In a grandiloquent despatch M. Jules Favre thought fit to meet this declaration by the rejoinder, that although the French people condemned the war, and were not chargeable with the outbreak of it, they yet would in no case cede an inch of their territory or a stone of their fortresses. This bravado, which subsequent events scarcely justified, called forth from count Bismarck the very natural rejoinder that the demand for a peace without conditions could be founded only on the notion that the Germans were lacking in judgment, or were indifferent to the interests of their country. The Germans were determined, he said, to be protected henceforth by better boundaries against the violence which they had undergone at the hands of all French governments for centuries.

From themselves Europe needed to fear no disturbance of peace; but they had no intention of foregoing the price of their mighty efforts.

There was, in truth, not much to inspirit the French rulers. Bazaine was shut up in Metz with an army of nearly 300,000 men, and his repeated efforts to break out of the city were foiled utterly. Meanwhile the army of the crown prince was marching towards Paris; and in the ranks of the enemy were found the contingents of those south German states on whose jealousies the French emperor had counted as one of the strongest circumstances in his favour. Austria indeed stood aloof, but the other states had come forward at once to make common cause with the north German confederation. While the enemy was thus united, the French people were in confusion. The assembly had been dissolved; a new assembly had not been elected, and the members of the government held office only at the will of the people of Paris, and were, in count Bismarck's phrase, mere men of the pavement. Negotiations were begun to no purpose. The Germans demanded the surrender of Toul, Verdun, and Strasburg as the condition of an armistice, which was to give time for the election of a new assembly; but this concession was precluded by the circular of M. Jules Favre, and Paris soon saw the German hosts take up their position for the last act in the great drama. Before the month of September reached its close, Strasburg had capitulated, more than 17,000 soldiers being surrendered to the Germans; and to this city the seat of government for Elsas (Alsace) was now removed. Early in October the Prussian king entered Versailles, and it gradually became clear that his design was to reduce Paris not by bombardment but by famine. A circular addressed to the foreign powers warned them of the frightful misery which might ensue on the taking of Paris by no fault of the German leaders, whose troops must necessarily exhaust all the resources of the country, so that nothing would be left for the population of the city if their supplies within the walls should all have been exhausted.

Away from Paris the strife on the French side was assuming the character of a guerilla warfare, and the Germans resolved on imposing a fine of a million francs on any department in which bands of Franc-tireurs might be found in arms. At Tours, where the provisional government had taken refuge, Gambetta introduced general Garibaldi, who had left his home to fight for the French republic; but while he was making gigantic efforts to organise fresh armies, the surrender of Metz, the virgin fortress of Lorraine, raised the number of French prisoners in the hands of the Germans to more than 300,000 men, and more than 10,000 officers. Neither at Paris nor elsewhere could the people understand the state of things which had brought about this crowning disaster; and the cry of treachery everywhere uttered was loudly echoed by Gambetta. At Paris signs were seen of troubles which were to assume larger proportions in the coming year; but for the time, the effort to bring about an immediate installation of the commune was unsuccessful. By a majority of about six to one the people of Paris declared in favour of the existing government of defence. Time wore on; and M. Thiers made a fresh attempt to arrest the progress of the war by asking for an armistice. Other difficulties stood in the way; but the negotiations broke down chiefly on the question of the revictualling of Paris. M. Thiers insisted that on this point Paris should have full freedom. Count Bismarck retorted, that by consenting to this the Germans would sacrifice the results of all the efforts made during the last two months, and that the demand proved the insincerity of the French government, who could not really wish for a peace which they thus rendered impossible. The long series of French disasters was broken by the battle of Coulmiers, in which general d'Aurelle de Paladines defeated the German leader Von der Tann with a loss of 10,000 prisoners; but this success was followed by fresh misfortunes, and Orleans, which D'Aurelle had recovered, was again in the hands of the Germans.

The tidings of his success led general Trochu at Paris to resolve on making an attempt to break the lines of the besiegers; and general Ducrot, who was supposed by some to have broken his parole given on his leaving Metz, declared that he would re-enter Paris only dead or victorious. The struggle which ensued was terrible, but the result was such as to convince the provisional government at Tours of the need of a further retreat to Bordeaux. The Germans were at the same time advancing towards the north-west. Rouen was in their hands on the 5th December; Dieppe was occupied on the 9th. Elsewhere, Ricciotti Garibaldi obtained some success at Chatillon, which caused the Germans a little anxiety; but if his father kept his position at Autun, it was at the cost of an unpopularity which threatened to make his co-operation in the war worse than useless.

1871. In the origin and conduct of the great struggle in which France was now engaged, a strange infatuation seems to have mastered both the people and their rulers. The government of defence had taken up the task of carrying on a war which they condemned, while they vowed that nothing would induce them to yield an inch of their land or a stone of their fortresses, as though all the acquisitions of the former French kings and despots had been absolutely righteous and equitable. Battle after battle had been lost; Paris was invested by the German armies;

and Frenchmen still insisted that the raw levies which were attempting to take the field would succeed in breaking the iron circle. This doctrine Gambetta preached with vehement earnestness; and no amount of failure abated his confidence.

It had been the wish of the Germans to reduce Paris by simple blockade; but the gathering of new French forces, ill-trained though they might be, in their rear, led them to determine on unmasking their batteries. By two sorties (the second taking place on the 18th of January, the day on which the Germans at Versailles celebrated the elevation of the Prussian king to the imperial dignity) the Parisians tried to resist the progress of the bombardment. Both completely failed; and general Trochu resigned his command to Vinoy. Disasters were thickening on all sides. The army of the north under Faidherbe lost in the battle of St Quentin 15,000 men, and the remainder reached Lille in a state of utter disorganisation. In the west, Chancy underwent a defeat not less signal at Le Mans; while the third army, under Bourbaki and his successor Clinchamp, was driven back until in the greatest misery it was compelled to cross the Swiss border, the men being there "interned," as the phrase goes, as prisoners on a neutral soil. In Paris the death-rate was assuming fearful proportions; and although 8000 horses, hitherto kept for public service, were sent to the shambles, it was found that, by a miscalculation of the available resources, the city was eight days nearer to starvation than it was supposed to be. It was obvious that a capitulation was inevitable; but an attempt was made to separate the surrender of Paris from the general course of the war, which was to go on unaffected by it. To this the German leaders would not consent; but an armistice was arranged for a fortnight, and the more urgent wants of the inhabitants were supplied by some millions of rations of food sent in by the Germans, as well as by contributions from England. At Bordeaux the tidings of the armistice were received with an impotent cry of war to the uttermost; and Gambetta issued a decree which declared that none should be eligible as candidates for the national assembly now to be elected who had held any office under the second empire. To this decree Bismarck objected, as restraining the freedom of election stipulated for in the armistice. Gambetta retorted by denying the right of Prussians to interfere in the case; but the Parisian government of the national defence was compelled on February 4th to issue a counter-decree declaring that of Gambetta to be null and void. In Paris nearly one-fourth of the electors abstained from voting, and the Red Republicans, having it all their own way, elected, among others, Louis Blanc, Victor Hugo, Garibaldi, Gambetta, Rochefort, Rane, and Delescluze; but the general character of the assembly was decidedly moderate and conservative. On the strength of this fact, Bismarck extended the armistice for ten days; and within that time the surrender of Belfort closed the field operations of the Franco-German war. Chosen as head of the executive, M. Thiers agreed on preliminary terms of peace, which surrendered to Germany the fifth part of Lorraine (Lothringen), including Metz, together with all Alsace (Elsas), except Belfort, and pledged the country to the payment of a war-indemnity of five milliards of francs, or £200,000,000. These terms, in spite of vehement opposition from Gambetta and others, were adopted by a vote of 546 against 107; and for three days a part of Paris was occupied by German troops, Bismarck having resolved that they should not be defrauded of a privilege which he believed to be their due.

This occupation furnished to the Red Republican party in Paris the opportunity which they had been patiently seeking for a revolt against the existing order of society. Under the pretext of securing the artillery from the hands of the enemy, they removed a large number of guns to positions of their own choosing, and a heavy battery, directed towards Paris, was erected on the Place St Pierre at Montmartre. In a few days they had 400 guns, while 100,000 of the National Guards had taken their side. The dangers which now menaced the city led the assembly at Bordeaux to determine that Versailles, and not Paris, should be the scene of its future deliberations. The decision was prudent, for the insurgents of Paris refused to surrender their cannon; and seeing the vacillation of the government, detachments of the revolted National Guards dragged the guns from the Place des Vosges to the Buttes Chaumont. This defiance was answered by the mission of a strong force under Vinoy and Le Comte, who by prompt action might easily have seized and removed the artillery; but their own artillery came two hours too late; and not only were they driven off, but generals Le Comte and Clement Thomas were seized by the insurgents and murdered. The central committee of the National Guard, headed by Assi, now assumed the functions of government; but, with the exception of Assi, not one member of this body was known in the political world. These men, belonging to the International Working Men's Association, had advanced to a degree of enlightenment far beyond that which had led to the founding of this society; and their objects were now nothing less than the abolition of all religion, the suppression of marriage, and the self-government of the people, which, by their interpretation, involved the constitution of land as the common property of the multitude. Thus far the doctrine of the commune (a word which was now to acquire a terrible significance) had been

that each municipality should govern itself in all local matters, after the English fashion, without the interference of government prefects. They now insisted that all the communes and provinces of France should be independent of the government and of each other, and that the only connexion between them should be a federal bond, which might be either slack or tight, as it should please them. In short, they wished to go back to the old Greek system of autonomous city-communities; nor was it likely that they would long hesitate to lay down the logical conclusion that part of this autonomy must be the liberty of the communes and provinces to make war upon each other.

By this new *régime* nine committees were chosen to preside over nine different departments of government; and the authority of the government at Versailles was repudiated by an official decree. Flying from the coming storm, 160,000 persons, it is said, made their way from Paris, while the German forces maintained a vigilant watch on the unhappy city. Paris was now to be besieged again, but this time it was to be assailed as well as defended by Frenchmen. In the first conflict the Versailles troops had the advantage. All the prisoners taken were forthwith shot; and by way of retaliation an immense sortie was organised, which ended in thorough failure. The communist general Duval, taken by the Versaillists, was at once put to death, and the central committee announced that for the future all such executions should be followed by the death of the same or double the number of prisoners in the hands of the commune. A few days later the archbishop of Paris was arrested as a hostage, with his two grand vicars, and imprisoned in La Roquette. For some time little more was done. Thiers hesitated to take any decided step until everything should be ready; and on the communist side, general Cluseret, by enforced military service, was doing all that he could to organize a firm opposition. He probably did more than he ought; for many of the men thus forced into service had, it is said, but little devotion to the communist cause. At length marshal MacMahon found himself early in May in command of 128 batteries directed against the city. On the first day Fort Issy was taken, with 109 guns, and little doubt remained as to the issue of the struggle. The communists belied their name, if common action was one of the qualities supposed to be denoted by it. Few officers were suffered to command for more than a few days. The imprisonment of Lullier, Bergeret, and Assi was followed by the dismissal of Delescluze, the retirement of Rane, late secretary to Gambetta, the arrest of Cluseret, and the appointment of his young aide-de-camp Rossel in his place.

But while offices were multiplied to check others, until they grew to a perfect network, the sinews of war were rapidly wasting away. A little money had been raised by sacking the house of M. Thiers, and robbing him of his pictures, books, and statues. Some more was obtained by pulling down the Vendôme column, and selling the metal of which it was made, while the communists had the further satisfaction of kicking and spitting on the shattered statue of the first Napoleon which had stood on its summit. By way of illustrating their doctrine of freedom, newspaper after newspaper was suppressed, and even Henri Rochefort left Paris with the protest, that in the present state of things his own journal would not condescend to appear. The few attempts made at negotiation with Versailles came to nothing, and in less than a week Rossel resigned his office, telling the communists plainly that he had two lines to choose between—to break the obstacles which hampered his action, or to withdraw. "I shall not break the obstacle," he said, "for that obstacle is you and your weakness: I will not attempt to make myself dictator. I retire, and have the honour to demand a cell at Mazas."

On the 21st of May a Versailles force was admitted within the St Cloud gate, which had been left undefended. On the following day 80,000 troops of the government were steadily forcing their way into Paris. During the following night the communists crowned their achievements by setting fire to the city; and while the flames were devouring the Tuileries, the Louvre, the Hôtel de Ville, and other great buildings, a court-martial, of which Ferré was the president, condemned to death the archbishop of Paris with his fellows. The prelate, who had raised his voice in protest against the passage of the new Vatican dogma, died by the bullets of the communists; and his death was followed by indiscriminate murder. The slaughter of defenceless prisoners was made to convicted criminals a condition for recovering their liberty. Others Ferré sent with sedulous care, laden with cans of petroleum, to feed the flames which were leaping from house to house and street to street. Well might Thiers say, in announcing these events to the prefects of the departments, "The human conscience is indignant at the monstrous acts which France and the world have now witnessed." His words would have retained immeasurably more force if the punishment of the communists had been less sweeping. All who were found with arms in their hands, and many who had none, were summarily slain. Women were cut down as well as men, for the story ran that not a few had been seen pouring petroleum on the fires or kindling it in the public streets. So ended, after two months, the despotism of the commune of Paris—a despotism for which no excuse can be offered, except that, like the frantic revolution of the eighteenth century, it was the fruit of ages of mis-

government and oppression. Maintained by such weapons, the most righteous cause would deserve execration; and the communists of Paris assuredly took the best means of teaching the world that their cause had neither justice nor reason to recommend it.

No longer hampered by this terrible foe, M. Thiers could now turn his whole energy to the task of ridding France of the invaders by a speedy payment of the war-indemnity, from which a deduction of 325 millions of francs was to be made for railways in Alsace and Lorraine, to be taken over by the conquerors. In addition to this the country must provide for the enormous cost of the war on its own side. These burdens might well be thought crushing; they were met partly by increased taxation, and by the imposition of fresh duties, which, in no way to M. Thiers's dissatisfaction, scattered to the winds the theory of free trade, and partly by a national loan, which was taken up with so much readiness that in a few days four milliards and a half of francs had been collected. Nor was this the full weight of the obligations laid upon the country. The inhabitants of the districts occupied by the enemy must be recompensed for the losses which they had undergone, and the cases of distress were relieved by a sum which the chambers administered by the hands of delegates.

The number of communist prisoners in the hands of the government was over 30,000. Of these, 10,000 at least were set free without trial; but severer measures were dealt out to those who had been conspicuous in the usurpation. Ferré, who had presided at the murder of the archbishop, was with Lullier condemned to death, and was executed along with Rossel, whose doom was sealed less by his having been a communist leader than by the fact that he had served and held a commission in the national army.

France now fell back into its normal state of faction or disunion. Sixteen parties, it is said, divided the forces of the assembly; and the nation had to choose between the republic, the empire, the constitutional monarchy of the Orleanists, and the divine-right theory of Henry V., the count of Chambord; and even the cause of the latter might have been successful but for the obstinacy which led him to insist that, come what might, his white flag must be the flag of France, if France should choose him as her king. Meanwhile the question of ways and means was becoming more and more pressing. Thiers wished to keep up and increase the army. M. Pouyer-Quertier wished that the strength of the country should be put out in agriculture. Some wished to raise the revenue chiefly by means of a duty on imports of raw material; others protested against the measure as likely to have a ruinous effect on the most important industries of France. The system of protection so far prevailed that notice was given for the termination of the treaty of commerce with England; and even the tax on raw material was accepted as an imperious necessity for the time.

There remained yet other work for the government in 1872. A large number of communists were still in prison awaiting trial; and the disposition of the commission appointed to inquire into the insurrection of March 18th of the previous year was sufficiently shown by their report, which spoke of it as an invasion of barbarians who sought to destroy the moral fabric of society, who attacked not only property but the family, who arraigned the existence of God and the immortality of the soul. These charges were held by some to be exaggerated; the only question is as to the fact. If they denied the existence of God, it was well that this fact should be known. There were fallen generals to deal with. The emperor, who was charged with having directly brought about the catastrophe of Sedan, was out of their reach, but he wrote to say that he fully accepted the responsibility for the surrender, as the army had been altogether outnumbered. Before the capitulation of Strasburg, general Ulrich had been all that was great; now he was regarded as having allowed bad discipline, and as having shown want of foresight and integrity. In his request for a public trial he was imitated by marshal Bazaine, who had been openly charged with deliberate treachery; but this trial was not to come on till the following year. Meanwhile many a communist paid on the field of Satory the penalty for their insane assault against order and law. At Grenoble, Gambetta insisted on the necessity of selecting the public servants from a lower social circle, and thus alarmed terribly the old conservatism of the highest classes. At the same time, Legitimists, Orleanists, and Bourbonists found it convenient to take part in pilgrimages to Lourdes, Delivrande, and La Salette. High hopes were entertained of a speedy restoration of monarchy. The assembly, when it met, busied itself with matters of trade and finance, and then passed to questions concerning forms of government. M. Thiers insisted that the republic, to keep order, must be conservative, and order was indispensable to the nation. Angry debates were followed by a threat on his part to resign; but although he was persuaded to retract his resolution, the dead-lock seemed to be unaffected.

The history of the year 1873 carried on the same almost interminable controversy. In the course of it M. Thiers fell from power, and marshal MacMahon, chosen in his place, extorted a guarantee for the continuance of his authority for a definite time; but it cannot be said that the French people were, as a whole,

any the more agreed on the subject of their political constitution. At the beginning of the year the death of the ex-emperor Napoleon at Chiselhurst seemed to be a break-up of the Bonapartist factions, and left more room for the play of the other contending parties. The temper of these ran high in the assembly, but M. Thiers, intent on getting the Germans out of the country, was more anxious to balance them than to come to any definite issue. On March 16th he was able to inform his ministers that by a treaty which he had just signed, the Germans would in little more than three months evacuate the four provinces still occupied by them, and that they would retain only the fortress of Verdun (Belfort he had refused to give up to them) as a pledge for the full payment of the indemnity. Even this mighty fine was paid before many weeks had passed away, and France was once more free to give her whole attention to her internal affairs. But the enthusiasm thus awakened failed to make Thiers more popular as president, and on the 24th of May the country accepted marshal MacMahon, duke of Magenta, as its chief ruler. The marshal declared at once his determinatiou to defend society against all factions, and said that he regarded himself as a sentinel charged with the duty of watching over the integrity of the sovereign power of the people. While angry passions still agitated the assembly, some business was done. A bill was passed for the reorganisation of the army, the former commercial treaties with England and Belgium were in substance revived, and M. Thiers's favourite duty on raw material was repealed.

A visit paid at this time by the count of Paris to the count of Chambord at Frohsdorf was regarded as a token of complete reconciliation between the Orleanists and Legitimists; and this circumstance heightened the enthusiasm with which a certain section of the people gave themselves this year to the task of pilgrimage, the avowed object being to go back not merely for a few generations, but to the religious fervour of the middle ages themselves. With red crosses over their hearts and rosaries in their hands, crowds took their way to Lourdes and La Salette, scenes where the Virgin had manifested herself to peasant boys and girls, and to Paray-le-Monial, where some 200 years ago the revelation of the sacred heart of Jesus had been vouchsafed to the nun Margaret Marie Alacoque. Expectations were raised high when M. Chesnelong brought to Paris the report that the count of Chambord was willing to accept the compromise without which his restoration was manifestly impossible. To the dismay of his supporters, the count, on hearing what had taken place, wrote to disavow the words ascribed to him, and the dreams of the Monarchists were rudely broken. France, it was clear, would not have a king at the present time; the only practicable step was to keep the ground open as long as possible, without allowing the forces of revolution to gain strength. This might be done by prolonging for a definite period marshal MacMahon's term of office. A proposal to extend it for ten years was lost; the suggestion of five years was rejected by MacMahon himself; the speech of M. Rouher, who wished the time to be three years, was received as an intimation that this arrangement would just suit the prince imperial, who would then be twenty-one years of age. In the end the vote was given for seven years. On the last night of the debate the count of Chambord was at Versailles, with the full intention of presenting himself to the people, if the result should be against the extension of the president's authority.

The political year closed with the trial of marshal Bazaine, who was found by the unanimous verdict of the court guilty of having capitulated before the enemy in the open field, and of having negotiated with them before having done everything prescribed by honour and duty, and was on these grounds condemned to death. But to this verdict the judges unanimously added a recommendation for mercy; and the penalty was commuted to imprisonment for twenty years in the Isle St Marguerite. The sentence was considered just. The events of the following year seemed to show that, nevertheless, the result was regarded as a mere annoyance; nor can there be much doubt that, on calm reflexion, incompetence seemed to be a better solution of the mystery than deliberate treason.

The passing of the Mayors' Nomination Bill early in 1874 made the government virtually master of the municipalities of France; and the act was immediately used for the purpose of strengthening marshal MacMahon in his septennate, as his seven years' term of office was called. But the satisfaction of the government was in some measure damped when the Bonapartist, Mr Rouher, writing to the editor of an imperialist journal, spoke of the arrangement as the best that could be framed in the interests of their cause; and cautious instructions were given to the prefects to guard against any demonstration which might imply that the prince imperial had a right to reign over France by virtue of the constitution (now abolished) which had fixed his majority on his attaining the full age of eighteen years. This he would do on March 16th; and on that day his court at Chislehurst was attended by a number of French statesmen, which left no doubt that the empire, if restored, would be well supported by men of wide political experience. Bonapartism was, in fact, gaining ground. In the department of the Nièvre an equerry of the late emperor was returned by a majority of more than 5000

votes over the republican candidate; and M. Gambetta, speaking at Auxerre, denounced the spread of Cæsarian or pseudo-democracy. An appeal to the people, he insisted, was the abdication of the people; and this was all that the Bonapartists sought by means of the "filthy fraud of a *plebiscitum*." By the Legitimists one more effort was made when the duke of Rochefoucauld-Bisaccia, French ambassador at London, came forward in the assembly to propose a resolution, which affirmed that the government of France is a monarchy, having at its head the chief of the house of France, and appointed marshal MacMahon lieutenant-general of the kingdom. On his defeat, the ambassador at once resigned his post; and a finishing stroke was given to the business by a manifesto, in which the count of Chambord declared to all Frenchmen that his birth had made him their king, but that, although he had no desire for arbitrary power, he would not endure the barren parliamentary struggles which so frequently leave the sovereign powerless, or the foreign theory of a king who reigns and does not govern. In short, he knew nothing of compacts or conditions; and the French would submit to no king at all.

The condition of the country was not in all points satisfactory. Mysterious murders in the canton of Simours, never more than partially cleared up, seemed to point to serious demoralisation; but otherwise there is not much to record. A claimant for the crown urged pretensions which would outweigh those of the count of Chambord himself, if he were, as he asserted that he was, the son of the unfortunate child who was left shut up in the Temple when Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette fell victims to the popular fury. The legal suit instituted to try this issue ended in complete defeat. The next noteworthy incident is the escape of M. Rochefort with five of his fellow-prisoners from the island of New Caledonia; and this was followed by the still more surprising news that Bazaine had escaped from his prison in St Marguerite. The officers of the jail were with some others put on their trial; but the lightness of the sentences inflicted showed that the event was regarded rather as a relief than as a subject for regret.

In the autumn the last relic of the old French occupation of Rome was lost to sight by the withdrawal of the French man-of-war "Orénoque" from Civita Vecchia.

On the opening of the assembly the message from the president informed the members that he was resolved to maintain his position till the last day of the septennate "with immutable firmness and respect for the law;" and the announcement was received by the majority within the house, and by the public generally, as a ground of hope that France might have a fair breathing-time from controversies on which for two years or more a large amount of valuable time had been spent, or, as some might be tempted to say, wasted.

THE HISTORY OF SPAIN.

This country, situated in the south-west of Europe, and bounded by the Atlantic, the Mediterranean, Portugal, and France, was well known to the Phœnicians at least a thousand years before the Christian era; yet it appears to have been very imperfectly known to the Greeks in the time of Herodotus. As far as history or tradition makes us acquainted with its aboriginal inhabitants, they were the Celtæ and Iberians, who became blended in the common name of Celtiberians. Till the coming of the Carthaginians into Spain, however, nothing certain can be affirmed of the Spaniards, and this happened not long before the first Punic war.

In ancient times Spain was regarded as a country replete with riches; and though at the time of the Roman conquest prodigious quantities of gold and silver had been carried out of it by the Carthaginians and Tyrians, it still had the reputation of being very rich. We are informed by Aristotle, that when the Phœnicians first arrived in Spain they exchanged their naval commodities for such immense quantities of silver, that their ships could neither contain nor sustain their load, though they used it for ballast, and made their anchors and other implements of silver. Nor could it have been much diminished when the Carthaginians came, since the inhabitants at that time made all their utensils, even their mangers, of that precious metal. In the time of the Romans this amazing plenty was greatly reduced; still their gleanings were by no means despicable, since in nine years they carried off 111,542 lbs. of silver, and 4,095 lbs. of gold, besides an immense quantity of coin and other things of value.

Although the earliest inhabitants of Spain appear to have consisted of Celtic tribes, which probably entered the peninsula from the neighbouring country of Gaul, and occupied the northern districts, there is every reason to believe that the southern part of the country was possessed by the Mauritani from the opposite coast of Africa; the narrowness of the strait of Gibraltar, and the valuable products of Spain, being inducements quite sufficient for the African barbarians to form settlements there. Accordingly, the Carthaginians, whose descent from the Phœnicians led them to traffic with all those nations who could supply them with useful commodities, early directed their views towards Spain, and about the year 300 B.C. had established a colony in the north-east of the peninsula, and founded the town of Barceno, the modern Barcelona. In the course of the same century their ambition and jealousy of the Romans induced them to attempt the conquest of a country so advantageously situated for their commercial enterprises. This attempt gave rise to the second Punic war. The result was the gradual annexation of the whole peninsula to the Roman republic; and it continued, under the name of Hispania, to form an important province of the empire for nearly seven centuries. It was usually divided into three great portions, Lusitania, Bœtica or Hispania Ulterior, and Tarraconensis or Hispania Citerior.

The Spaniards were naturally brave; and though the inhabitants of the eastern and southern coasts had been reduced to a state of servile subjection, yet, as the Romans penetrated farther into the country than the Carthaginians had done, they met with nations whose love of liberty was equal to their valour, and whom the whole strength of their empire was scarcely able to subdue. Of these the most formidable were the Numantines, Cantabrians, and Asturians. In the time of the third punic war, one Viriathus, a celebrated hunter, and afterwards the captain of a gang of banditti, took upon him the command of some nations who had been in alliance with Carthage, and ventured to oppose the Roman power in that part of Spain called Lusitania, now Portugal. The prætor Vetilius, who commanded in those parts, marched against him with 10,000 men; but was defeated and killed with the loss of 4,000 of his troops. The Romans immediately despatched another prætor with 10,000 foot and 1,300 horse; but Viriathus, having first cut off a detachment of 4,000 of them, engaged the rest in a pitched battle, and having entirely defeated them, reduced great part of the country. Another prætor, who was sent with a new army, met with the same fate; so that, after the destruction of Carthage, the Romans thought proper to send their consul, Quintus Fabius, who defeated the Lusitanians in several battles. It is not, however, necessary to pursue this portion of the Spanish history with minuteness; suffice it to say, that after many severe contests, in which the Romans were often obliged to yield to the bravery of the Celtiberians, Numantines, and Cantabrians, Scipio Æmilianus, the destroyer of Carthage, was sent against Numantia, which, after a most desperate resistance, submitted to the Roman commander, though scarcely an inhabitant survived to grace the conqueror's triumph. This was a final overthrow, and the whole of Spain very speedily became a province of Rome, governed by two annual prætors.

Nothing of importance now occurred in the history of the peninsula till the civil war between Marius and Sylla: B.C. 76. The latter having crushed the Marian faction, proscribed all those that had joined against him whom he could not destroy

Among these was Sertorius, who had collected a powerful army from the relics of that party, and contended with great success against Caius Annius and Metellus, who were sent against him. Sertorius now formed a design of erecting Lusitania into an independent republic; and so vigorously were his measures prosecuted, that the Romans became seriously alarmed for the safety of their empire in that quarter.

On the death of Sylla, the most eminent generals in Rome contended for the honour of having the command of the army which it was intended to send against this formidable enemy. After some deliberation, the management of this war was intrusted to Pompey, afterwards surnamed the Great, though he had not yet attained the consular dignity. Metellus was not, however, recalled; but Sertorius for a long time proved more than a match for them both; and after establishing himself in Lusitania, he made such perpetual attacks on their united armies, that they found it necessary to separate, one retreating into Gaul, and the other to the foot of the Pyrenees. Treachery at length effected for the Roman cause what valour tried in vain; the bold and skilful Sertorius being assassinated at an entertainment by Perperna, after having made head against the Roman forces for almost ten years. Pompey now pressed forward with redoubled ardour against the insurgent army, and the troops, deprived of their able leader, were finally subdued by him.

Though conquered, Spain was not altogether in a state of tranquillity; many of the most warlike nations, particularly the Cantabrians and Asturians, continuing, wherever opportunities presented themselves, to struggle for their independence. But from the time of Agrippa, who carried on a war of extermination against them, till the decline of the western empire, they remained in quiet subjection to the Romans. Augustus himself founded the colony of Cæsar Augusta (Saragossa) and Augusta Emerita (Merida). For 400 years the Roman manners and language took root in the Spanish provinces. In the arts of war and peace, the peninsula at that period rivalled Rome; and it gave birth to many men of first-rate character and abilities; among them, Pomponius Mela, Seneca, Lucan, Trajan, and Theodosius the Great.

In the reign of the emperor Honorius, the Gothic tribes of Vandals, Suevi, and Alans spread themselves over the peninsula. About the year 420 the brave Wallia founded the kingdom of the Visigoths in Spain. The Vandals, from whom Andalusia received its name, could not withstand him, and withdrew into Africa in a few years after. The Visigoths, under Euric, extended their kingdom by the expulsion of the Romans in 484; and at length Leovigild, in 583, overthrew the kingdom of the Suevi, in Gallicia. Under his successor, Recared I., the introduction of the catholic faith gave the corrupt Latin language the predominance over the Gothic; and, after that time, the unity of the Spanish nation was maintained by the catholic religion and the political influence of the clergy.

Towards the end of the seventh century, the Saracens (the name adopted by the Arabs after their settlement in Europe) having overrun Barbary with a rapidity which nothing could resist, and possessed themselves of the Gothic dominions in Africa, made a descent upon Spain. Roderic, the king of the Goths, was a usurper, and having occasioned great disaffection among his subjects, he determined to come to an engagement, knowing that he could not depend upon the fidelity of his own people if he allowed the enemy time to tamper with them. The two armies met in a plain near Xeres, in Andalusia. The Goths began the attack with great fury; but they were totally defeated, and Roderic in his flight was drowned in the Guadalquiver, A.D. 711.

Nearly the whole of Spain was brought under the dominion of the Moors (as the Arabs of Spain are usually called) by this decisive battle; those Goths who still contended for independence retiring into the mountainous parts of Asturias, Burgos, and Biscay. But in 718 their power began to revive under Pelayo (or Don Pelagio), a prince of the royal blood, who headed those that had retired to the mountains after the fatal battle of Xeres. In the most inaccessible parts of these regions Pelayo established himself; and such were its natural defences, that although the Moorish governor, Alakor, sent a powerful army to crush him, the followers of Pelayo were so concealed among the precipices, that, almost unseen, they annihilated their enemies. In a second attempt the Moors were equally unsuccessful, nearly the whole of their army being either cut in pieces or taken prisoners.

At this time the greater part of Spain became a province of the caliphs of Bagdad; but in the middle of the eighth century Abderahman, the caliph's viceroy in Spain, threw off the yoke, and rendered himself independent, fixing the seat of his government at Cordova. Abderahman's first care was to regulate the affairs of his kingdom; and though he could not alter the Mahommedan laws, which are unchangeable as the koran wherein they are written, he appointed just magistrates, released his Christian subjects from a great part of the tribute-money hitherto extracted from them, and patronised commerce and the arts. At Cordova he built one of the most superb mosques in the world, and it still remains a splendid monument of the skill and magnificence of that enlightened people.

The descendants of Abderahman continued for nearly two centuries to reign in Spain, at their capital Cordova, patronising the sciences and arts, particularly astronomy and medicine, at a period when Christian Europe was immersed in ignorance and barbarism. In 778, Charlemagne entered Spain with two great armies, one passing through Catalonia, and the other through Navarre, where he pushed his conquests as far as the Ebro. On his return

he was attacked and defeated by the Moors; though this did not prevent him from keeping possession of all those places he had reduced.

In the meantime the kingdom founded by Pelayo, now called the kingdom of Leon and Oviedo, continued to increase rapidly in strength, and many advantages were gained over the Moors. In the early part of the tenth century, a distinguished general, named Mohammod Ebn Amir Almanzor, appeared to support the sinking cause of that people. He took the city of Leon, which he reduced to ashes, and destroyed the inhabitants. Barcelona shared the same fate; Castile was reduced and depopulated; Galicia and Portugal ravaged; and he is said to have overcome the Christians in fifty different engagements. A pestilence, however, having attacked his army just after he had demolished the city of Compostella, and carried off in triumph the gates of the church of St. James, the Christians superstitiously attributed it to a divine judgement; and, in the full persuasion that the Moors were destitute of all heavenly aid, they fell upon them with such fury in the next battle, that all the valour of Almanzor and his soldiers could not save them from a terrible defeat; and, overcome with shame and despair, he starved himself to death.

During this period a new Christian principality appeared in Spain, namely, that of Castile, which lay in the middle between the Christian kingdom of Leon and Oviedo, and the Moorish kingdom of Cordova. This district soon became an object of contention between the kings of Leon and those of Cordova; but by degrees Castile fell entirely under the power of the kings of Leon and Oviedo; in 1035, Don Sanchez bestowed it on his son, Don Ferdinand, with the title of king; and by this event the territories of Castile were first firmly united to those of Leon and Oviedo, and the sovereigns were from that time styled kings of Leon and Castile.

Arragon, another Christian kingdom, was set up in Spain about the beginning of the eleventh century. The history of Arragon, however, during its infancy, is but little known. But about the year 1035, Don Sanchez, surnamed the Great, king of Navarre, erected Arragon into a kingdom in favour of his son, Don Ramiro, and afterwards it became very powerful. At this time the continent of Spain was divided into two unequal parts, by a straight line drawn from east to west, from the coasts of Valentia to a little below the mouth of the Douro. The country north of this belonged to the Christians, who, as yet, had the smallest and least valuable share, and all the rest to the Moors. In point of wealth and real power both by land and sea the Moors were greatly superior; but their continual dissensions weakened them, and every day facilitated the progress of the Christians.

The Moorish governments, indeed, being weakened by changes of dynasties, as well as by internal dissensions, the Christian kings wrested from them one portion of the country after another, till, after the great victory which the united Christian princes gained over the Moors, in 1222, at Tolosa, in Sierra Morena, there remained to them only the kingdom of Granada, which was likewise obliged to acknowledge the Castilian supremacy in 1246, and was finally conquered by Ferdinand and Isabella.

In 1080, the king of Toledo engaged in a war with the king of Seville, another Moorish potentate, which being observed by Alphonso VI. king of Castile, he also invaded his territories, and in four years made himself master of the city of Toledo, with all the places of importance in its neighbourhood, and from that time he made Toledo the capital of his dominions. In a short time the whole province of New Castile submitted, and Madrid fell into the hands of the Christians.

The only son of Alphonso IX. died without heirs; and Ferdinand III. the son of Alphonso's daughter Berengaria united Castile and Leon. Having thus become more powerful than the former kings, he conquered Baeza and Cordova, and made himself master of Seville, A.D. 1248. Setting out thence, he gained possession of Cadiz. In vain the mountains of Jaen opposed themselves to his career; the coasts no longer allowed reinforcements to arrive from Africa to the Arabian Spaniards, and Granada was henceforward their chief possession.

Ferdinand III., after conquering Cordova, Murcia, Jaen, Seville, Cadiz, and subjecting Granada to a feudal dependence on him, became, in 1252, the true founder of Castile, by establishing the rule of indivisibility and primogeniture in the succession. Still the whole was as yet an imperfect confederation. The privileges granted to the Jews in Spain, in the middle ages, had an injurious influence on the government and the public welfare. They were placed nearly on a level with the nobles; they were appointed ministers of finance, farmers of the public revenues, and stewards to the great; thus they obtained possession of all the money in the country, and, by their excessive usury, at length excited a universal outcry against them; and, in 1492, they were banished for ever, to the number of 800,000, from Spain. The improvement of the country was much retarded by the defects in the public administration, particularly in regard to the taxes, by powerful vassals, bad kings, and family disputes; so that the third estate was not formed in Castile till A.D. 1325, two hundred years later than that of Arragon, and with inferior privileges. Meanwhile the Cortes, consisting of the estates of the kingdom, namely, the clergy, the high nobility, the orders of knights, and eighteen great cities, restricted the royal power, without, however, bringing about a state of legal order. But, in Arragon, of which Alphonso I., since the conquest of Saragossa, in 1115, had been in complete possession, the third estate was formed before the middle of the twelfth century—sooner than in any other European

country—and a well-settled political order ensued.

In the time of Edward III. we find England, for the first time, interfering with the affairs of Spain. In the year 1284 the kingdom of Navarre had been united to that of France by the marriage of Donna Joanna, queen of Navarre, with Philip the Fair of France. In 1328, however, the kingdoms were again separated, though the sovereigns of Navarre were still related to those of France. In 1350, Charles, surnamed the Wicked, ascended the throne of Navarre, and married the daughter of John, king of France. Notwithstanding this alliance, and that he himself was related to the royal family of France, he secretly entered into a negotiation with England against the French monarch, and even drew into his schemes the dauphin Charles, afterwards surnamed the Wise. When the young prince was made sensible of the danger of his connexions, by way of atonement he promised to sacrifice his new associates. Accordingly, he invited the king of Navarre, and some of the principal nobility of the same party, to a feast at Rouen, where he betrayed them to his father. The most obnoxious were executed, and the king of Navarre was thrown into prison. In this extremity, the party of the king of Navarre had recourse to England. The prince of Wales, surnamed the Black Prince, invaded France, defeated king John at Poictiers, and took him prisoner, which unfortunate event produced the most violent disturbances in that kingdom. The dauphin, then about nineteen years of age, naturally assumed the royal power during his father's captivity. In order to obtain supplies, he assembled the states of the kingdom; but that assembly, instead of supporting his administration, demanded limitations of the prince's power, the punishment of past malversations, and the liberty of the king of Navarre. A rebellion ensued; and amidst the disorders that convulsed the kingdom, the king of Navarre made his escape from prison, and presented a dangerous leader to the malcontents. Those of the French people who wished to restore peace to their country, turned their eyes towards the dauphin. Marcel, the seditious provost of Paris, was slain in attempting to deliver that city to the king of Navarre. The capital immediately returned to its duty; considerable bodies of the mutinous peasants were dispersed or put to the sword; some bands of military robbers underwent the same fate, and France began once more to assume the appearance of civil government.

In the thirteenth century, during the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, the cities in the kingdoms of Arragon and Castile had formed themselves into an association, distinguished by the name of the Holy Brotherhood. They exacted a certain contribution from each of the associated towns; they levied a considerable body of troops, in order to protect travellers and pursue criminals; and they appointed judges, who opened courts in various parts of the kingdom. The nobles often murmured against this salutary institution; they complained of it as an encroachment of their most valuable privileges, and endeavoured to have it abolished. But their catholic majesties (for such was the title they now bore), sensible of the beneficial effects of the Brotherhood, not only in regard to the peace of their kingdom, but in its tendency to abridge, and by degrees annihilate, the territorial jurisdiction of the nobility, countenanced the institution upon every occasion, and supported it with the whole force of royal authority; by which means the prompt and impartial administration of justice was restored, and with it tranquillity and order. But at the same time that they were giving vigour and justice to their civil government, and securing their subjects from violence and oppression, an intemperate zeal led them to establish an ecclesiastical tribunal, equally contrary to the natural rights of humanity and the mild spirit of the Gospel; and thus originated the most baleful of all institutions, the *Inquisition*. Wherever the footsteps of the 'HOLY OFFICE' may be traced, the path is marked with blood; but in no part of the world has it run such a sanguinary career as in Spain.

Of all the Mohammedan possessions in Spain the kingdom of Granada now alone remained. Princes equally zealous and ambitious naturally wished to add that fertile territory to their hereditary dominions, by expelling the enemies of Christianity and extending its doctrines. Everything conspired to favour their project; the Moorish kingdom was a prey to civil wars; when Ferdinand, having obtained the bull of Sixtus IV., authorising a crusade, put himself at the head of his troops, and entered Granada. Its subjugation quickly followed. When the capital surrendered, it was stipulated that their king should enjoy the revenue of certain places in the fertile mountains of Alpujarras; that the inhabitants should retain undisturbed possession of their houses, goods, and inheritances, their laws and religion. Thus ended the empire of the Arabs in Spain, which had flourished for more than eight hundred years.

During the period of Arabian power, agriculture, commerce, the arts and sciences, flourished in Spain. The universities and libraries at Cordova and other places were resorted to by the Christians, as the seat of the Greco-Arabic literature, and the Aristotelian philosophy. From these institutions Europe received the knowledge of the arithmetical characters, of gunpowder, and of paper made from rags; while, on the other hand, among the Gothic Spaniards, the blending of the chivalrous and religious spirit gave occasion to the foundation of several military orders. We may here remark, that Don Rodrigo Diaz de Bivar el Campeador, the hero without an equal, has been celebrated since the end of the eleventh century as the hero of his age. The romantic elevation of national feeling, which found its support in the religious faith and national church, preserved the Christian Gothic states of Navarre, Arragon, and

Asturia from many internal and external dangers.

It was in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, and through the patronage of the latter, that Columbus, a Genoese navigator, discovered America. The country was afterwards subdued by Cortez and Pizarro; and its valuable mines of gold and silver continued, until of late, to fill the coffers of Spain; but riches so easily acquired in the new world withdrew much of the activity of the nation from the improvement of the mother country; and avarice, united with fanaticism, established an impolitic colonial system. Still, the extensive conquests which were made by the Spaniards in the new world, though obtained by the fiercest cruelty and the most flagrant injustice, tended, for a time at least, to raise the Spanish monarchy above any other in Europe.

On the death of Isabella, which took place in 1506, Philip, archduke of Austria, came to Castile, in order to take possession of that kingdom as heir to his mother-in-law; but he dying in a short time after, his son Charles V., afterwards emperor of Germany, became heir to the crown of Spain. His father, at his death, left the king of France governor to the young prince; and Ferdinand at his death left cardinal Ximenes sole regent of Castile, till the arrival of his grandson. This man, whose character is no less singular than illustrious, who united the abilities of a great statesman with the devotion of a superstitious monk, and the magnificence of a prime minister with the severity of a mendicant, maintained order and tranquillity in Spain, notwithstanding the discontents of a turbulent and high-spirited nobility; and when in 1517, he resigned into the hands of the young king the power he had so worthily held for him, he was able to do so with honour and integrity.

'Never yet,' observes Dr. Von Rotteck, 'the old Roman emperors, and perhaps Charles Martel excepted, had Providence accumulated such great power in Europe upon one head, as Charles V. inherited. The two momentous marriages — that of Maximilian I. with the hereditary princess of Burgundy, and that of his son Philip I. with Joanna of Spain (upon whom, however, the great inheritance of her parents did not devolve until the death of three nearer heirs) made Charles, Joanna's first-born, the master of immense countries; they gave by that means the political relations and efforts of Europe their principal figure and determination for centuries.'

Charles had scarcely taken possession of his throne, when the emperor Maximilian assembled a diet at Augsburg, and endeavoured to prevail on the electors to choose that young prince as his successor. But though he could not prevail upon the German electors to confer on him that dignity, other circumstances conspired to his exaltation. The imperial crown had so long continued in the Austrian line, that it began to be considered as hereditary in that family; and Germany, torn by religious disputes, stood in need of a powerful emperor, not only to preserve its own internal tranquillity, but also to protect it against the victorious arms of the Turks, who, under Selim I., threatened the liberties of Europe. This fierce and rapid conqueror had already subdued the Mamelukes, and made himself master of Egypt and Syria. The power of Charles appeared necessary to oppose that of Selim. The extensive dominions of the house of Austria, which gave him an interest in the preservation of Germany; the rich sovereignty of the Netherlands and Franche Compté; the entire possession of the great and warlike kingdom of Spain, together with that of Naples and Sicily, all united to hold him up to the first dignity among Christian princes; and the new world seemed only to be called into existence that its treasures might enable him to defend Christendom against the infidels. Such, at least, was the language of his partisans.

Francis I., king of France, was also a candidate for the empire, and he put forth his claims with equal confidence, and scarcely less plausibility. The electors, whose deliberations were directed by Frederick the Wise of Saxony, who himself refused the offered throne from purely political motives, united finally in favour of Charles, as a German prince, and whose position promised the empire the most certain protection, especially against the menacing power of the Turks. Yet he was required, by solemn acceptation of a convention with the electors, to guarantee the most precious of ancient rights, and to promise such innovations as appeared useful. Although the two candidates had hitherto conducted their rivalship without enmity, the preference was no sooner given to Charles, than Francis discovered all the passions natural to disappointed ambition, and could not suppress his chagrin and indignation at being rejected. We shall find in the sequel that the jealousy between those potentates cost Europe four sanguinary wars.

The first act of Charles's administration was to appoint a diet of the empire, to be held at Worms, in order to concert with the princes proper measures for checking the progress of 'those new and dangerous opinions which threatened to disturb the peace of Germany, and to overturn the religion of their ancestors.' This subject, however, does not properly belong to the history of Spain, and as our notice of the reformation appears elsewhere, we here merely refer to it.

Not long after Charles's coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle, an insurrection broke out in Spain, which was highly dangerous for the power of the king, and extremely remarkable in its origin, spirit, and objects. The commencement of the reign of Charles, whose partiality for his Dutch favourites wounded the Spanish pride, was already attended with disorders; and all the courage and all the wisdom of cardinal Ximenes, whom Ferdinand the Catholic had appointed in his last moments administrator of his kingdom, had been necessary to allay the storm, which the nobility had mainly raised.

The arrival of Charles in Spain would have

restored complete tranquillity, had he not wantonly wounded the hearts of his people who were becoming favourably disposed towards him, by his scornful and despotic manners, and harshly violated the constitutional rights of the country by his imperious tone, by disregard of customary forms, and by extraordinary demands. As soon, therefore, as he had gone to Germany, to take possession of the new throne, the cities of Castile arose for the defence of their ancient rights. These cities, jealous of their independence, refused to acknowledge cardinal Adrian, bishop of Utrecht, whom Charles, his former pupil, had appointed regent. They concluded among themselves a 'holy league,' got possession of the person of the queen-mother, to administer, in the name of her, as the legitimate sovereign, the government of the kingdom, and sent to the king a detail of their well-founded grievances, of which they demanded redress. Charles refused to receive the deputies of the league, and thus augmented the exasperation of the people. The league then raised its head still more boldly, and formed plans for liberating the common people from the ancient feudal oppression of the nobility. The democratic spirit spread rapidly; but it was by this very means the cause was lost: for the nobles in all the provinces, feeling that spirit far more than the abuse of the royal power, rallied around the throne, which they had previously risen against, and around the regent Adrian, whom they had hitherto hated, in order to frustrate the projects of the rebels. The citizen warriors of the league, notwithstanding the high courage and devotedness of individuals, were unable to withstand the shock of the forces brought against them; and though the noble city of Toledo defied their power for nearly a year after all the others had submitted, it was at length taken by stratagem, and royalty triumphed. The most precious of ancient privileges were abolished or forgotten; the cortes, once so venerated and influential, degenerated into tame assemblies, the principal business of which was to grant taxes, but the voice of which was unable to produce salutary reform.

This revolt seemed to Francis a favourable juncture for reinstating the family of Jean d'Albert in the kingdom of Navarre. Charles was at a distance from that part of his dominions, and the troops usually stationed there had been called away to quell the commotions in Spain. A French army, under Andrew de Foix, speedily conquered Navarre; but that young and inexperienced nobleman, pushed on by military ardour, ventured to enter Castile. The Spaniards, though divided among themselves, united against a foreign enemy, routed his forces, took him prisoner, and recovered Navarre in a shorter time than he had spent in its reduction.

Hostilities thus begun in one quarter between the rival monarchs, soon spread to another. The king of France encouraged the duke of Bouillon to make war against the emperor, and to invade Luxembourg. Charles, after humbling the duke, attempted to enter France; but was repelled and worsted before Mezieres, by the famous chevalier Bayard, distinguished among his contemporaries by the appellation of 'The knight without fear and without reproach,' and who united the talents of a great general to the punctilious honour and romantic gallantry of the heroes of chivalry.

During these operations in the field, an unsuccessful congress was held at Calais, under the mediation of Henry VIII. of England. It served only to exasperate the parties which it was intended to reconcile. A league was soon after concluded, by the intrigues of Wolsey, between the Pope, Henry, and Charles, against France; and after a severe contest, in which Francis continued to lose ground in Italy, the authority of the emperor and his confederates was everywhere established there.

Following up the advantages he had gained in the field by political manœuvre, Charles paid a visit to the court of England in his way to Spain, where his presence was become necessary. In this he was more fortunate than he had any right to expect; for he not only gained the cordial friendship of Henry, but disarmed the resentment of Wolsey (who had been grossly deceived and offended by the share which Charles took in conferring the papacy, vacant at Leo's death, on Adrian), by assuring him of it on the decease of the present pontiff, whose age and infirmities seemed to render it not far distant. But the negotiation between Charles and Henry proved of little value to either; for the army under the earl of Surrey, that was sent to invade France, was obliged to retire at the end of the campaign, without being able to take one place within the French frontier.

Francis had prepared not only for the most energetic defence of his kingdom, but was resolved also upon reconquering Milan. This, perhaps, would have succeeded, had he not at the instigation of his intriguing mother, Louise of Savoy, incurred the enmity of prince Charles of Bourbon, constable of France. Impelled by passion, this prince fled to the emperor, in order to fight under his banners, and thereby revenge the wrong which had been inflicted on him. Thus France lost its best general, and secured the triumph of its enemy, by the hand of its natural defender.

In the meantime the imperial army, under the command of Pescara and Bourbon, had penetrated into Provence, and was besieging Marseilles. But Francis, never more energetic than in misfortune, forced these arrogant generals to retreat, and entered once more as conqueror the plains of Milan and their brilliant capital. The strong city of Pavia, on the preservation of which almost the last hope of the emperor hung, he now besieged with all the impetuosity of passion, and with all the resources of the art of war. Great destinies seemed to depend on the issue of the siege. Already the friends of Charles began to waver; already threatening clouds seemed to portend some dire political calamity. Pope Clement VII. (Medicis), previously the enemy of the French, having signed a treaty of neutral-

ity, abandoned the cause of Charles; and England, ministering to the passions of Wolsey, its prime minister, had grown cold in the emperor's interest.

The French army no sooner appeared in Piedmont than the whole Milanese was thrown into consternation. The capital opened its gates. The forces of the emperor and Sforza retired to Lodi; and had Francis pursued them, they must have abandoned that post, and been totally dispersed. But Fortune suddenly rescued her favourite son from such a disaster, by the most decisive blow. The evil genius of Francis led him to besiege Pavia, which almost miraculously withstood, during the winter, the immense force that was brought against it, until the generals of Charles, strengthened by reinforcements, hastened to its relief. The soldiers of the emperor, eager for plunder, longed to engage; and the chivalrous pride of Francis would not permit him to decline a battle, although in this he acted contrary to the advice of his most experienced generals. Under the walls of Pavia, Feb. 23, 1525, the emperor's army gained the most brilliant victory; Francis himself, after the most valiant resistance, being taken prisoner.

The news of this victory, and of the captivity of Francis more especially, filled all Europe with consternation. The French army was nearly destroyed; Milan was immediately abandoned; and in a few weeks not a French soldier was left in Italy. The power of the emperor, and still more his ambition, became an object of universal terror, and resolutions were everywhere taken to set bounds to it: while France, governed at such a calamitous juncture by the queen-mother, a princess of a masculine and a courageous character, prepared as for a desperate contest. The emperor saw a prospect of unbounded glory, and immediately meditated plans for realising it.

It was not, however, by pursuing his victory with energy, but by recurring to artful negotiation, that Charles sought to gain his object. He designed to humble Francis, who rejected with indignation the ignominious terms of deliverance which were offered to him, and spent one long sad year in Madrid under the strictest custody. Finally his desire for liberty overcame him, and he signed, on the 14th of January 1526, the treaty called the peace of Madrid; in which he ceded Burgundy, and renounced his claims to Milan and all other Italian countries. He also relinquished his feudal sovereignty over Flanders and Artois; promised to restore to the duke of Bourbon and his adherents all their possessions, to abandon the cause of the king of Navarre, and, by surrendering his two elder sons as hostages, and taking his oath that if all this was not fulfilled, he would return into captivity, guaranteed the inviolability of the whole treaty. But we must not forget to state, that a few hours before he signed this instrument, king Francis had *protested* before some of his faithful friends, secretly although by writing, against this treaty, which he said he was compelled by unjust force to conclude, and by which he thought he was nowise bound. And let us not forget, also, that Pope Clement II. soon afterwards formally released him from the obligation of this oath!

After Francis had returned to his kingdom, the imperial ambassadors in vain demanded the fulfilment of this treaty. The deputies of the states of Burgundy, having been called into their presence at the same time, declared that the king had passed the limits of his power by ceding their country, and that, if he abandoned them, they would avert from themselves foreign dominion with their own power. At the same time the news was spread of the alliance concluded between the king of France and the pope, in which the Venetians, the duke of Milan, and the king of England also participated. It was designed by force of arms to make Charles subscribe to more moderate terms; and the alliance was called the holy league. But Francis, having become disheartened by his previous misfortune, negotiated instead of fighting, whilst his Italian allies succumbed to the superior forces of the emperor.

In the meantime Charles had strengthened his armies by new levies; and they were now under Bourbon's command. But his troops were a mixture of Spaniards, Italians, and Germans, who, devoid of national feeling, and without love for the cause, served only for pay and booty. So badly managed were the finances of the emperor, that he, before whose power Europe trembled, could not, at that time, furnish money sufficient to pay 25,000 men. In that dilemma the general led the army against Rome, and promised to enrich them with the spoils of the eternal city. Nor did he make an idle boast; for though Bourbon himself was shot while planting a scaling ladder against the walls, the soldiers, infuriated rather than discouraged by the death of their beloved commander, mounted to the assault, took the city, and pillaged it with all the atrocities of rapacity and brutality.

Never did Rome in any age suffer so many calamities, not even from the barbarians, by whom she was often subdued, the Huns, Vandals, or Goths, as now from the subjects of a Christian and catholic monarch. During this storm the pope had taken refuge in the castle of St. Angelo, and, not making his escape in time, was taken prisoner. He was confined till he should pay an enormous ransom imposed by the victorious army, and surrender to the emperor all the places of strength belonging to the papal dominions.

Well knowing the horror which his Spanish subjects would feel at the indignity thus offered to the sovereign pontiff, Charles not only repressed all outward demonstration of joy at this new triumph, but literally put himself and his court into mourning, and, with unexampled hypocrisy, had prayers offered up in all the churches of Spain for the recovery of the pope's liberty, when an imperial order would have instantly procured his freedom!

A.D. 1529.—Charles had, however, more to apprehend from the resentment of other

powers than from his own subjects; and it was not long before his old competitor, Francis, with the aid of English money, was able to send a formidable army into Italy, under the command of marshal Lautrec. Clement then regained his freedom; but the death of the French marshal, and the revolt of Andrew Doria, a Genoese admiral in the service of France, were serious disasters, which inclined Francis to try the effect of negotiation in lieu of the force of arms. The progress of the reformation in Germany—to which Charles was ever most strenuously opposed—at this time threatened the tranquillity of the empire; while the victorious sultan Solyman, who had overrun Hungary, was ready to break in upon the Austrian territories with an overwhelming force. In this state of things a pacific accommodation was too desirable to be refused by Charles, notwithstanding he had lately gained such advantages; and it was agreed that Margaret of Austria (Charles's aunt), and Louisa (the mother of Francis), should meet at Cambray, with a view of adjusting the terms of a treaty between the two monarchs. The result was, that Francis agreed to pay two millions of crowns, as the ransom of his two sons, to resign the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois, and to forego all his claims on Italy; and Charles ceased to demand the restitution of Burgundy. On this occasion, Henry VIII. was so generous to his friend and ally Francis, that he sent him an acquittal of near 600,000 crowns, in order to enable him to fulfil his agreement with the emperor.

The terrors of the Turkish arms were at this time greatly increased by the cruelties exercised on the subjects of Christian states who were so unfortunate as to fall into the power of the Algerine pirate, Barbarossa. This man was the son of a potter at Lesbos, and by deeds of violence had raised himself to the throne of Algiers. He regulated with much prudence the interior police of his kingdom, carried on his piracies with great vigour, and extended his conquests on the continent of Africa; but perceiving that the natives submitted to his government with impatience, he put his dominions under the protection of the grand seignior. Solyman, flattered by such an act of submission, and considering him the only adversary worthy of being opposed to the renowned Doria, appointed him to the command of the Turkish fleet. Thus assisted, he not only strengthened his former kingdom, but usurped that of Tunis; and now carried on his depredations against the Christian states with more destructive violence than ever.

Willing to support the exiled king of Tunis, Muly Hassan, but far more desirous of delivering his dominions from so dangerous a neighbour as Barbarossa, the emperor readily concluded a treaty with the former, and set sail for Tunis with a formidable armament. This was the most brilliant exploit of his life. He sailed from Cagliari to the African coast, took the strong seaport town Goletta by storm, with 300 pieces of cannon and all Barbarossa's fleet; defeated the tyrant in a pitched battle; and 10,000 Christian slaves having overpowered the guards and got possession of the citadel, he made his triumphant entry into Tunis. Muly Hassan, on being reinstated, agreed to acknowledge himself a vassal of the crown of Spain, to put the emperor in possession of all the fortified seaports in the kingdom of Tunis, and to pay annually 12,000 crowns for the subsistence of the Spanish garrison in Goletta. These points being settled, and 20,000 Christian slaves freed from bondage, either by arms or by treaty, Charles, covered with glory, returned to Europe, and was received as the deliverer of Christendom; while Barbarossa, who had retired to Bona, lost no time in gathering around him the necessary means of becoming again the tyrant of the ocean.

Whilst Charles was fighting in so glorious a manner against the hereditary enemy of the Christian name, the king of France took advantage of his absence to revive his pretensions in Italy. Glorious as the result had been, the temerity of the Algerine expedition at first portended nothing but misfortune; and Francis thought such an opportunity of turning the political scale might not again occur. How quickly did the prospect change! Barbarossa defeated and obliged to fly; the barbarian prince for whom Charles had interested himself replaced upon the throne of Tunis, and that kingdom made tributary to Spain; while altars were erected there to the Christian religion, and the triumph of the conqueror adorned with the broken chains of slavery.

A.D. 1536.—Francis now invaded Italy, occupied Savoy and Piedmont, and threatened Milan. Charles, again roused by exertion, arrived with a superior force, and drove the French from the greatest part of Savoy, invaded Provence, and besieged Marseilles. But the great talents of the marshal de Montmorency, who commanded the French army, and still more the determined energy of the people, who now arose to defend their homes and property, compelled Charles to raise the siege and to make a most deplorable retreat across the Alps.

After various other feats of arms, attended with changing success, a truce was concluded, through the mediation of the pope, for ten years (June 18, 1538), according to which each of the belligerents retained what he possessed. Savoy was therefore divided, but Milan remained in the hands of the emperor, although under equivocal promises in favour of France.

These conditions were not fulfilled. For Charles, having invested his son Philip with Milan, had given his adversary a new cause for animosity; and the second expedition of the emperor to Africa, which was this time very unfortunate, furnished Francis with a favourable occasion for a new rupture. The audacious piracies of Barbarossa, which were renewed with all their horrors, appeared finally to require an avenging sword; and Charles, full of the proudest hopes, undertook this crusade in October 1541, at the head of a powerful army, well equipped and stored. Hardly had they

arrived on the coast of Algiers, when a storm arose, destroyed the fleet, and left the discouraged troops exposed to the fierce attacks of an exasperated enemy. The battalions, relieved by abandoning their baggage and munitions, marched from the gates of Algiers, amidst a thousand dangers and hardships, to Cape Metafuz, where the vessels that had escaped the storm awaited them, and the miserable remnant of the army embarked.

A.D. 1542.—Francis thought that the moment had at length arrived for prostrating his enemy. He took the field against Charles with five armies, on five different boundaries: towards Spain, Luxembourg, Brabant, Flanders, and Milan. Nor did he blush to admit the auxiliary fleet of the sultan into the harbour of Marseilles, or to let the French flag float beside that of the pirate Barbarossa, in the line of battle against the imperial and papal fleets.

But all this was of little avail. Andrew Doria remained master at sea, and the five armies of France, notwithstanding their success in the beginning (and notwithstanding even the brilliant victory of Cerisoles, in which 10,000 of the emperor's best troops fell), yielded at last to the perseverance, prudence, and fortune of Charles and his generals. On the other hand, Charles having renewed his old alliance with Henry, king of England, had already penetrated into Champagne, and menaced the heart of France, whilst Henry was advancing through Picardy, in order to unite with Charles at Paris. At length, mutually tired of harassing each other, the rival monarchs concluded a treaty of peace at Crespy (1544), which, in the main, renewed the conditions of the earlier one at Cambray, but contained also the project of a matrimonial connection between the two houses. Francis died in 1547.

In consequence of the emperor's resolution to humble the protestant princes, he concluded a dishonourable peace with the Porte, stipulating that his brother Ferdinand should pay tribute for that part of Hungary which he still possessed, while the sultan enjoyed undisturbed possession of the rest. At the same time he entered into a league with Pope Paul III. for the extirpation of heresy, but in reality to oppress the liberty of Germany. But he failed in his object, and was obliged, in 1552, to conclude a peace with the protestants on their own terms. By this peace the emperor lost Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which had formed the barrier of the empire in that quarter; he, therefore, soon after put himself at the head of an army, in order to recover these three bishoprics. In this he was unsuccessful. The defence of Metz was committed to Francis, of Lorraine, duke of Guise, who possessed in an eminent degree all the qualities that render men great in military command; and although the emperor marched into Lorraine at the head of 60,000 men, and laid siege to Metz, attempting all that was thought possible for art or valour to effect, he was obliged to abandon the enterprise, with the loss of one half of his troops.

Breathing vengeance against France, and impatient to efface the stain his reputation had received, Charles retired to the Low Countries, and took Terouenne. In Italy, and in Hungary, however the imperial arms were less successful; still, by efforts of wisdom, celerity, and prudence, he again snatched the laurel from his enemy's brow. At length, after having reigned over Spain for thirty-nine years, this mighty monarch, whose life had been one continued scene of ardent pursuits—either disgusted with the pomp of power and the projects of ambition, or sickened by repeated disappointments—resigned the empire to his brother Ferdinand, and his hereditary dominions (Spain, Italy, Flanders, and the American possessions) to his son Philip. He then sought happiness in quiet obscurity, and retired to the monastery of Yuste, in the province of Estremadura, where, after two years' tranquillity, he closed one of the most tumultuous lives that is to be met with in history: A.D. 1558.*

Extraordinary penetration, astonishing skill, unwearied application to business, a profound knowledge of men, and of the art of placing them properly; a mind calm in prosperity, and unshaken in adversity; an activity which continually hurried him from one extremity of his empire to the other—were the talents that distinguished Charles, and raised him to the first rank among those who governed the world. Ambitious, artful, prudent: little scrupulous in point of religion, and always affecting to appear the reverse; prodigal of his promises in danger, and preferring the advantages of breaking to the honour of keeping them; affable and open with subjects who, in a manner, adored him; a dissembler with his enemies, whom he flattered only to destroy; this prince possessed all the virtues and vices necessary for the conquest of Europe, and would in all probability have subjected it, but for the courage of Francis and the capacity of Solyman.

When Charles V. resigned his dominions to his son Philip II., anxious that he should pursue the same plans of conduct and principles of policy, he put into his hands all the political observations which he had written down during his long reign, and which formed a system of the art of government both in peace and war. Philip highly valued and carefully studied this his political testament, which, being the result of long experience, and dictated by great abilities, might be thought an inestimable gift; but the event has proved that the maxims adopted and principles laid down were in their tendency destructive of the true interests of Spain, whose power has been gradually weakened, and wealth exhausted, by the system of aggrandisement therein recommended, and pursued during the two succeeding reigns. The Spaniards, even to this time, retain the memory of this fact, on which they have founded a proverbial expression, that 'in all great

* For a graphic account of the closing scenes of the emperor's life, see the *Cloister Life of Charles V.*, by William Stirling.

emergencies, their ministers are wont to consult the spirit of Charles V.'

At the period to which we are now arrived, how powerful was the throne of Spain! Besides that fine and warlike country, it governed also in Europe the two Sicilies, the Milanese, the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries and Franche Compté: in Africa, Tunis and Oran, with their territories, the Canaries and some of the Cape Verd islands; in Asia, the Philippines, the islands of Sundi and a part of the Moluccas; in America, the empires of Mexico and Peru, New Spain, Chili, and almost all the islands situate between those two continents.

The troops of Spain were the first in Europe; their armies, reckoned invincible, were composed of veterans trained in actual service, inured to fatigue, and animated by the remembrance of various triumphs. They were commanded by the dukes of Alva and Savoy, both pupils of Charles V., who had been brought up in his camp, and were already distinguished by their victories. Her immense fleets, which in a manner covered the seas, had been taught to contend with Barbarossa, and to triumph under Doria; the mines of Potosi and Chili, lately opened, were in full vigour, and enriched Cadiz with an annual tribute of twenty millions sterling.

Philip II. was master of all those possessions. He had recently married the queen of England; and the passionate fondness of Mary for a husband who made no return to her affection, gave him the command of all the forces of her kingdom. This monarch had neither the valour nor activity of his father, nor that affability which made the emperor the idol of his subjects; but he had all his ambition, and supported it with those talents and vices which make tyrants so formidable. His penetration and capacity were extensive; but he was callous to every generous feeling, full of duplicity and suspicion, cruel, revengeful, and superstitious.

A truce of five years, settled by the management of Charles V., had given some repose to Europe, and seemed to promise a lasting peace. An aged pontiff revived the animosity of nations, and kindled the flames of a general war. Paul IV., impatient to be revenged on Philip, sent his nephew to Henry II., in order to persuade him to take up arms. Montmorency in vain urged him to reject the solicitations of an ambitious old man: Guise, who ardently wished to display his talents, prevailed upon the monarch to assist the pope, and hostilities were renewed. Henry, who always found a faithful ally in Solyman, was joined by the sultan and the pontiff against Philip. The latter, who, notwithstanding the indifference he showed for his consort, still preserved an absolute empire over her, found no great difficulty in obtaining the assistance of English forces. Thus Italy, Hungary, and the frontiers of France, were at the same time in a flame. Tranquillity, however, soon revived in Italy, where the misfortunes of Henry, the defeats of Guise, and the abilities of the duke of Alva, obliged the pontiff to abandon the monarch whose assistance he had implored.

In Flanders Philip appeared in person, at the head of a numerous army; the operations being directed by Philibert of Savoy, a prince of great abilities, which he was particularly desirous of exerting on this occasion, from motives of resentment against the oppressors of his country. The flower of the French troops advanced to meet the Spaniards, and a splendid train of nobles followed their warlike leader; the king was prepared to join them, and the city of St. Quentin became the general rendezvous of those numerous forces. Philibert laid siege to it; and it was defended by the gallant Coligny, nephew of the constable. The prodigious efforts of the inhabitants, animated by that young hero, confounded Philip; and he already began to dread that he should be under the necessity of raising the siege in a shameful manner, when the impetuous Montmorency appeared under the walls, and offered battle. The French fought valiantly, but their courage was useless; the capacity of the Spanish general triumphed over the rash valour of his opponent; a bloody defeat threw Montmorency into chains, and destroyed the greater part of the nobles under his command. The capture of the city immediately followed.

France, unprotected on all sides, thought herself undone, and Paris trembled with apprehensions of soon seeing the enemy at her gates. Charles, who was informed in his retreat of the success of his son, no longer doubted of the destruction of his ancient rivals, and the French monarch was preparing to fly for shelter to some remote province.

The duke of Guise, who had been recalled from Italy, was the only person that did not despair of preserving the state. With incredible diligence he collected the scattered remains of the vanquished army; and when, by judicious marches and continued skirmishes, he had given a check to the ardour of the enemy, and revived the courage of the French, he suddenly turned towards Calais, and, after a vigorous and well-concerted attack, deprived the English of a place that, for three centuries, had given them a ready entrance to the continent.

Philip fixed his residence at Madrid, and governed his vast dominions, without the aid of any ostensible ministers, in perfect despotism. By his intrigues the popedom was conferred on cardinal Medicis, who was attached to the house of Austria, and became the minister of his designs. The new pontiff loaded him with favours, and declared him the protector of the church, which title the monarch justified by extraordinary condescension. He submitted to bulls and papal edicts that affected the majesty of the throne, and paid a blind deference to the clergy. He raised immense and magnificent monasteries, rigorously persecuted the enemies of Rome, and presided at those horrid rites which bigotry and enthusiasm dignified with the

name of *acts of faith*. He gave orders for establishing that court in all the provinces under his authority, and published decrees to inflame the zeal of the tyrants who presided over it. Can it be wondered at that the oppressive severity of this execrable court should cause disaffection?

The Moors, who remained in Spain on the faith of treaties, were enraged to see their privileges violated, their liberty continually menaced, and the blood of their dearest friends flowing beneath the hands of public executioners. Despair supplied the place of strength; they considered nothing but the excess of their misery, and endeavoured to break their chains, the weight of which was become insupportable. The execution of one of their countrymen, whom they had crowned, did not terrify them; they supplied his place by another, and implored the assistance of strangers who professed the religion of their ancestors. A general rebellion rent the southern parts of the kingdom, which now became once more the theatre of ancient animosity. All Spain was alarmed; Philip alone secretly exulted at the revolt he had produced. The valour of his troops and the abilities of his generals triumphed over the desperate resolution of the Moors, and these unfortunate people were obliged to submit to the mercy of the king; they lost their rights and possessions, and were transplanted to the provinces that lay most remote from their former settlements.

The people of Arragon, at the same time, demanded a restoration of their violated privileges; Naples threatened to shake off the yoke; and Milan, so long remarkable for fidelity, was endeavouring likewise to break her fetters. The establishment of the Inquisition terrified the inhabitants, and prompted them to take up arms. But the same crafty measures also appeased those disturbances, and the efforts exerted by so many nations for the recovery of their liberty served only to rivet their chains the faster.

The tumults and confusion in Flanders were still more violent. The people were extremely jealous of their privileges, which they had preserved under their counts and the dukes of Burgundy; they compelled Charles V. to respect them, and that prince, after despairing to subject them by terror, adopted the more generous method of conciliating their affection. Philip, who never had a heart to relish such an expedient, was passionately desirous of bending the stubborn necks of this people to the most oppressive and humiliating yoke; their privileges were obnoxious to his pride, and their immense riches inflamed his cupidity.

When he quitted that country, with a resolution never to return, he seemed inclined to continue the mildness of his father's rule: he appointed Margaret, the daughter of Charles V. and widow of Octavius, duke of Parma, its ruler. The wit, charms, and clemency of this princess were well calculated to gain the hearts of a generous people; but, at the same time, the unfeeling cardinal Granville, who made no distinction between policy and perfidy, or zeal and persecution, was placed at the head of the council. This ecclesiastic was the depository of the secrets of the cabinet, and while he appeared to perform but a secondary part, was actually employed in the first. He treated the nobles with contempt, issued extravagant edicts that were prejudicial to industry and commerce, multiplied taxes, trampled on the laws, and punished the most humble remonstrances and timid representations as crimes. The Flemings, thus oppressed under the yoke of a stranger, contented themselves with lamenting their distress in private, but the sight of the tribunal of the Inquisition, erected in their principal cities, raised a general indignation; the people forgot their weakness, and thought not of their duty; protestants, impelled by rage and fury, pulled down churches, subverted altars, and obliged the clergy to fly. Margaret trembled at those increasing tumults, and endeavoured to appease them by a prudent compliance with the desires of the people; the cardinal overturned all her measures, and published a decree of council, equally ridiculous and cruel, against those seditious proceedings, which condemned all the citizens indiscriminately—the heretics for having destroyed the temples, and the catholics because they did not prevent them.

The nobles, foreseeing the consequences of the ill-advised acts of the minister, endeavoured to persuade him from such inconsiderate conduct; but being dismissed with haughtiness, and finding themselves disappointed in their hopes of meeting with justice from the throne, they determined, if possible, to save their country, by a resolute opposition to the council, that should reestablish the vigour of the laws.

At the head of those nobles was William, prince of Orange, descended from the illustrious house of Nassau, that three centuries before had swayed the imperial sceptre. With every necessary qualification for effecting a revolution, William had ambition, capacity, and courage to undertake anything, and saw, with secret pleasure, that the imprudent haughtiness of the Spanish ministers was opening a road to give him independence. In order to conceal his ambitious designs, he assumed an air of submission and respect, and talked of nothing but carrying the complaints of his countrymen to Madrid; but he secretly concerted a more extensive plan.

With this view he conciliated the friendship of the great, and ingratiated himself in a particular manner with the counts Egmont and Horn. These two noblemen were descended from very ancient families, and were both excellent citizens and faithful subjects: Egmont was distinguished for victories he had gained for the house of Austria; Horn was respected for his virtues by all parties. The cries of the nation carried to the throne by such venerable advocates seemed to affect Philip; Granville was recalled, and the people flattered themselves with the hope of seeing their grievances redressed by a new minister.

In some men the most valuable powers of the mind are united with the basest passions. Thus it was with Alva, whom Philip had appointed to succeed Granville. As soon as he arrived in Flanders, by an affected show of lenity and moderation that silenced all diffidence and apprehensions, he appeased the Flemings, disarmed them, and decoyed the principal nobility to Brussels. The governor, thus master of their fate, threw off the mask that till then concealed his despotic and sanguinary sentiments, confined the most distinguished persons in a dungeon, and appointed a special commission for their trial. Judges, devoted to his mandates, condemned eighteen noblemen to death, and a few days after pronounced the like sentence against Egmont and Horn. These executions, conducted with the most awful solemnity, were a prelude to many others. Executioners were despatched from one city to another, and in the space of one month thousands perished under their hands. Terror, which at first chilled the courage of the people, at length gave place to despair, by which it was relieved. Numerous armies appeared on every side, all animated by the desire of avenging the blood of their friends and fellow-citizens shed on the scaffold, and all made desperate by the certainty of having no hope of pardon. Alva, no less great as a commander than he was barbarous as a minister, hastened at the head of a small body of Spaniards to the different provinces, fought and triumphed at every step, dispersed the confederates, beat down the walls of the cities, and deluged the streets with blood.

One head, however, escaped the governor's snares: William prince of Orange, having more penetration than his unfortunate friends, did not give way to the flattering invitations of the Spaniard. He retired to Germany, where he learned, with the rest of Europe, the miseries of his country: proscribed as he was, and his fortune confiscated, without friends or support, he ventured to declare himself openly the avenger of his countrymen. A general hatred against Philip, whose enormities he laid open; horror and detestation against the duke of Alva, whose tyrannical excesses he painted in strong colours; the interest of the protestant religion, the alliances of the house of Nassau with so many sovereigns, his prayers, his patience and resolution, procured him a small army, and his two brothers who joined him gave increase to his hopes.

He had scarcely raised the standard of liberty, when the people flocked round him ready to obey his orders. His first attempts were unsuccessful, and gave way to the superior fortune of the duke of Alva; he returned to Germany, collected another army, made his appearance in Holland again, and was once more obliged to fly. Haarlem, Flushing, Leyden, and most of the maritime towns renounced all obedience to the duke of Alva; the love of civil and religious liberty animated every breast, and the Hollanders, till then obscure and insignificant, seemed to become a nation of heroes. Courage and skill were in vain opposed to them: the love of liberty supplied the place of numbers, policy, experience, and riches.

At length the sovereignty of Philip was abjured, the Roman catholic religion abolished, the state erected into a republic, and William declared their chief, under the title of *stadtholder*. But he did not long enjoy the title. An assassin employed by Philip gratified his revenge against William; and the sudden death of that great man seemed to threaten the extinction of the republic he had created; but Maurice, his worthy son, inherited his dignity, his talents, and his zeal.

The new stadtholder was not dismayed at the approach of the duke of Parma, though that hero possessed all the capacity of the duke of Alva, and, with more knowledge and experience, had many excellent qualities. Though reduced to the last extremity by the amazing efforts of their enemies, they would listen to no accommodation, and contented themselves with soliciting succours from queen Elizabeth. Their persevering efforts were rewarded; the republic revived, her fleets returned from distant countries richly laden, and furnished her with new resources for repelling her tyrants and securing her liberty on a solid foundation.

While Philip was pursuing the war against these obstinate revolters, an unexpected revolution procured him a new kingdom. John III., who during a long reign saw Portugal enjoy the most splendid prosperity, left only a grandson for his successor, who was still an infant, and promised to be the model of happy monarchs. A peaceful and wise regency augmented those expectations, which were confirmed by the great qualities that appeared in Sebastian.

This prince, in peace with all Europe, master of the most extensive commerce till then carried on, idolized by his people, who fancied the great kings his predecessors were revived in him, appeared to have nothing that could prevent him from enjoying an enviable felicity. But a vain passion for glory having suddenly captivated the mind of Sebastian, hurried him to the tomb, and with him the glory and prosperity of the nation vanished for ever.

One of those scenes of ambition so frequent among barbarians, had lately been exhibited at Morocco. The ruler of that country was both weak and odious, and his uncle taking advantage of his unpopularity, obtained the crown. The unfortunate monarch, having no hopes of assistance from subjects that had suffered by his oppression, applied to the Christian princes, and endeavoured to interest them in his cause by the most specious promises. Philip was too prudent to engage in a war from which he could derive but little advantage, and therefore rejected the solicitations and offers of the African. Sebastian eagerly embraced them, and resolved to employ all his forces in restoring the tyrant. Deaf to all advice, and blind to every other consequence, he could see nothing in the prosecution of this design but

the honour of being the protector of kings, the glory of having an emperor for his vassal, and of planting the standard of Christianity in the capital of one of the most powerful enemies of the cross. He led the army in person to Africa, and having landed with such success as seemed to presage still greater advantages, he exulted in the general consternation that appeared around him. But his fond hopes were speedily dissipated; for when on the plains of Alcassar the armies of Europe and Africa contested the prize of valour, the vanquished Christians suffered a memorable defeat: half the Portuguese nobility fell beneath the Moorish scimitar, and three kings were slain.

The cardinal Henry immediately ascended the throne of Portugal, but he survived his accession only two years; and Philip, being in the same degree of affinity with Catherine, duchess of Braganza, who then claimed the sceptre, supported his pretensions by force of arms, and proved victorious in many a sanguinary encounter. Lisbon was taken, plundered, and deluged with blood. Executioners succeeded to the soldiery; the whole kingdom was subjected to Philip, and his good fortune at the same time gave him possession of all the appendages of the crown—the Portuguese colonies on the coasts of Africa, Brazil, and the richest islands of the Indies. Yet, rich and extensive as were his possessions, valiant as were his troops, and inflexible as he was in all that he undertook, the brave Flemings, assisted by Elizabeth of England, carried on the war in support of their independence with unconquerable fortitude. Impatient of this long-protracted struggle, so disgraceful to him who could boast the best troops and most able generals in the world, Philip resolved, by one stupendous effort, to subdue the spirit of revolt, and chastise the powers which had abetted it. He fitted out, in the year 1588, the most formidable fleet that had ever sailed, and, that religious zeal might give greater force to the weapons of war, the pope (Sixtus V.) bestowed on it his benediction, and styled it 'the Invincible Armada.' Three years had been spent in preparing this armament, which was destined for the conquest of England. It consisted of 130 ships, most of which, from their large size, were unwieldy; nor was the skill of the Spaniards in maritime affairs equal to the management of such a fleet. No sooner had the armada entered the narrow seas, than it was beset with violent tempests; whilst the whole naval force of England, then composed of light quick-sailing ships, was drawn together to oppose the attack. Lord Effingham had the chief command, and sir Francis Drake, who was vice-admiral, performed signal services. The superior seamanship of the English was very successfully displayed in this important contest, in which great advantages were obtained from the use of fire-ships, which were first brought into use upon this memorable occasion. Such were the consequences, both from tempests and the attacks of their enemies, that in the course of a month from the time they left Corunna, no more than fifty-three ships had escaped destruction, and about 20,000 persons perished in the expedition. (For a more detailed account, see 'ENGLAND,' p. 359, 360, &c.)

Philip died in the year 1598, having reigned forty-three years. He has been compared, and in some respects with justice, to Tiberius. Both these tyrants attempted and accomplished the abasement of the character of their people; both were equally dreaded by their own families and by their subjects; both were full of the deepest dissimulation; both were severe towards others, and licentious in their own habits. But Philip possessed great perseverance, admirable firmness under adverse circumstances, and an appearance of devotion calculated to make a strong impression on the people, together with that stately reserve which the multitude mistakes for dignity. Notwithstanding this severity of deportment, his manners were affable and gracious when he chose to assume that character. He suffered nothing to stand in the way of his undertakings; he regarded religion and crime as two instruments, of which he equally availed himself without hesitation, according as either was suitable to his purposes; for he seemed to think that the performance of certain exterior rites of devotion, and a strict adherence in religious opinions to the dogmas of Rome, gave him unbounded license in all other respects. He was succeeded by Philip III., his son by his fourth wife Anna of Austria; Don Carlos, his eldest son; who was accused of a conspiracy against the life of his father, having ended his days in 1568.

Philip III. was not less bigoted or superstitious than his predecessors, but he was less stained with crime and without the dangerous ambition of his father. A peace with England was concluded in 1604, and an armistice for twelve years with the Netherlands in 1609; but Spain suffered an irreparable loss in population and wealth by the expulsion of the Moriscoes or descendants of the Moors. They were allowed thirty days to banish themselves, and death was the punishment appointed for such as remained behind after the specified time. By this impolitic act, and the subsequent expulsion of the Jews, Spain lost 600,000 of her most industrious inhabitants, besides those who were successively butchered, a loss which transferred five-sixths of her commerce and manufactures to other countries, and reduced the public revenue from thirty to fourteen millions of ducats. After a reign of twenty-two years, he died, and was succeeded by his son: A. D. 1621.

Under the reign of Philip IV. Portugal shook off its bonds by a happily conducted revolution, which placed the house of Braganza on the throne in 1640. The war in the Netherlands was renewed, but to no other purpose than to bring about a peace, in 1648, by which the king of Spain acknowledged the independence of the Seven United Provinces. During the thirty years' war France acted against Spain, which was allied to Austria; and this struggle was

not even terminated by the peace of Westphalia, but continued till the peace of the Pyrenees, in 1659, by which Roussillon and Perpignan were ceded to France, and a marriage was concerted between the Infanta Maria Theresa, Philip's daughter, and Louis XIV.

In 1665 Philip IV. died, leaving for his successor an infant son (Charles II.) only four years of age, during whose minority the queen dowager, Mary Anne of Austria, governed the kingdom, whilst she resigned herself to the government of her confessor, a jesuit, and by birth a German, named Nitard, whom she caused to be appointed inquisitor-general. The king, when eighteen years of age, married a daughter of Philip duke of Orleans, who by her mother was grand-daughter to Charles I. of England; but this marriage producing no issue, on the death of the king, which happened in 1700, the succession to the crown of Spain was contested between Philip duke of Anjou, second son of the dauphin, and grandson to Louis XIV. by Maria Theresa, whom the deceased king had in his will named for his immediate successor, and the archduke Charles of Austria, brother to the emperor Joseph.

On this occasion, the jealousy which prevailed of the increasing power of the French monarchy occasioned a grand alliance to be formed between the maritime powers and the house of Austria, to prevent the duke of Anjou from obtaining the crown of Spain, and to place that diadem on the head of the archduke Charles. This occasioned a long and destructive war; but the unexpected death of the emperor Joseph, in 1711, when he was in the 33rd year of his age, entirely changed the political aspect of Europe; and Charles, who had assumed the title of king of Spain, and entered Madrid in triumph, in consequence of the wonderful successes of the earl of Peterborough, succeeding his brother in the empire, that idea of maintaining the balance of power in Europe, which had procured the archduke such powerful support against the pretensions of Philip, now pointed out the bad policy of suffering the empire and the kingdom of Spain to be again held by the same sovereign. This, together with the reverse of fortune which had happened to Charles by the defeat at Almanza, brought about the peace of Utrecht, which confirmed the crown of Spain to Philip, but stripped it of all those valuable European appendages which had for many years been annexed to that monarchy: Belgium, Naples, Sicily, and Milan being resigned to Austria; Sardinia to Savoy; and Minorca and Gibraltar to England.

To prevent, as much as possible, the danger apprehended from two kingdoms being possessed by one prince of the house of Bourbon, Philip V. solemnly renounced his right to the crown of France, in case the succession should happen to devolve on him; and his brothers, the dukes of Berri and Orleans, on their parts renounced all claim to the crown of Spain.

Many important conquests were made by the navy of Great Britain in the Mediterranean, during the war for the succession; and the strength and resources of Spain were in every respect greatly exhausted by it. The provinces of Valencia, Catalonia, and Arragon, which had adhered to the interests of Charles, severely felt the resentment of Philip, when he became established on the throne; all the remains of liberty which those people had been allowed to retain since the days of the Gothic kings, were abolished, and the sovereign assumed an absolute power over the lives and fortunes of his subjects.

Cardinal Alberoni, an Italian, who became minister to Philip IV. soon after he married his second wife, the princess Elizabeth, daughter of the duke of Parma (1714), was formed for enterprise and intrigue: he laboured indefatigably to restore the kingdom to something of its former consequence; and by his attention and superior talents the Spanish navy was greatly augmented. His designs were so bold and extensive, that for a short time they seemed likely to effect mighty changes in the political system of Europe; and in 1717 Spain refused to ratify the peace of Utrecht. All these ideal projects were, however, at once disconcerted by the British court, in sending a fleet into the Mediterranean, which, without any previous declaration of war, attacked the naval force of Spain, at Cape Passaro, in Sicily (Aug. 1718), and took or destroyed the greatest part of their ships. This decided step on the part of England soon procured the dismissal of Alberoni, and at the same time gave birth to the quadruple alliance between Great Britain, France, Holland, and Germany.

In 1739 great misunderstandings arose between the courts of Madrid and London, in respect to the right which the subjects of the latter claimed to cut logwood on the Spanish main, and from the conduct of the *guarda-costas* of the former in the West Indies, in seizing upon and confiscating British merchant-ships there. These disputes gave rise to a war, the principal event of which was the taking of Porto Bello by the English. Philip V. died in 1746, and was succeeded by Ferdinand VI., his son by his first queen, who reigned thirteen years, and dying without issue, was succeeded by his half-brother Charles III., then king of the two Sicilies.

Under the reign of Charles III. the Bourbon family compact of 1761 involved Spain, to its injury, in the war between England and France. The expeditions against Algiers likewise miscarried; as did the siege of Gibraltar, in the war of 1777-83. Yet the internal administration improved, as was seen in the advancement of agriculture, commerce, and the useful arts, while the population was considerably on the increase. The power of the Inquisition also was restricted, and the secret opposition of the Jesuits annihilated at a blow, by the 'pragmatic sanction' of 1767, which banished them from all the Spanish dominions, and confiscated their property. The grossest superstition, however, still abounded, and a strict observance of the

most frivolous ceremonials of the church was regarded as obligatory and indispensable.

Charles IV. ascended the throne in 1788. The progress of improvement was still observable while the able Florida Blanca conducted the affairs of the nation. But he was superseded, in 1792, by Godoy, whose administration was as void of plan as it was injurious to the state, and greatly exasperated the people; so that the fall of the most fortunate and proudest favourite of modern times was immediately followed by that of the royal family.

Spain at first entered with zeal into the war against the French republic; but the favourite ruined all, by hastening to conclude the discreditable peace of Basle, by which Spain resigned half of St. Domingo; on which occasion Godoy received the title of 'Prince of Peace.' He then concluded with the republic the important offensive and defensive alliance of St. Ildefonso, in 1796, and declared war against Great Britain; but being defeated at sea, Spain lost Trinidad, by the peace of Amiens, in 1802. The prince withdrew from the conduct of affairs, but retained his influence, and rose to high dignities. In 1801 military operations were commenced against Portugal, which was obliged to cede Olivença to Spain, at the peace of Badajos; whilst France took possession of Parma, and made its duke king of Etruria, in 1801; in consequence of which Spain ceded Louisiana to Napoleon, who, in 1803, sold it to the United States.

Charles IV., in the war between Great Britain and France in 1803, having purchased permission to remain neutral, by the payment of a monthly tribute of 1,000,000 piastres to Napoleon, the British seized the Spanish frigates which were carrying the products of the American mines to Cadiz, in 1804; and Spain was compelled to declare war. The victory of the British at Trafalgar, Oct. 21, 1805, destroyed its naval power; the bold Miranda excited the desire for independence in Spanish America, in 1806; and Napoleon overthrew the throne of the Bourbons in Naples. Godoy now called on the Spanish nation to arm against 'the common enemy;' and Napoleon, therefore, sent a Spanish army, under Romana, to Denmark, and another, under O'Farrill, to Tuscany. October 27, 1807, he concluded a secret treaty at Fontainebleau, respecting the division of Portugal; and 28,000 French soldiers, maintained by Spain, marched over the Pyrenees, and were joined by 11,000 Spaniards. The family quarrels of the royal family favoured the plans of the French ruler in Spain. At the instigation of Godoy Charles IV. wrote to Napoleon, stating that his son Ferdinand, prince of Asturias, had intended to dethrone him, and to deprive his mother of life, so that he ought to be excluded from the succession. The junta, however, unanimously acquitted the prince and the other prisoners; but Godoy induced Ferdinand to ask pardon of the king and queen; on which the king caused the letter to be published in the Gazette of Madrid, and issued a decree granting pardon to the prince on account of his repentance. The other prisoners were banished.

Thus ended the process of the Escurial In the meanwhile French troops entered Spain. Charles IV. received them as allies; but, on a sudden, the court prepared to leave Aranjuez for Seville; and it was rumoured that the royal family intended to go to Mexico. Nothing would now satisfy the people but the dismissal of Godoy. This was done; on the next day, March 19, 1808, Charles IV. resigned the crown in favour of his son; and on the 24th Ferdinand made his public entry into Madrid, which had been occupied by Murat, commander of the French troops, the day previous. Ferdinand informed Napoleon of his assumption of the royal power; while Charles made it known to him that he had retracted his resignation. It required not the keen eye of the emperor to discern that the affairs of the royal family were most wretchedly embroiled; and he failed not to profit by it, but caused the whole family to be conveyed to Bayonne, where he himself arrived April 15.

During the meeting at Bayonne, a commotion, attended with bloodshed, took place at Madrid between the French and Spaniards, the latter, excited by the arrogance of their visitors, having attacked them. Joseph Buonaparte, accompanied by all the ministers of Ferdinand VII., entered Madrid as the future monarch of Spain; but some parts of the country would not acknowledge him so easily. Supine as the Spaniards appeared in the first instance, it could not be expected that a change of dynasties, or rather a transfer of one large country to the dominions of another, could be effected without some opposition; yet had it not been for the energetic support of Great Britain, the struggle could not have lasted long.

The people in Asturias first took up arms; Arragon, Seville, and Badajos followed. Palafox carried from Bayonne to Saragossa the order of the prince of Asturias that the people should arm; and the supreme junta received permission to assemble the cortes. Early in June the junta at Seville had issued a proclamation of war, and the French squadron at Cadiz surrendered to the Spaniards. Six days later an insurrection broke out in Portugal, and the alliance of Great Britain with the Spanish nation was proclaimed. The great struggle now commenced. Marshal Bessières was successful in the battle at Medina del Rio Secco over general Cuesta; but the previous defeat of Dupont at Baylen decided the retreat of the French from Madrid, and Castanos entered the city. General Romana had secretly embarked his troops at Funen, and landed in Spain: and Wellesley was victorious over the French under Junot, at Vimeira, on which the French general capitulated the day after at Cintra, and soon after evacuated Portugal. Napoleon advanced with a new army as far as the Ebro, and on the 10th of September Soult defeated the centre of the great Spanish army. Victor and Lefebvre's victory on the 11th, at

Espinosa, opened the way to Asturia and the northern coast; and in consequence of the success of Lannes at Todela, great numbers of fugitives took refuge in Saragossa. The mountain pass of Somo Sierra was taken by assault by the French and Poles, under Napoleon and Bessières; and the French army appeared before Madrid, which surrendered Dec. 4. The French gained many victories and took many fortresses; but the conquerors remained masters only of the places which they occupied, as the guerillas everywhere surrounded and harassed them.

Austria now declared war, and Napoleon was obliged, in January 1809, to leave the conduct of the war to his marshals. Two objects chiefly occupied the French generals in that and the following year—the reconquest of Portugal, and the march over the Sierra Morena to Cadiz. The British had become masters of Portugal. Sir Arthur Wellesley advanced from Lisbon, by the way of Alcantara, up the Tagus, and Cuesta joined him near Truxillo; whilst general sir Robert Wilson advanced over Placenzia, and Venegas, the Spanish general, from the Sierra Morena, towards Madrid. This bold plan of attack was frustrated by the battle of Talavera. The British, indeed, were victorious over Joseph, Victor, and Jourdain; but not being sufficiently supported by the Spaniards, and being threatened by Soult and Ney advancing on their flank, they were obliged to retire to the frontiers of Portugal; after which Venegas also began to retreat, and was defeated by Joseph at Almonacid, as was Wilson by Ney in the passes of Baros. Madrid thus escaped a siege.

The central junta at Seville now resolved to yield to the universal wish to assemble the cortes and to nominate a regency. New armies were created, and Arezaga advanced with 55,000 men as far as Ocana, where, however, he was entirely defeated by Mortier. Madrid, therefore, was again saved; but in Catalonia, Arragon, and Biscay, the most desperate struggle was carried on with the bands of the patriots. In Old Castile several guerilla parties hovered on the French; and in Navarre the troops of Mina were an absolute terror to them. The largest company of them, under the dreaded Marquesito, formerly a colonel in the army, encountered several generals in the open field. In vain did the French establish fortresses on their lines of communication, and endeavour to protect their rear by movable columns. Yet their plan against Andalusia succeeded. With 22,000 men, the rash Arezaga thought he could maintain the line on the Sierra Morena, fifteen leagues long, intrenched and mined, and having in its centre the fortified pass of Peraperos, against 60,000 troops, commanded by the best generals of France. Dessolles and Gazan, in January 1810, took the pass of Despenna-Peras; Sebastiano stormed the defile of St. Estevan, and took the bridges over the Guadalquiver; and on the 21st of January, 1810, Joseph Buonaparte entered Baylen. Jaen was conquered; Cordova submitted Sebastiano occupied Granada; and Joseph, on the 1st of February, entered Seville, from which the junta had fled to Cadiz.

This place, the only one which remained in the hands of the Spaniards, and which was defended by 16,000 men under Albuquerque, and 4,000 English soldiers under Graham, besides the combined British and Spanish fleets, was besieged in February, but all the efforts and offers of the French were in vain. The war in Catalonia and Arragon continued. In Leon, the French conquered Astorga, and then directed their arms against Portugal. In this country, to the north of the Tagus, Wellington commanded a British army of 30,000 men, and Beresford a Portuguese army nearly 60,000 strong, besides 52,000 militia. The right wing of Wellington, at Badajos, was joined by 20,000 Spaniards under Romana, and 8,000 under Ballasteros. The main body of the allied force was posted on the heights of Lisbon, which had been rendered impregnable. The plan of the British commander, therefore, was defensive. Massena began his undertaking in June, by the siege of Cuidad-Rodrigo, which surrendered on the 10th of July, and Ney entered Portugal over the river Coa; but Almeida detained Massena till the 27th of August, when it was obliged to capitulate. Wellington ordered the whole country through which Massena could follow him to be laid waste; and the latter was consequently compelled to defer his march some time. He was afterwards beaten at Busaco; and Wellington now entered the strong position of Torres-Vedras, which consisted of two lines on the heights of Lisbon, defended by 170 well-placed works and 444 cannon. Massena found this position unassailable, and retreated, after several engagements of little importance, in November to Santarem. Here he remained till March 1811, when he was compelled, by want of provisions, to evacuate Portugal entirely. But the French were victorious at other points. Suchet, in January 1811, took the important fortress of Tortosa, in Catalonia; and, in the following June, after a murderous assault of five days, the fortress of Tarragona. Soult took the frontier fortresses towards Portugal—Olivença and Badajos; and Victor defeated general Graham at Chiclana. In the autumn, Suchet marched against Valencia; and after having beaten the army under general Blake, Murviedro fell on the 26th of October, and Valencia surrendered in January 1812.

Lord Wellington now again entered Spain. He took Cuidad Rodrigo and Badajos; but he was ill supported by the cortes and the regency. At this time Marmont was at the head of the French army in Portugal; but the loss of the decisive battle of Salamanca, on the 22nd of July 1812, obliged him to give up the defence of Madrid. Wellington entered the city on the 22nd of August, and the French retired from before Cadiz about the same time; thus withdrawing their forces from the south of Spain, and concentrating them in the eastern and northern parts. After the occupation of Madrid, Wellington followed the enemy to Burgos; but he gave

up the siege of the castle of Burgos, after several unsuccessful assaults, as the Spaniards afforded him insufficient support, and the French had received succours. After several engagements, he transferred his head-quarters to Freynada, on the frontier of Portugal, and the French again entered Madrid.

At length, Napoleon's disasters in Russia decided the fate of the peninsula. Soult was recalled in the beginning of 1813, with 30,000 men, from Spain. Suchet left Valencia in July, but delivered Tarragona, which was besieged by Bentinck, in August, and withstood Clinton on the Lobregat. But Joseph had been obliged to leave Madrid again, and Wellington had occupied Salamanca. The French army, commanded by Joseph Buonaparte and Jourdain, retreated to Vittoria. Here Wellington overtook the enemy, and gained the splendid victory of Vittoria; after which the French army, pursued by Graham and Hill, retreated in disorder over the Pyrenees to Bayonne, and lost all its baggage. The victors immediately invested Pampeluna. Count Abisbal occupied the pass of Pancorbo. Graham besieged St. Sebastian, and Wellington entered France on the 9th of July. In the meantime, Napoleon, then in Dresden, had appointed marshal Soult his lieutenant and commander-in-chief of his armies in Spain. He united the beaten corps, and opposed a considerable force to the victor. On the 24th July the struggle began in the Pyrenees, and was maintained until August on every point. Wellington took St. Sebastian by assault, after having several times repulsed the enemy, who approached to deliver the garrison. It was not, however, until the 7th of October that he left the Pyrenees, and passed the Bidassoa. After Pampeluna had fallen, no French soldier was left on the Spanish territory, except in Barcelona, and a few other places in Catalonia. Wellington now attacked the enemy on the fortified banks of the Nivelle, and Soult retreated into the camp of Bayonne. But until Wellington had passed the Nive, and had repulsed several attacks, it was not possible for him to obtain a secure footing in the hostile country. His head-quarters were at St. Jean de Luz. Thence he repulsed Suchet's attacks on the Gave. On the 28th of February he fought a battle with Soult at Orthes, by which the latter was driven from his strong position, and obliged to retreat, in great disorder, to the Upper Garonne. Wellington followed the French, under Soult, to Toulouse, where a sanguinary engagement took place on the 10th of April; and the occupation of France by the allied forces put an end to the war.

The cortes had already held its first session, and had resolved that Ferdinand VII. should swear to preserve the constitution, before he should be recognised as king. The treaty of Valençay, between Ferdinand and Napoleon, was made void by declaring all the acts of the king during his captivity null. On the 14th of May 1814, he entered Madrid: the people, dissatisfied with the new taxes which had been imposed by the cortes, received him with acclamations, and the friends of the cortes and king Joseph were persecuted with the greatest rigour. Freemasonry was abolished, and the Inquisition revived: the conventual states were restored, and the Jesuits recalled, and reinstated in all the rights and property of which they had been deprived since 1767. And, although the king had solemnly promised a new constitution, liberty of the press, &c., he regarded none of his promises, and reigned with absolute power.

The army, however, was highly disaffected to these proceedings, and guerillas, or bands of soldiers, infested the interior. Even the lower classes, though averse to liberal principles, were discontented with the severity of the government, while the better classes were divided into the hostile factions of the serviles and the liberals. Those counsellors who ventured to remonstrate with the king, as Empecinado, Ballasteros, &c., were banished or thrown into prison. From 1814 to 1819, there were twenty-five changes in the ministry, mostly sudden and attended with severities. They were produced by the camarilla, or persons in the personal service of the king. Every attempt to save the state was frustrated by them, and the overthrow of this ancient monarchy was accelerated by the loss of the American colonies. The army was the instrument of its fall; several conspiracies had been organised by the officers for the restoration of the constitution of the cortes; and Portier, Mina, Lacy, and Vidal, were successively the leaders of the conspirators. Mina had been obliged to save himself by flight; the others had been executed, and their friends had suffered on the rack, or been thrown into prison.

The army was indisposed to the American service, for which it was destined, and the officers favourable to the constitution of the cortes took advantage of this state of feeling to effect their own purposes: whole regiments had determined not to embark, and the commander himself, O'Donnell, conde del Abisbal, was in the secret. But, finding his ambitious project of becoming dictator of the monarchy frustrated by the civil authority, he caused a division of troops which had given the signal of insurrection to be disarmed (July 8, 1819), and the officers, 123 in number, to be arrested. The embarkation of the troops was fixed for January; but on the 1st of the month, four battalions under Riego proclaimed the constitution of 1812, surrounded the head-quarters of general Callejo, who had succeeded O'Donnell in the command, took possession of the town of Isla de Leon, and delivered the officers arrested in July, among whom was Quiroga. The insurgents failed in their attack on Cadiz, but occupied La Caracca, where the naval arsenal, a ship of the line, and other vessels of war, with some transports, fell into their hands. Quiroga declared, in the name of the army of the nation—the title assumed by the insurgents—that it was their purpose to obtain from the king the acceptance of the constitution.

Riego, at the head of a troop of 2,500 men, now occupied Algesiras, entered Malaga, and after some fighting with O'Donnell, advanced through Ecija and Cordova to Antequera; while the national army, under Quiroga, in addresses to the king and to the nation, declared their only object was to save their country by the restoration of the constitution, which had already been accepted by the nation. Risings now took place in all quarters in favour of the constitution of the cortes; the royal forces joined the insurgents; Freyre himself was obliged to proclaim the constitution in Seville; and Ferdinand, abandoned by his own troops, was compelled to yield to the general cry, and, by proclamation, declared himself ready to summon the cortes of 1812, and accept the constitution of that year. On the same day a general amnesty was proclaimed. On the 9th a provisional junta of eleven members was named, to conduct affairs till the meeting of the cortes; and Ferdinand swore to observe the constitution in presence of this body, and of the municipal authorities of Madrid. The Inquisition was abolished, as inconsistent with the constitution, and obnoxious ministers, &c., were succeeded by others favourable to constitutional principles. In place of the council of Castile and that of the Indies, a supreme judicial tribunal, with appropriate subordinate courts, was established, national guards were organised in the provinces, the municipal authorities were made to conform to the constitution, and the cortes finally assembled. Much was done to heal the wounds of the country; but an apostolical junta established itself on the frontiers of Portugal, and bands of peasants, monks, and guerilla soldiers were formed, for the purpose of restoring the privileges of the crown and the clergy.

The second session of the cortes began in March 1821, who declared the whole country in danger, and in a state of siege. The command of the armed force was now given to Morillo, and quiet was in some measure restored. But the ultra liberals, or exaltados, as they were called, were not a little excited by the events in Naples and Piedmont, in 1821, and the kingdom was in so disturbed a state that an extraordinary cortes was summoned in September. At the same time Mexico declared itself independent; Lima was occupied by the Chilians, under San Martin; and the Spanish part of the island of St. Domingo was lost by its union with Hayti. Upon which the cortes urged the king to appoint an abler ministry, and, after some contention, his majesty yielded to their wishes. In January 1822, the cortes declared themselves ready to acknowledge America as a kingdom independent of Spain, but united with her under Ferdinand VII. their common sovereign. The deputies sent to America, however, could effect nothing on these conditions; and the session of the cortes was concluded on the 14th of February.

At the outset of the third session the moderate liberal party prevailed, and tranquillity was gradually restored to the internal affairs of the country, when it began to be threatened from without. The strong sanitary cordon of French troops along the Pyrenees, and the intrigues of the exiles, led the government to suspect that the disturbances excited among the peasants in Navarre and Catalonia, and the bands of 'soldiers of the faith,' so called, were instigated by the French government. The cortes therefore armed the volunteer national guards; but the pecuniary resources were chiefly in the hands of the supporters of despotism. The royal guards, in spite of the opposition of Murillo, their commander, entered Madrid July 7, but Ballasteros, at the head of the national guards, defeated them, and they fled into the royal palace; but the king, who favoured them originally, now showed himself irresolute. They were unable to resist the popular force, but would have been allowed to retire, if they had not again fired on the national guards, who then fell upon them, and killed or wounded the greater part. The moderate party, who had been in favour of a chamber of peers and the extension of the royal power, now joined the communeros, or popular party, and all the ministers resigned.

The new ministers acted in conformity with the views of the communeros; and the king, whose authority had sunk entirely, consented to all they proposed. Many persons of rank, including bishops, were banished. General Elio was executed; but the guards were treated with great leniency. The king again declared his adherence to the constitution; but the apostolical troops in Biscay, Navarre, and Catalonia continued their revolting cruelties. Under the marquis Mataflorida, a regency of the friends of absolute government was established at Seo d'Urgel, near the French frontier, in August 1822. It issued orders, in the name of the 'imprisoned king,' for the restoration of everything to the state in which it had been before the 7th of March 1820. The troops of the apostolical party, after much bloodshed, were beaten by Mina and Milans. Generals Espinosa, Torrijos, and El Pastor distinguished themselves against Quesada, a Trappist, and others. The regency fled to France in November 1822, and it was obvious that its cause was not that of the nation. No troops of the line or national guards, no important cities nor individuals, went over to them. Some soldiers 'of the faith,' however, still continued in Spain, particularly those of Bessières, Ullmann, &c. At no period was Spain in a more unsettled state than now, and nothing less than a desperate struggle between despotism and revolution could be calculated on. The French had acceded to the principle of an armed intervention pronounced by Austria, Russia, and Prussia, in relation to Spain; and the French ambassador at Madrid received orders to advise a change in the constitution, as the condition on which the continuance of peace between the two countries must depend; and, in order to enable Ferdinand VII. to make such changes freely, he must first of all be restored to the full enjoyment

of sovereign power. The same demand, and even in bolder terms, was made by the ministers of Prussia, Austria, and Russia, while Great Britain advised the cortes to yield, and offered her mediation. The Spanish government repelled with indignation the interference of the foreign powers, and the threatened discontinuance of diplomatic intercourse took place. The foreign ambassadors were recalled from Madrid. 100,000 French soldiers were assembled with the soldiers of the faith at Perpignan and Bayonne, and the cortes summoned the national guards to serve with the troops of the line; but the attempts to raise an army were unsuccessful, because the bands of the absolutists gave full employment to the troops of the line and the national guards in the various provinces.

The duke of Angoulême, at the head of the French army, issued a proclamation to the Spaniards, declaring that the object of the French was only to aid them, and that France desired nothing but the deliverance of Spain from the evils of revolution. His army then passed the Bidasson; a junta was established, who formed a provisional government, declaring the king the sole depository of sovereign power, and that no change in the government should be recognised but such as the king should make of his own free choice; and all the decrees of the cortes were declared void. Great Britain remained neutral, or rather affected neutrality; for the government allowed the exportation of arms and ammunition to Spain; and, in return, the ports of the New World were opened to her ships. A long, tedious, and cruel warfare was now kept up by the Spanish troops under the control of Ballasteros, Mina, L'Abishal, and Morillo, against the French and the supporters of the 'absolute king.' On the 24th of May the duke of Angoulême entered Madrid amid the acclamations of the populace. He nominated a regency, consisting of the duke of Infantado, the duke of Montemar, the bishop of Osma, the baron d'Eroles, and Don Gomez Calderon; but they had no pecuniary resources, and no power, if they had the will, to prevent the furious eruptions of party hatred.

The cortes had in vain tried to excite a general guerilla war. On account of the want of money, they decreed the seizure of all the property of persons of the opposite party, a forced loan of 200,000,000 of reals, and the coining of the superfluous church plate, by which measures the hatred of the people was still more increased. Yet the ministers did not dare to propose to the cortes the mediation offered by England, through sir W. A'Court, the British minister. The king refused to go to Cadiz; and a regency of three members, with royal powers, was appointed, because the case of moral incapacity on the part of the king, provided for by the constitution, had occurred. On the 12th of June, the cortes and the king, with the regency, departed for Cadiz; but the people were so furious against the constitutionalists, that the authorities called in the aid of the French. Meanwhile the regency in Madrid declared all the members of the cortes who had participated in the session of the 11th, when the king was declared morally incapable, to be traitors; but more it could not do: it was so destitute of resources that it was even supported by French money. The duke of Angoulême took possession of Cadiz on the 4th of October. An act of the cortes had already reinvested the king with absolute power, and requested him to retire to the French camp, where he had been received in form by the duke, with cries of 'Viva el rey! Viva la religion! Muera la nacion!' &c. Ferdinand's first measure was to declare all the acts of the constitutional government, from March 7, 1820, to October 1, 1823, void on the ground that during that time the king was acting under compulsion. The partisan warfare still continued to rage with great fierceness, particularly in Catalonia; but the defection of some of the leaders soon after took place; it appeared fast drawing to a termination; and on the 22nd of October 1823, the duke of Angoulême took his leave of the army of the Pyrenees, which had so successfully accomplished the military objects of its mission.

The political objects of the expedition, to secure a system of mildness and moderation, were frustrated by the bad faith of the Spanish government. In direct violation of the terms of the military capitulations, a persecuting and vindictive policy was adopted towards the former partisans of the constitution. Among the crowds of fugitives were Mina, the count del Abishal, Morillo, &c. Riego was executed at Madrid, and the king made his entry into the capital on a triumphal car twenty-five feet high, drawn by a hundred men, and amidst the rejoicings of the people. It was not, however, to be expected that the excesses of political and religious bigotry would suddenly subside, or that the people would quietly submit to the heavy taxation which the bad state of the finances rendered necessary. A treaty was therefore concluded with France, stipulating for the maintenance of a French force of 45,000 men in the country, until the Spanish army could be organised; and the debt due to France for the expenses of the French expedition was fixed at 31,000,000 francs.

The year 1825 was disturbed by several insurrections of the Carlists, who were anxious to effect the abdication of Ferdinand, and place his brother Don Carlos on the throne. Numerous executions and frequent changes of ministry took place, all plainly indicative of the weakness of the government; while the independence of the colonies was acknowledged by foreign powers, and a general interruption of commerce and industry throughout Spain was manifest. In this state the country continued for several subsequent years. In 1827, Spanish subjects were permitted to trade with the Spanish American republics, but under foreign flags; and in the following year Spain was evacuated by the French troops.

The sword, the scaffold, exile, and the dungeon had done so much to subdue the

national spirit, and to reduce the numbers of the constitutionalists, that when, in 1830, the French revolution produced such effects in Belgium, and excited so much alarm in Germany and other neighbouring countries, it scarcely awakened the popular feeling on this side the Pyrenees: the troubles of Spain were now mostly confined to the struggle for power between the more or less absolute of the absolutists, the former having been favoured by the views of Don Carlos, then heir presumptive to the throne, and the latter by the king. But on the birth of a royal princess, in 1830, by Maria Christina, his fourth wife, a royal decree rendered the crown hereditary in the female line, in default of male heirs, and entirely changed the relation of the prince to the throne.

During a severe attack of illness, Ferdinand, at the instigation of the friends of Don Carlos, in 1832, renewed the Salic law, which rendered the throne of Spain hereditary only in the male line; but, with that vacillating conduct which is one of the surest marks of a weak mind, his majesty, on his recovery, formally protested against the decree, which he stated to have been extorted from him; and he then again declared his daughter to be his only legitimate successor to the throne of Spain. Shortly after this, Don Carlos was banished from the kingdom; and Ferdinand, who was in his fiftieth year, died suddenly of apoplexy, on the 29th of September 1833.

The death of Ferdinand VII. became the signal for the breaking out of fresh dissensions. In order still further to fortify the right of his daughter to the throne, he had exercised the prerogative of naming her his successor in his will; and by the same instrument he appointed the queen regent till the infanta Isabella attained the age of eighteen years. Don Carlos, however, claimed the throne in virtue of the Salic law, although it had been repealed, and was never, in fact, practically in force. The rights of Isabella II. were supported by the liberals; the pretensions of Don Carlos by the absolutists. Guided by the counsels of M. Zea, the chief minister, the queen depended upon the support of the constitutionalists for securing the succession of her infant daughter. The strength of the Carlists lay chiefly in Navarre, Catalonia, the Biscayan provinces, Old Castile, and Estremadura. The chief strength of the constitutionalists was in Madrid, and in the provinces of Andalusia, Murcia, Valencia, and other districts bordering on the Mediterranean. The queen-regent was not slow in adopting vigorous and popular measures to counteract the Carlists. With the aid of the provincial militia and the volunteers, she disbanded the royalist volunteers of the capital, and in Toledo; she also remodelled the post-office laws, the censorship of the press, and public education; while at the same time care was taken not to disturb existing interests and prejudices. Meantime several contests took place between the rival parties, accompanied with the exercise of great cruelties on both sides; but the queen's party was generally successful, and at the close of the year the civil war appeared nearly at an end.

The reciprocal massacre of prisoners had several times occurred, and the deadliest hatred and revenge was manifestly encouraged by both parties; in short, so savagely was the Spanish contest carried on, that the duke of Wellington, from motives of humanity, sent lord Elliot and colonel Gurwood on a mission to Spain, to endeavour to put a stop to the cruelties practised by the belligerents, and render the war less bloody and revengeful. The Christinos hesitated at first to enter into any terms with the Carlists, whom they deemed rebels; and although, at length, it was mutually agreed upon to treat the prisoners taken on either side according to the ordinary rules of war, a few months only elapsed before similar barbarities were practised with all their former remorselessness.

In the spring of 1834 a treaty was concluded in London, by the courts of Great Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal, having for its object the pacification of the peninsula. By this quadruple treaty it was agreed—that Spain and Portugal should assist each other in the expulsion from their respective territories of Don Carlos and Don Miguel; that Britain should cooperate by employing a naval force; and that France should assist the contracting parties in any way that they in common accord might determine upon.

The war thus continued to rage with unabated fury; but the queen's party obtained an auxiliary force, which was raised in England, and the command given to general Evans. The British government was pledged to assist with a *naval* force only; the troops therefore, which were denominated the 'British legion,' were raised without the sanction, though certainly with the connivance, of ministers. They were ill-equipped and ill-clad, nor could anything be managed much worse than their commissariat. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, and the motley character of the recruits, they fought bravely, and thereby contributed in no slight degree to the success of the queen's cause. On the 5th of May 1836, some fortified works, which had cost the Carlists three or four months to erect, and through the centre of which ran the high road to Hernani, were gallantly carried by the auxiliary legion; while two armed steamers, commanded by lord John Hay, lent very opportune aid to the victors. On this occasion the loss of the British in killed and wounded amounted to 800, among whom were upwards of seventy officers. About this time Mendizabel, the Spanish prime minister, from whose abilities much had been anticipated, but who had not been zealously supported by the cortes, resigned, and was succeeded by M. Isturitz. Another violent change was, however, near at hand.

At Malaga, Cadiz, Seville, and Cordova, the Cadiz constitution of 1812 had been proclaimed, and provincial juntas established, wholly independent of the queen's authority On the 3rd of August a movement com

menced in Madrid: but it was put down, and the capital declared in a state of siege: but on the 12th the insurrection became more serious, and a regiment of provincial militia forced their way into the apartments of the queen-regent, and obtained from her a promise of the acceptance of the constitution. This produced a revolution in the metropolis. Isturitz, the prime minister, made his escape to Lisbon, and thence to England. General Quesada, the military governor of Madrid, was seized by the populace, and inhumanly put to death. Ultimately, the constitution was proclaimed by the queen-regent, subject to the revision of the cortes, and a new ministry of decided liberals formed, of which Mendizabel was minister of finance. The new government commenced with vigour. The sum of 2,000,000*l.* was sought to be raised by a forced loan; a conscription of 50,000 men was called for, to send against the Carlists; the property of emigrant Carlists was confiscated; and the example of France and Portugal was proposed to be followed, by the extinction of the remaining moiety of tithe, leaving the clergy stipendiaries of the state, or dependent on voluntary contributions. On the 16th of June 1837, the revised constitution of the Spanish monarchy was proclaimed. Its articles appeared to be of a popular and liberal character.

In June 1835, colonel De Lacy Evans, one of the members for Westminster, was appointed by the Spanish authorities to the command of the British auxiliary legion, which was to cooperate with the queen's troops against Don Carlos.

On the 1st of October, 1836, a vigorous assault was made on the lines of the British legion at Sebastian by the Carlists, who made an unsuccessful attempt to carry them. Both parties fought bravely. The Carlists, charging down-hill, frequently sallied from their works in force, but each time were driven back at the point of the bayonet. The Westminster grenadiers distinguished themselves; and a small corps of lancers, under colonel Wakefield, made several brilliant charges; but a much more effective arm was the well-appointed artillery under the direction of colonel Colquhoun. The conflict lasted twelve hours. General Evans lost 376 men and 37 officers killed and wounded, and was slightly wounded himself. The loss of the Carlists in killed and wounded was estimated at 1,000 men.

In December 1836, the siege of Bilboa was raised, by the operations of the combined British and Christinos forces. General Espartero, assisted by a small band of British engineers, artillerymen, and sailors, entered the city of Bilboa on Christmas-day, at the head of his army, after a series of contests with the enemy. The works raised by the Carlists were of great strength, and nothing but the enthusiasm of the troops could have enabled them to overcome the difficulties with which they had to contend. A vote of thanks to the liberators of Bilboa, and to the Spanish and British forces, was moved in the cortes; and the official gazette of Jan. 4, 1837, contained a royal decree, in which the queen-regent expressed, in the name of her daughter, her gratitude to general Espartero and his army, the national and auxiliary British force, and to all those, whether Spaniards or English, who took a part in the memorable engagements of the 24th and 25th of December.

A month had scarcely elapsed, however, before the affairs of Don Carlos appeared to revive; general Evans having sustained a defeat before St. Sebastian, and the queen's armies under generals Saarsfield and Espartero having found it necessary to make simultaneous retreats. These reverses made such an impression, that at a secret sitting of the cortes on the 30th of March, the acting war-minister described Spain to be 'without credit at home or abroad—with a depreciated and ill-concocted revenue—with an army in the worst state as to subordination or military discipline—whilst the chiefs were at variance with each other.'

It was originally arranged that Espartero, Saarsfield, and Evans should move simultaneously to the points of attack; but owing to mismanagement or treachery, this plan was not carried into operation. On the 10th of March, general Evans broke ground from St. Sebastian, and commencing his operations by an attack upon the heights of Ametzagana, at the eastern extremity of the chain of hills, carried that position. On the 16th he prepared to make his decisive attack upon the town of Hernani, and succeeded in gaining possession of the wooded heights which rise above it on the north. All was prepared for a forward movement, when he discovered, most unexpectedly, that the Carlists had been so powerfully reinforced as to render an advance desperately hazardous; and almost at the same moment the whole of his left wing was thrown into confusion, by the appearance in its rear of three battalions of Carlists, who, under the cover of the night, had been brought, by a circuitous march, to the right bank of the Urumea, and having passed that river at Axterragaga, again moved in the direction of the north-west. The regiment on the extreme left of the Anglo-Christinos' line, thus finding itself attacked in front, and on the left flank and in the rear, made a rapid lateral movement to the right, which was soon accelerated to a panic flight. A regiment of Castile, which stood next in the line, was at once infected by its terror, and the alarm ran through the line, until it approached the battalion of royal British marines, on the extreme right. This noble corps maintained gloriously the character of the *royal* troops of Great Britain; it repulsed every attack upon its position, and did not make a retrograde step, until it had covered the retreat of the whole allied army, and seen the artillery, wounded, and baggage of the allies placed in security. The Anglo-Christinos are said to have lost between 1,500 and 2,000 in killed, wounded, and prisoners—and immeasurably more in moral influence.

The next accounts from Spain showed that the cause of the queen was somewhat

improving. After an obstinate defence by the Carlist troops, general Evans succeeded in carrying Irun, where a dreadful scene of pillage and massacre ensued. Fontarabia soon afterwards capitulated. On the 13th of May, Espartero entered Hernani, after having beaten the Carlists, and taken 600 of them prisoners. In several other engagements he was also successful. Yet such was the uncertainty of this contest, that in the following month the forces of Don Carlos were almost everywhere successful. On one occasion—the battle of Barbastro—the Carlists gained a great victory, upwards of 2,500 Christinos being put *hors de combat*. This was the most sanguinary engagement that had been fought since the commencement of the civil war.

Whilst Don Carlos was advancing towards Upper Catalonia, and preparing to place himself in the centre of the mountains of that province, the revolutionary hydra had raised its head with more hardihood than ever. And, to add to the calamities of the Christinos, general Evans, with the greatest part of the officers belonging to the legion, had abandoned the cause as hopeless and returned to England: only 1,500 remaining behind, who formed a brigade under the command of colonel O'Connell.

The cause of the queen now wore a most unpromising aspect. Her troops had sustained several severe defeats; and, in September, the forces of Carlos were actually investing the capital. On the 24th of August, general Buerens was defeated, with the loss of 1,500 men, while in endeavouring to repel one of the armies of Don Carlos, 12,000 strong, which was attempting to pass between Daroca and Saragossa. On the 14th of Sept. the remains of the British legion, under general O'Donnell, after their advance to Pampeluna, were attacked by a superior body of Carlists, who carried Andoain, where O'Donnell had fortified himself, and drove the queen's troops back to Hernani. The British auxiliaries bore the whole brunt of the attack, and twenty-five English officers were killed.

On the 11th of Sept. the Spanish government received intelligence that Cabrera was preparing to march against the capital, and that his movement was to be supported by the bulk of Don Carlos's army. Martial law was immediately proclaimed. The troops and national guard mustered; a 'sacred battalion' was formed to guard the two queens; and cannon were stationed in the most exposed and dangerous quarters of the city.

Again the fortune of war inclined to the Christinos side. Don Carlos, who had invested Madrid, was compelled to make a precipitate retreat, with great loss, and was closely pursued by Espartero. In Navarre and Valladolid, also, the queen's troops gained some considerable advantages; Carlos was driven to his old quarters in the north; and Espartero, having taken possession of many strong places, appeared confident of successful results from the next winter campaign.

In November, the dissolution of the cortes took place, and a new cabinet was formed, in which Espartero was appointed minister of war, and at the same time continued as commander-in-chief of the army of the north. The English legion had been wholly disbanded, after a correspondence between its commander, O'Connell, and the Spanish general, O'Donnell, which had reached the height of asperity. The men composing the legion had given up their arms, and were in the most deplorable state of destitution.

At the commencement of 1838 (Jan. 23), the town of Morella was captured by the Carlists. This was of the greatest importance to them, as it constituted the point of junction between the kingdoms of Valencia and Arragon, and was admirably fortified. 1,200 prisoners, 12 pieces of cannon, and provisions for three months, were the fruits of this capture. On the other hand, the Carlists had been defeated in an attempt to obtain possession of Saragossa, and in some minor engagements elsewhere. To which we may add, that on the 26th of April, Espartero attacked and entirely defeated, near Burgos, the force of count Negri; making 2,000 prisoners, of whom 215 were chiefs and officers.

Thus for many succeeding months did victory continue to alternate between the contending parties, though inclining generally to the constitutional side. We shall therefore pass on till we come to an affair of considerable moment, namely, the surrender of Morella—the last stronghold of Cabrera—to the queen's troops on the 31st of May 1830; the garrison remaining prisoners of war. Espartero had no less than 50,000 men, including 2,000 cavalry, and 72 pieces of artillery, to reduce this fortress. Balmaseda, the worthy rival of Cabrera in ferocity and rapacity, fell into the snare laid for him by the queen's generals. Believing that he was not pursued, he passed the Douro, and conceived the bold project of surprising the two queens on their way to Madrid and Saragossa, where he was attacked, on the 25th of June, by the constitutional general, Concha, and driven to the Pyrenees. He then retreated into France, but made his appearance again on the 30th, at the head of about 5,000 men. He had retired before the queen's troops, fighting to the last; and, although, like almost every other chieftain in this sanguinary and long-protracted struggle, he was a monster of cruelty, his firm adherence to his master's cause until there was no longer any hope of success, merits admiration. He appeared in nearly the last stage of exhaustion, from fatigue and from his wounds, of which he had received no less than fourteen.

At this time it was said that but little more than the name of royalty existed in Spain; a military despotism, headed by Espartero, dictating the whole affairs of the nation. The queen-regent Christina, being stripped of nearly every particle of power, made up her mind to quit Spain before Espartero and the new ministers arrived. She saw them, however, at Valencia, and expressed her determination to abdi

cate the regency, in consequence of the difficulties which environed her. She was then told, that if she insisted on abdicating, and on retiring to Naples, she must leave the young queen Isabella to the guardianship of the nation, and must also give up the public property vested in her as queen and regent. To this she consented, and the ministers accordingly announced the event to the nation. Shortly afterwards the young queen Isabella II. made her public entry into Madrid, attended by Espartero, &c., amid the acclamations of the inhabitants.

In May 1841, the duke of Victory (Espartero) was elected by a majority of 76 votes as sole regent of Spain during the minority of Isabella; the queen-mother, Christina, having previously sought refuge in France. For a considerable time after this event, the new regent possessed the confidence of the people, and effected many useful reforms in the state; but owing to his having given great offence to the clergy, in consequence of his having sanctioned the appropriation of part of the ecclesiastical revenues to secular purposes, a powerful party continued to harass and distract his government; till, at length, the insurrectionary movements in various parts of the country denoted that another crisis was approaching.

That crisis at length arrived, and the political career of Espartero was brought to a close. In June 1843, Corunna, Seville, and many other towns declared in favour of his opponents; and Madrid surrendered to them on the 24th of July. On receiving this information, Espartero immediately raised the siege of Seville, and started for Cadiz, with 400 cavalry. He was pursued to Port St. Mary's by general Concha, at the head of 500 horse, who arrived on the strand only five minutes after the regent had embarked in a boat for the English ship Malabar, of 72 guns. Nogueras, Gomez, and a few other officers escaped with him. A manly and patriotic manifesto was addressed by Espartero to the nation prior to his departure for England; which thus concludes:—'A military insurrection, without the slightest pretext, concluded the work commenced by a mere few; and, abandoned by those whom I so often had led to victory, I am compelled to seek refuge in a foreign land, fervently desiring the felicity of my beloved country. To its justice I recommend those who never abandoned the cause of legitimacy, loyal to the last, even in the most critical moments. In these the state will ever find its most decided assistants.'

His enemies also addressed a manifesto to the people of Spain, with the alleged view of explaining and justifying the revolution, and also of vindicating themselves and those who cooperated with them in procuring the defection of the army, and the consequent overthrow of Espartero, by means of foreign gold.

On the 30th of July, the duke of Baylen assumed the functions of guardian of the queen and the princess her sister. The new ministry adopted the decided course of declaring queen Isabella of age after the meeting of the cortes, which was appointed to take place on the 15th of October; to which proposal the queen gave her consent. Espartero left Spain, on his voyage to England on board the Prometheus steam-vessel; and on his arrival at Woolwich he was received with marked respect by lord Blomfield, commandant of the royal arsenal, sir F. Collyer, &c. On arriving in London, he took up his residence at Mivart's hotel, which was literally besieged by visitors of rank, amongst whom were the duke of Wellington, lord Aberdeen, and sir Robert Peel. The regent subsequently paid a visit to her majesty at Windsor; and the corporation of London made him welcome by inviting him to a festive entertainment in true civic style.

Christina, the queen-mother, who for a long time had been living in a state of exile in France, was now permitted to return to her native land; and, accompanied by the young queen Isabella, the infanta, and the principal ministers, she, on the 23rd of March, entered Madrid, with great pomp and state. On the 10th of October the cortes were opened by Isabella, who on that day completed her fourteenth year; and, three days afterwards, Christina was publicly married to Señor Munoz (previously created duke of Rianzares). Her attachment to this person had long been a matter of public notoriety; and it was universally believed that she had either been privately married to him for several years past, or had lived with him in a state of concubinage. Many insurrectionary movements had lately taken place in Spain, but it might be said that the civil war was now ended. Señor Gonzalvo Bravo had arisen upon the ruins of Espartero's power; but none of the generals or ministers who attained a temporary eminence during the collision of arms and parties that had taken place, proved equal to the task of regenerating their unfortunate country. We have no space to trace the rise and fall of the various administrations that were subsequently formed. It must suffice here to state that, soon after the expulsion of Espartero, the corporations that had long been obnoxious were changed; the national guard was disarmed and put down, and a law obliging the queen to seek the consent of the cortes to the husband she might select was abolished.

Before we speak of the most recent events in Spanish history, it may be as well to remind the reader that from time immemorial the politicians of Spain have been divided into French and English factions; the former called by the name of Moderados, the latter, Progresistas. On the downfall of Espartero, the Moderados, with general Narvaez at their head, had succeeded to power; and they soon found in the marriage of queen Isabella and her sister the infanta the means of perpetuating both the interests of France in Spain, and their own influence over Spanish affairs. Some of the difficulties which for a time arose with respect to the manner in which this project could be carried out, will

he found at p. 645 in the 'History of France.' But, finally, queen Isabella was united to her cousin Don Francisco de Assis, duke of Cadiz,—eldest son of Don Francisco de Paula, king Ferdinand's younger brother, and of Dona Carlotta, queen Christina's sister; whilst the infanta, Dona Fernanda, was married to the duke of Montpensier, king Louis Philippe's youngest son:—these marriages taking place at the same time in violation of a pledge, which the government of France had given to the English government, to the effect that the infanta should not be married until the queen her sister had issue. The English government manifested much indignation; and, after stating its objections on various grounds to the marringes themselves, protested against any child of the duke of Montpensier ever becoming sovereign of Spain, on the ground that by the treaty of Utrecht, any descendant of the Orleans family was excluded from such a position. The Moderados were in the full enjoyment of their triumph, when intelligence arrived of the overthrow of monarchy in France, and the flight of Louis Philippe to England. On receipt of this important news, all parties seemed at first inclined to prevent violent results by prudent and moderate courses. The government requesting extraordinary powers from the cortes, declared that that body should be kept sitting in order to judge of the manner in which these powers ought to be exercised. The opposition leaders, on their part, believing that by the natural current of events they should come into power, deprecated violence and revolution above all things, as likely to carry matters beyond the point at which men of reputation could engage in them. All of a sudden, however, affairs put on an entirely new aspect. General Narvaez appeared one morning in full uniform before the legislative assemblies, and declared them to be prorogued, in spite of the promises recently given, and without assigning any cause for such a violation of so solemn an engagement. The consequence was clear. On the 26th of March (the cortes had been prorogued on the 22nd) an insurrection broke out at Madrid. The minister of the interior described it as 'disturbances occasioned by groups, few in number, and of the lowest class, and vagabonds.' But no sooner had tranquillity been restored, than arrests of all sorts took place. Two of the most eminent opposition leaders in the cortes, Señores Olozaga and Escosura, were seized, imprisoned, and finally sent off to Cadiz, there to be embarked for transportation to the Philippines. They were never tried, nor sentenced, nor even accused of any particular crime; and nearly all the men of mark in the same party underwent the same fate. Meanwhile the English government, which had a deep interest in the welfare of Spain and the preservation of the Spanish crown, for which it had made great sacrifices, instructed the British minister at the court of Madrid earnestly to recommend to the government of Spain a line of conduct more in accordance with constitutional usages. But against this interference with the internal affairs of the country, the Spanish ministry protested in a vigorous despatch; and soon afterwards, sir Henry Bulwer, the British ambassador, who had been held up for some time in the ministerial press as a revolutionary intriguer, was dismissed from the Spanish capital, on the pretext that his life was in danger. The British government contented itself by merely giving his passports to M. Isturitz, the Spanish ambassador in London. But all diplomatic intercourse was suspended between the two countries till 1850; when it was renewed on the mediation of the king of the Belgians, at the solicitation of the Spanish government. Previously to these negotiations, general Narvaez had restored the constitutional government which he had suspended in 1848, and granted a free pardon to all political offenders. But in spite of his adoption of a milder system, he did not long maintain his authority. Early in 1851, he retired from office, in consequence of the intrigues of the queen's mother, and a military opposition in the senate; but it was generally understood that, should the unity of the conservative party be broken up, and the Progresistas be once more 'aux portes du pouvoir,' Narvaez would again become l'homme nécessaire, as in 1848, 'le plus propre,' as it was said, 'à tenir tête à la contagion révolutionnaire.'

For some years previously to 1850, an active system of propagandism had been organised in the United States, having for its object the annexation of Cuba, the chief Spanish colonial possession, to the American Union. It is true that the government of the United States gave no official countenance to these proceedings; on the contrary, it took active measures to suppress them. Yet in the teeth of the government, newspapers were established, and meetings were held, with the view of making popular an enterprise, from which, it was said, some high American functionaries did not keep aloof. In consequence of these measures an expedition was organised; and on the 19th of May 1850, a buccaneering party of 600 men, under a Spanish adventurer named Lopez, landed in Cuba. After a short but obstinate struggle, they took possession of the town of Cardenas; but a day or two afterwards, they were compelled to an ignominious and precipitate flight in presence of the prompt measures adopted by the governor, and the spontaneous fidelity of the population. Several of the pirates were captured, but their leader escaped.

But instead of being discouraged by this striking failure, in little more than twelve months afterwards, another expedition for the same piratical purpose was organised by the same adventurer. On the 3rd of August 1851, a steamer called the Pampero left New Orleans for Cuba, stealthily and without a clearance, having on board upwards of 400 armed men. After touching at Key West, she proceeded to the coast of Cuba, and on the night of the 11th and 12th of August, landed her piratical crew

at Playtas, within about twenty leagues of Havannah.

The main body of them proceeded to, and took possession of, an inland village, six leagues distant, leaving others to follow in charge of the baggage, as soon as the means of transportation could be obtained. The latter having taken up their line of march, to connect themselves with the main body, and having proceeded about four leagues into the country, were attacked on the morning of the 13th by a body of Spanish troops, and a bloody conflict ensued, after which they retreated to the place of disembarkation, where about fifty of them obtained boats, and reembarked therein. They were, however, intercepted near the shore by a Spanish steamer cruising, and, after being examined by a military court, were sentenced to be publicly executed, and the sentence was carried into execution on the 16th of August. Meanwhile the main body of the invaders, after some desperate struggles with the military, dispersed over the island. Lopez, their leader, was captured on the 29th, and publicly garotted at Havannah on Sept. 1. Many of his followers were killed or died of hunger and fatigue, and about 160 were made prisoners, and sentenced to ten years' hard labour in Spain. The news of the execution of so many American citizens caused great excitement at New Orleans. The Spanish consul there was assailed by a mob, his property destroyed, the Spanish flag that adorned his office torn in pieces, and he himself obliged to flee for his personal safety. But the government of the United States at once took measures to atone for this indignity, and thus proved to the Spanish government its lack of sympathy with the lawless expedition.

The history of Spain presents nothing more worthy of record than the rise and fall of ephemeral ministries until the year 1854, when symptoms of serious discontent showed themselves against the corruptions of the government, and a strong animosity was manifested against the queen-mother, and Arana the favourite of the queen. A military insurrection in January was successfully put down; but the forced loans of the government continued to exasperate the country, and in July a more formidable revolt broke out, in which general O'Donnell bore a prominent part. A battle took place at Vicalvaro, in which the queen's troops were defeated; and O'Donnell retired to Aranjuez. In the following month he made overtures to the Progresista party; and a proclamation was issued with their consent stating their object to be the reestablishment of the constitution of 1837, the dismissal of the camerilla and the queen-mother, and the reembodiment of the national guard. The agreement of the nation with these demands was so manifest that the existing ministry found themselves compelled to resign. An attempt to form a government under the duke de Rivas only roused the inhabitants of Madrid to more determined insurrection, and a memorial was presented to the queen, who found it prudent and necessary to yield to their demands. After some further fighting, caused by the bad faith of general Cordova, it was announced that a new ministry would be formed by Espartero, and the tumult was at once appeased. It appeared, however, that Espartero insisted on the same terms which had been demanded by O'Donnell, and the new government was formed on their acceptance. It was determined that the elections should take place according to the constitution of 1837, which was based on universal suffrage. Permission was granted for the impeachment and trial of queen Christina, but with the former ministers she sought safety in flight. The next acts of the new ministry were to replace the existing agents at foreign courts by others of tried worth and honesty, to remove all officers of the household, and to convoke the cortes with one chamber only. General O'Donnell was created a field-marshal. But it seemed that he could not rest contented with anything like a constitutional rule. In July 1856, he brought about the resignation of Espartero, and with the hearty concurrence of the queen proclaimed Madrid and all the provinces in a state of siege. The resistance made in the capital was put down by force; and the cortes, who by an almost unanimous vote declared that they had no confidence in the O'Donnell ministry, were ignominiously dismissed. This *coup-d'état*, which under another name obtained the cordial approval of the French emperor, was resisted at Saragossa, but to no purpose. The national guard was disbanded and suppressed; and the country was compelled to submit to a ministry which had violated every principle of the constitution. In three months that ministry was displaced by another under general Narvaez.

The war which broke out between Spain and Morocco in 1859, again brought O'Donnell into activity. The former government had demanded a cession of territory near Ceuta on the African coast; but in discussing the question of boundary it appeared that more was demanded than the emperor of Morocco was prepared to grant, and war was accordingly declared against the latter in October 1859. The British government immediately declared that they could never allow Spain to acquire in Africa any ground which might endanger their occupation of Gibraltar, and especially that they would not allow Spain to hold Tangiers beyond the close of the war. After a campaign in which the Moors, although fighting bravely, were almost always defeated, the war was ended in March 1860, the emperor of Morocco undertaking to comply with the demands of Spain, and to pay a large indemnity. During this year an ineffectual attempt was made by the count of Montemolin to seize the throne of Spain. General Ortega, the commander of the Balearic Isles, endeavoured in vain to win the help of his troops in proclaiming and upholding the count of Montemolin; on their refusal he fled, was taken prisoner and executed. The count and his brother were also taken, but were released and allowed to quit Spain on signing an ac-

of renunciation of all pretensions to the throne of Spain. This act was, however, repudiated by the count, in a letter written to the queen of Spain from Cologne in June 1860. In the following year the Spanish government entered into a convention with those of Great Britain and France, for an expedition to Mexico, in order to enforce the performance of those obligations which the Mexicans had evaded or repudiated for more than twenty years. Unaware of this convention, the governor of Cuba despatched the Spanish expedition from the Havana before the arrival of the French fleet. On reaching Vera Cruz, the Spaniards demanded the surrender of the town, and the request was immediately complied with; and the arrival of the British and French fleets seemed to lay the whole country at the mercy of the three great powers, whose enmity the Mexicans had drawn upon themselves. But the ambition or the necessities of the French emperor enlarged the projects of the expedition so greatly that the governments both of Spain and England withdrew from any further share in it; and the Spanish nation threw itself more heartily than ever into the work of bringing out the material wealth and resources of the country. This task it might have carried out more effectually, if it could have been freed from the burden of evil governors. As it is, each year has brought with it revolution, or a succession of revolutions, the last of which (1868) has driven Isabella from the throne. The cortes are to decide what form of government is to be finally adopted; and at present (February 1869) they appear to acquiesce in a state of things which is practically republican.

1869. The crown of Spain remained a possession for which none seemed to care. It was positively refused by the ex-king of Portugal, and a speaker in the Cortes remarked that there was no alternative but to restore the Bourbon dynasty or to proclaim a republic. The ministry formed under General Prim determined on offering the throne to the duke of Genoa, a nephew of the king of Italy, and at that time a boy at Harrow School. Prim's motive for desiring this arrangement was, as some said, the idea of permanent rule for himself under a king who was a minor. In truth, the evils under which the country was labouring were almost hopeless; and Senor Castelar was probably not far wrong when he said that every fundamental right had been violated, and that in Spain the prestige of monarchy was dead.

1870. At last, in the following year, the difficulty seemed to be settled by the election of Amadeus, duke of Aosta, second son of the king of Italy; but almost before the newly-chosen prince could land in his kingdom, marshal Prim was mortally wounded in the streets of Madrid on his way to the Cortes. Prim's funeral took place on the first day of the ensuing year. On the day following, king Amadeus entered Madrid. From the first he found that he had to lie on a bed of thorns. Without suffering any defeat, marshal Serrano suddenly informed the king that he with his cabinet must retire; and the king, to little purpose, had to insist that such retirement was unjustifiable. The ministry of his successor Zorrilla was not more permanent.

Two years later Amadeus was still on his throne, but his position was becoming constantly more galling. The priests in Northern Spain represented his government as bent on destroying the *fueros* or local privileges of the Biscayans, and thus sought to enlist them on the side of the pretender Carlos VII. Not less than thirty-five adherents of the latter were elected to the Cortes; and when Carlos forbade them from taking their seats in an assembly which, as he said, could not be considered the legislature of the kingdom, the government at once arrested the whole of the Carlist junta in Madrid and other great cities. The civil war had, in fact, begun, although for the present it was to bring only defeat and humiliation to the Legitimist sovereign, who succeeded with some difficulty in recrossing the French border. But the temporary suppression of the rebellion brought no peace for the king. Marshal Serrano, in face of present difficulties, urged him to grant them the power of suspending, if need be, the constitutional guarantees. The king's reply was that he had sworn as a gentleman and as a king to guard the constitution, and that while he could lay down his power he would never abuse it. The ministers hereupon resigned in a body, and the king, having in vain asked the help of the aged Espartero, was obliged to summon Zorrilla.

A few days later a band of murderers fired at and into his carriage, doing, however, no mischief except to one of the horses. Three of the assassins were taken; one was wounded, and one killed. After the usual Spanish fashion, the prisoners were kept during the year without being brought to trial.

A few more months were to fill to the brim the cup of humiliation presented to the sovereign who had given up his home in Italy for the sake of benefiting the Spanish nation. The Carlist rebellion was not really quelled; and the resignation, in a mass, of the whole corps of artillery officers made him resolve at once on abdication. In a singularly plain-spoken and honourable address he told the Spaniards that the hopes which had brought him from Italy had been woefully deceived, that Spain still continued in its condition of perpetual and utterly sterile strife; that he had vainly sought within the law the remedy for these miserable evils, and that outside, having promised to keep the law, he could not seek it. His resignation

was followed by loud and angry discussions, which betrayed the complete disorganisation of political feeling throughout the country. Some wanted a consolidated republic; others would be content with a federation of independent provinces; others would have nothing less than the cantonal autonomy for the sake of which the Paris commune had fought so fiercely and suffered so terribly. Of the confusion so caused the Carlist leaders naturally availed themselves; but if their progress was for awhile checked by one or two defeats, things were no better on the other side. No minister could expect more than a few days' tenure of office, and those days must be spent in controversy rather than in action. In the north, Legitimists might seek the overthrow of the republic; in the south and on the southern and south-eastern coasts, the members of the International were intent on the subversion of all order. At Guernica, in Biscay, Don Carlos swore to maintain the Fueros; at Carthagena, the Irreconcilables or "Intransigentes," were doing their best to involve Spain in a war with Great Britain and Germany. Two steamers belonging to the insurgent city were seized by the British admiral, who in the end gave them up to the admiral of the Madrid government. Under a pressing feeling of danger the Cortes, voting its own suspension, armed Senor Castelar with almost dictatorial powers, and the year closed with the bombardment of Carthagena by the forces of the central government.

The troubles of this most unhappy country seemed only to thicken with the lapse of time. The idea that the ministry of Castelar must fall, led Roia, the captain-general of Madrid, to carry out a military surprise in January 1874. Having given the assembly five minutes wherein to dissolve themselves, and having so got rid of one useless parliament, he proceeded to take counsel with another in the same building. His advisers were the generals who had taken part in the revolution of 1868, as well as the leading men of all political parties except the Carlists and Intransigentes. A new ministry was formed; and ten days later (whether as a consequence of this it might be hard to say) Carthagena surrendered. The impudence of defiance could scarcely go farther than the demand of the rebels that they should go out with all the honours of war, because they had held out so stoutly. The absurdity of indulgence was perhaps brought to its utmost height in the complaisance of the victor, who, instead of punishing, granted their request. In the north the Carlist war was now becoming more formidable. Bilbao held out against the Legitimists, but seemed likely to fall for want of succour, when at length it was relieved by generals Concha and Serrano. The tables were again turned in the battle of Estella, in which the republicans lost between 4000 and 5000 men, together with general Concha himself. The victor, Dorregaray, disgraced himself by a savage use of his victory, and drew down on his cause the stroke of Prussian power by ordering or allowing the murder of captain Schmidt, a German who had accompanied the republican force as a newspaper correspondent. Two German gunboats were instantly sent to cut off the arrival of Carlist supplies from France and from England; and the imperial government, further, recognised the republican government, and induced the other great powers, with the exception of Russia, to follow its example.

Still the tide of Carlist success seemed to flow on almost unchecked. Only the fortresses held out against the Pretender's forces; Cuenca, in Castile, daring to resist, was taken after a furious bombardment, and Bilbao was once more blockaded. The republicans, however, were able sometimes to win a victory, but victory seemed to be more of an annoyance to them than defeat. A decisive advantage, which, if followed up, must ensure the ruin of the enemy, led for the most part only to the retreat of the victor. The probable truth was, that the Republican government was not sincere in wishing to bring the war to a close, and that Serrano, in particular, believed that peace would endanger his own position. He was soon to learn that other things besides peace might imperil his authority. Alfonso, son of the deposed Isabella, called prince of the Asturias, was studying in England as a cadet at the military college of Sandhurst, when he received an address from his adherents offering him the Spanish crown. General Primo de Rivera informed Serrano, to his dismay, that he saw no hope of relief for the misery of Spain except in the proclamation of the young prince as king. The offer even of the captain-generalship of Cuba had no weight with Rivera, and Serrano found himself worsted in the political conflict. The hopes of moderate men were again awakened, when Spain found herself once more under a king; and with something like the enthusiasm of a considerable portion of his subjects, Alfonso XII. entered on the perilous task of governing or trying to govern the Spanish people.

On the whole, it could scarcely be said that the prospect for the young king was more satisfactory and encouraging than it had at the first been for his Italian predecessor. Arriving early in the year 1875, Alfonso was soon joined by his sister the princess of Girgenti. In February Moriones entered Pampeluna, and there seemed to be some reason for thinking that really active measures would now be taken against the Carlists. But there were many circumstances tending to hinder any such results. The new government proposed an ecclesiastical policy differing not much from that of the Carlists themselves; and it seemed to be altogether more prudent to settle the controversy by words rather than by force. An effort was made to buy off the pretender and to seduce his generals by bribes, but although Cabrera came forward to express his approval of this policy, it was none the

less unsuccessful. The war accordingly went on. In September Seo de Urgel was taken by the Alfonsists, much to their exultation, and, it might seem, a little to their surprise. The tide of fortune was gradually turning against the Carlists, who were compelled to abandon all the positions which they had occupied south of the Ebro. But the struggle was not yet to come to an end. San Sebastian was persistently bombarded by the Carlists, although the task of relieving it was one which for a resolute general would have involved little difficulty. The year closed with great promises of more determined action, but with dangers scarcely lessened in numbers or diminished in their seriousness. The war, it was said, was costing the country fifteen millions a year; and the drain was rendered the more severe by the continuance of the insurrection or civil war in Cuba. It remained to be seen what results would follow the great winter campaign in which king Alfonso was personally to play his part.

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

PORTUGAL, anciently called *Lusitania*, is supposed to have been originally colonised by the Phœnicians and Carthaginians; but was taken possession of by the Romans about 250 years before Christ, and became a Roman province under the emperor Augustus. Towards the beginning of the fifth century the Alans, and afterwards the Suevi and the Visigoths, successively made themselves masters of this country. In the eighth century it was overrun by the Moors and Saracens, but was gradually wrested from them by the Christians. Henry, duke of Burgundy, distinguishing himself by his eminent services against the Moors, Alphonso VI., king of Castile, gave him his daughter Theresa in marriage, created him earl of Portugal, and in 1110 left him that kingdom. Alphonso Henriques, his son and successor, obtained a signal victory, in 1136, over the Moors, and was created king by the people; and in 1181, at an assembly of the states, the succession of the crown was settled. Alphonso III. added Algarve to the crown of Portugal. In 1383 the legitimate male line of this family becoming extinct in the person of Ferdinand, John I., his natural son, was, two years after, admitted to the crown, and in his reign the Portuguese made settlements in Africa, and discovered the islands of the Azores. In 1482 his great grandson John II. received the Jews who had been expelled from Spain, and gave great encouragement to navigation and discoveries. Afterwards, in the reign of king Emanuel, Vasco de Gama discovered a passage to the East Indies by doubling the Cape of Good Hope.

In 1500, Brazil was discovered by Don Pedro Alvarez, and the Portuguese made most valuable discoveries in the East Indies, where they soon erected forts, subdued the neighbouring inhabitants, and at the same time carried on a sanguinary war in Africa. The power of Portugal was then at its height; but in 1580, on the decease of Henry the Cardinal, the male line of the royal family became extinct, and in the succeeding year the kingdom was subdued by Spain. The Portuguese now lost most of the advantages they had obtained under their own monarchs; their possessions in the East Indies, in Brazil, and on the coast of Africa, were neglected, and many of them wrested from them by the new republic of Holland, and by the other maritime powers, while at home the Portuguese were much oppressed; but in 1640, they shook off the Spanish yoke, by electing John, duke of Braganza, a descendant of the old royal family, for their king. This prince, who assumed the title of John IV., drove the Dutch out of Brazil; and from him all the succeeding kings of Portugal have been descended. Alphonso VI., the son of John IV., was dethroned by his brother Peter, who in 1668 concluded a treaty with Spain, by which Portugal was declared an independent kingdom. This was brought about by the mediation of Charles II. of Great Britain, who had married the infanta Catherine, sister to Alphonso and Peter. In 1706, John V. succeeded to the throne on the death of his father. In 1729 a double marriage took place between the courts of Spain and Portugal, a prince of each court marrying a princess of the other court.

Although Brazil again belonged to Portugal, its former greatness could not now have been restored, even had the princes of the house of Braganza displayed as much vigour and wisdom as some of them showed good intentions. A commercial treaty had been concluded under the first prince of this line, and in 1703 a new treaty was concluded by the English ambassador, which secured to England the advantages of the newly discovered gold mines in Brazil. From this time the relations with England continued to become more intimate, until Portugal was no longer in a condition to maintain an independent attitude in European politics. During the long reign of John V., from 1707 to 1750, some vigour was exerted in regard to the foreign relations, and something was attempted for the promotion of the national welfare at home (the restrictions on the power of the Inquisition, and the formation of an academy of Portuguese history, for example); but, in the former case, without decisive consequences, and, in the latter, without a completion of the plans proposed.

On the death of John, in 1750, his son, Joseph I., prince of the Brazils, succeeded him, and the marquis of Pombal, a vigorous reformer, administered the government, to the universal satisfaction of the people. He attacked the Jesuits and the nobility, who during the preceding reigns had exercised a secret influence in the government. The exposure of the power of the Jesuits in Paraguay, their conduct at the time of the earthquake in Lisbon (1755), and the conspiracy against the life of the king (1759), led to the suppression of the order: in 1757 they had been deprived of the post of confessors to the royal family, and forbidden the court. Two years after, all the Jesuits were banished the kingdom, and their estates were confiscated. The brave count of Schauenburg Lippe, to whose services against Spain, in 1760, Portugal was so much indebted, likewise reformed the Portuguese army; but soon after his departure, the effects of his improvements disappeared.

On the accession of Maria Francisca Isabella, eldest daughter of Joseph (in 1777),

the marquis of Pombal lost the influence which he had possessed for twenty-five years. To him Portugal owed her revival from her previous lethargy; and although many of his useful regulations did not survive his fall, yet the enlightened views he introduced, and the national feeling which he awakened, were not without permanent effects. In 1792, on account of the sickness of the queen, Juan Maria Joseph, prince of Brazil (the title of the prince royal until 1816), was declared regent; and, in 1799, her malady having terminated in a confirmed mental aberration, the prince was declared regent with full regal powers, but made no change in the policy of the government. His connections with England involved him in the wars of that country against France; and the Portuguese troops distinguished themselves by their valour in the peninsular campaigns. Commercial distress, the accumulating debt, and the threatening language which Spain was compelled by France to adopt, led to a peace with France in 1797: but the disasters of the French arms in 1799 encouraged the regent to renew hostilities, in alliance with England and Russia.

As soon, however, as Buonaparte had established his authority, Spain was obliged to declare war against Portugal; but it was terminated the same year (1801) by the treaty of Badajos, by which Portugal was obliged to cede Olivenza, with the payment of a large sum of money, to Spain. Portugal, meanwhile, preserved a mere shadow of independence by the greatest sacrifices, until at last Junot entered the country, and the house of Braganza was declared, by Napoleon, to have forfeited the throne; this most impudent and arbitrary declaration arising from the refusal of the prince to seize the English merchandise in his dominions.

The regent now threw himself entirely into the arms of the English, and on the 9th of November 1807, embarked for Brazil. Junot entered the capital the next day, and Portugal was treated as a conquered country. An English force was landed, and, in the northern provinces, numerous bodies of native troops determined to maintain the struggle for freedom; a junta was also established in Oporto to conduct the government. After some hard fighting, the decisive battle of Vimeira took place (Aug. 21, 1808), which was followed by the convention of Cintra, and the evacuation of the country by the French forces.

During 1808, 1809, and 1810, Portugal was the chief scene of the military contest between Great Britain and France; and the Portuguese subsequently also took an active part in the war for Spanish independence.

On the death of Maria, John VI. ascended the throne of Portugal and Brazil. This transference of the court of Lisbon into an American colony was followed by important consequences; firstly, that Brazil attempted to withdraw itself from dependence on England; and secondly, that the colony gradually became a separate state. In Portugal, on the contrary, the influence of England continued, and the condition of the kingdom was not essentially changed.

In 1816 John VI. refused to return to Lisbon, whither a squadron under sir John Beresford had been sent to convey him; partly, it is said, because he was displeased at the disregard to his rights shown by the congress of Vienna; partly because the unpopularity of the commercial treaty had alienated him from England; but, probably, still more because he was influenced by the visible growth of a Brazilian party which now aimed at independence. Henceforward, indeed, the separation of Portugal from Brazil manifestly approached. The Portuguese of Europe began to despair of seeing the seat of the monarchy at Lisbon; the regency there were without strength, all appointments were obtained from the distant court of Rio Janeiro; men and money were drawn away for the Brazilian war on the Rio de la Plata; the army left behind was unpaid; in fine, all the materials of formidable discontent were heaped up in Portugal, when the Spanish revolution broke out in the beginning of 1820. Six months elapsed without its communicating to Portugal; but in August the garrison of Oporto declared for a revolution; and being joined on their march to the capital by all the troops on their line, were received with open arms by the garrison of Lisbon; and it was determined to bestow on Portugal a still more popular constitution than that of Spain.

This revolution was unattended by violence or bloodshed. A provisional government was established, which, on the 1st of October, formed a union with the junta of Oporto. Count Palmella, the head of the royal regency, was despatched to Rio Janeiro with an account of what had happened, and a petition that the king or the prince royal would return to Lisbon. The mode of electing the cortes was settled chiefly in imitation of the Spanish constitution; and the liberal party, which was desirous of the immediate adoption of that constitution, obliged the supreme junta (Nov. 11) to administor the oath of obedience to it to the troops. The regency of Lisbon, by the advice of a Portuguese minister, at once faithful to his sovereign and friendly to the liberty of his country, made an attempt to stem the torrent by summoning an assembly of the cortes. The attempt was too late; but it pointed to the only means of saving the monarchy. The same minister, on his arrival in Brazil, at the end of 1820, advised the king to send his eldest son to Portugal as viceroy, with a constitutional charter, in which the legislature was to be divided into two chambers. He also recommended an assembly of the most respectable Brazilians at Rio Janeiro to organise their affairs. But a revolution in that capital speedily brought matters to a crisis; and the popular party, headed by Don Pedro, the king's eldest son, declared for the constitution of Portugal, and the separation of Brazil at the same time.

On the 9th of March 1821, the articles of the new constitution, securing freedom of person and property, the liberty of the press, legal equality, and the abolition of privileges, the admission of all citizens to all offices, and the sovereignty of the nation, were adopted almost unanimously,

There was more diversity of opinion concerning the organisation of the chambers, and the royal veto; but large majorities finally decided in favour of one chamber and a conditional veto. After some disturbances in Brazil, the king sailed for Portugal, but was not permitted to land until he had given his consent to several acts of the cortes, imposing restrictions on his power. On landing, he immediately swore to observe the new constitution, and concurred, without opposition, in all the succeeding acts of the cortes.

The revolutionary cortes were as tenacious of the authority of the mother country as the royal administration; and they accordingly recalled the heir-apparent to Lisbon. But the spirit of independence arose among the Brazilians, who, encouraged by the example of the Spanish Americans, presented addresses to the prince, beseeching him not to yield to the demands of the Portuguese assembly, who desired to make him a prisoner, as they had made his father; but, by assuming the crown of Brazil, to provide for his own safety, as well as for their liberty. In truth, it is evident he neither could have continued in Brazil without acceding to the popular desire, nor have then left it without insuring the destruction of monarchy in that country. He acquiesced therefore in the prayer of these petitions: the independence of Brazil was proclaimed; and the Portuguese monarchy thus finally dismembered.

In the summer of 1823 the advance of the French army into Spain excited a revolt of the Portuguese royalists; the infant Don Miguel, the king's second son, attracted notice, by appearing at the head of a battalion who declared against the constitution; and the inconstant soldiery, equally ignorant of the object of their revolts against the king or the cortes, were easily induced to overthrow their own slight work. After a short interval the possessors of authority relapsed into the ancient and fatal error of their kind—that of placing their security in maintaining unlimited power. A resistance to the constitution, which grew up in the interior of the court, was fostered by foreign influence; and, after a struggle for some months, prevented the promulgation of a charter well considered and digested.

In April 1824, part of the garrison of Lisbon surrounded the king's palace, and hindered the access of his servants to him; some of his ministers were imprisoned; and the diplomatic body, including the papal nuncio, the French ambassadors, and the Russian as well as the English minister, were the only means at last of restoring him to some degree of liberty; which was, however, so imperfect, that, by the advice of the French ambassador, the king, accompanied by his two daughters (May 9), took refuge on board of an English ship of war in the Tagus, where, with the assistance of the whole diplomatic corps, he was at length able to reestablish his authority. In all the transactions which rendered this step necessary, Don Miguel had acted a most conspicuous part. He, however, declared that his object was to frustrate a conspiracy, which was on the point of breaking out, against the life of the king and the queen; and so well inclined was the king to pardon his son, that he accepted his explanation, and forgave these youthful faults as involuntary errors.

The king, at length, issued a proclamation (June 4), for restoring the ancient constitution of the Portuguese monarchy, with assurances that an assembly of the cortes, or three estates of the realm, should be speedily held with all their legal rights, and especially with the privilege of laying before the king, for his consideration, the heads of such measures as they might deem necessary for the public good, for the administration of justice, and for the redress of grievances, whether public or private. To that assembly was referred the consideration of the periodical meetings of succeeding cortes, and the means of progressively ameliorating the administration of the state. On the 14th of May the king returned ashore; and on the 4th of the following month he proclaimed an act of amnesty for the adherents of the cortes of 1820, from which only a few exceptions were made; on the same day appeared the decree of June 4, reviving the old constitution of the estates, and summoning the cortes of Lamego. At the same time, the junta for the preparation of a constitution was superseded by another, which was directed to make preparations for the election of the deputies of the old cortes. But Spain opposed the convocation of the old cortes, and the influence of the queen was thus revived. New conspiracies were formed against the king; and the ministry was divided in its views, principally in regard to the policy to be pursued towards Brazil.

In January 1825, a new ministry was formed; and a negotiation was opened in London, under the mediation of Austria and England, to adjust the differences between Portugal and Brazil. The Brazilians had tasted independence; and it was soon evident that no amicable issue of such negotiation was possible which did not involve acquiescence in the separation of the two countries. Accordingly, a treaty was concluded, and finally ratified at Lisbon (Nov. 5), recognising the independence and separation of Brazil; acknowledging the sovereignty of that country to be vested in Don Pedro; allowing the king of Portugal also to assume the imperial title; and binding the emperor of Brazil to reject the offer of any Portuguese colony to be incorporated with his dominions.

The death of John VI. took place March 10, 1826, after having named the infanta Isabella regent; who governed in the name of the emperor of Brazil, as king of Portugal. In the following month, Don Pedro granted a constitution, establishing two chambers, and in other respects resembling the French charter. May 2, he abdicated the Portuguese throne, in favour of his daughter Donna Maria (he remaining king during her minority), on condition of her marrying her uncle Miguel. But a party

was formed, which aimed at the overthrow of this constitution, and proclaimed the prince absolute king of Portugal. The marquis of Chaves and the marquis of Abrantes appeared at the head of the insurgents; and Spain, which alone had not acknowledged the new order of things, assembled an army on the Portuguese frontiers. In this emergency Portugal appealed to England, and 15,000 British troops were landed in Lisbon. Thus assisted, the insurrection was completely put down; Spain was forced to yield; and the cortes, which had been convened in October 1825, closed its session in March 1827.

In July, Don Pedro named his brother Miguel lieutenant and regent of the kingdom, with all the rights established by the charter, according to which the government was to be administered. The prince accordingly left Vienna, and arrived at Lisbon in February 1828. The cortes was then in session, and, on the 26th, Miguel took the oath to observe the charter, in the presence of the two chambers. But the apostolicals or absolutists, to whom the disposition of the regent was well known, already began to speak openly of his right to the throne, and to hail him as absolute king. His ministers were all appointed from that party, except the count Villa Real; and the populace were permitted to add to their cry, 'Long live the absolute king,' that of Down with the constitution.'

It was now determined that Miguel should go to Villa Viçosa, a town near the Spanish frontier, where he could be supported by the troops of the marquis of Chaves, and be proclaimed absolute king; but this project was frustrated by the decision of Mr. Lamb, the British minister, who counteracted the order for the departure of the British troops, and prevented the payment of the loan made to Don Miguel under the guarantee of the British government. The cortes, being opposed to the designs of the prince, was dissolved March 14, and the recall of the British troops in April removed another obstacle from his path. He accordingly, on the 3rd of May, issued a decree in his own name, convoking the ancient cortes of Lamego, which had not met since 1697. The military in general was not favourable to the projects of the prince, and the garrison of Oporto proclaimed Don Pedro and the charter, May 18. Other garrisons joined them, and the constitutional army, 6,000 strong, advanced towards Lisbon. But they were unable to cope with the absolutists, and, after sustaining a severe defeat towards the end of June, the troops either forced their way to the Spanish frontiers, or embarked for England. Thus terminated the first efforts of the constitutionalists in Portugal, and, with the extinction of that party, the influence of England with the Portuguese government ceased.

Don Miguel now turned his attention to the consolidation of his power: severity and cruelty were his expedients; the prisons were crowded with the suspected, and foreign countries were filled with fugitives. Many noblemen who were known to be attached to the cause of the young queen, fortunately made their escape, and some of them came to England, where they were supported by money sent from Brazil by the emperor, for that purpose, to his ambassador in London. The cortes met June 23, and declared Don Miguel lawful king of Portugal and Algarve; chiefly on the grounds that Don Pedro had forfeited his right by becoming a Brazilian citizen, and was not a resident in the country, and that therefore he could neither succeed to the throne himself, nor name the person who should reign in his stead. On the 4th of July 1828, Don Miguel confirmed the judgement of the cortes, and assumed the royal title. He immediately established a special commission to punish all who had taken a part in the Oporto insurrection, the members of the commission being to be paid from the confiscations they should make; and in the colonies the same course of condemnation was pursued that had been practised at home.

Portugal now became the prey of political and religious bigots. In March 1830, the regency appointed by Don Pedro, as guardian of his daughter, was installed in Terceira, consisting of Palmella, Villa Flor, and Guerreiro; and subsequently to the return of Don Pedro to Europe, it was well known that he was making preparations for displacing Miguel from his usurped seat. Meanwhile insurrections repeatedly broke out at home, but were suppressed by the vigour of the government and the want of concert in the insurgents. In 1830, it was estimated that the number of prisoners confined for political causes was above 40,000, and that the number of persons concealed in different parts of the country was about 5,000. In consequence of some acts of violence, and a refusal of redress on the part of the government, a British fleet was sent to the Tagus (May 4, 1831); but on its appearance the required concessions were made. In July, Miguel was obliged to suffer a second humiliation of this nature; a French fleet having forced the passage of the Tagus, and taken possession of the Portuguese fleet, because the demands of the French government, for satisfaction for injuries to French subjects committed by the Portuguese authorities, had not been complied with.

In August, an insurrection of the troops broke out against Miguel. At that time Don Pedro had arrived in Europe, having embarked on board an English ship of war in the spring of 1831, and reached France in June. From thence he proceeded to Oporto, and immediately commenced operations for displacing Don Miguel from the throne, and establishing Donna Maria as queen, under a regency. Previous to this, large bodies of volunteers had embarked from Britain and Ireland in the cause of Don Pedro, the greater number of whom were garrisoned in Oporto. Don Miguel, meanwhile, was not inactive, but advanced with his adherents towards that city, which he attacked several times without success: on one occasion (Sept. 21, 1832) his loss was 1,500 men, while that of

Don Pedro was not more than a third of the number. In July of the same year, a naval battle took place between the fleet of Don Pedro, under the command of admiral Napier, and that of Don Miguel, in which the latter was defeated, with the loss of two ships of 74 guns, a frigate of 56, a store ship of 48, and two smaller vessels. This event, with other successes of the Pedroite party, led to Miguel's abandonment of the throne, consenting at the same time to leave the kingdom, on condition of receiving an income for life suited to his rank. Donna Maria da Gloria was proclaimed queen of Portugal, and in 1835 was married to the duke of Leuchtenberg, son of Eugene Beauharnois. This prince died in March of the same year, after having been married about a month.

Don Pedro died a few months after his daughter had assumed the regal power; but his short reign was distinguished by the suppression of all the monasteries and convents in the kingdom, and the seizure of all lands belonging to them; a measure which was considered as retaliatory for the assistance given to Don Miguel by the monks, &c, during the contest between the rival brothers. This was, notwithstanding, an act of unmerited severity; for although small pensions—none exceeding 50*l.* a year—were granted to those who had not openly avowed themselves in favour of Don Miguel, it was so easy to accuse them of having done so, that very few actually received the pittance. The lands thus confiscated were ordered to be sold for the benefit of the state; and after the death of Don Pedro the cortes divided them into very small lots, allowing labouring people to become the purchasers on easy terms. Among the buyers were many foreigners, who have settled in Portugal on these small estates, and who, as well as the Portuguese peasantry thus converted into landed proprietors, will be the means of promoting industry, and thereby increasing the comforts of a large class of the inhabitants.

To pursue this sketch of the history of Portugal farther is needless; for though several attempts have been made to overturn the existing government, and although the political horizon still wears an unsettled aspect, the events which have subsequently occurred present few features of interest to the English reader. The last and most striking occurrence in Portuguese history, took place in April 1861, when the duke of Saldanha, at the head of a military insurrection, overthrew the ministry of the count de Thomar, and, after a short resistance on the part of the queen, obtained his place. The queen's second marriage with a prince of the family of Saxe Coburg must not be forgotten; neither should we omit that Portugal, once so conspicuous among the slave-dealing nations of Europe, has followed the example of Great Britain, and decreed its total abolition.

The government of Portugal is an hereditary monarchy, with an upper and a lower representative chamber, both of which are elective. The cortes meet and dissolve at specified periods, without the intervention of the sovereign, and the latter has no veto on a law passed twice by both houses. Each province has a governor to whom the details of its government are intrusted, but great abuses exist in almost every department, the inadequacy of the salaries leading to the acceptance of bribes. And with regard to the prevalence of crime, it may be truly said, that so common is assassination, and so numerous are thefts, that the law and the police are impotent alike to secure either property or life.

Though Portugal has lost Brazil, she still retains the Azores, Madeira, Cape de Verd, and Guinea Islands: the settlements of Angola and Mozambique, in Africa; and those of Goa Dilli, Macao, &c, in Asia. The queen of Portugal, Donna Maria, died in childbed on the 15th of November 1853, and her husband, the king consort Ferdinand (of Saxe Coburg), became regent of the kingdom during the minority of his son Pedro V., who, after a short reign of eight years, darkened by many calamities, died on the 12th of November 1861, and was succeeded by his brother Louis, duke of Oporto

It may be fairly said that when the history of a country is almost blank, the condition of that country must be happy. The saying may be applied to Portugal almost more than to any other land. While her next neighbour seemed plunged in hopeless and wellnigh unintelligible strife, Portugal held on its quiet way, and thus attesting the wise sobriety and sound sense of her citizens, passed through the years during which France was struggling under the blows received in the fearful struggle with Prussia, and Spain was almost daily exchanging one form of government for another, and sinking deeper and deeper into social and moral anarchy

THE HISTORY OF GERMANY.

[AUSTRIAN EMPIRE, GERMAN STATES, ETC.]

FROM all that can be collected of the early history of Germany, it appears to have been divided into many petty nations and principalities, some governed by kings whose power was limited, others by such as were absolute; some of their princes were elective, and others hereditary; and some aristocratical and democratical governments were also found among them. Many of these states and kingdoms frequently united under one head or general, both in their offensive and defensive wars.

This was the state of the Germans before they were conquered by the Romans. At that time the children went naked, and the men hung the skin of some wild beast upon their shoulders, fastening it with a thong; and persons of the best quality wore only a little woollen mantle or a coat without sleeves. Their usual bed was the ground, a little straw, with the skins of wolves or bears.

Like the ancient Britons, they performed their sacrifices in groves, the oak being usually chosen for an altar; and, instead of a temple, they erected an arbour made of the boughs of the oak and beech. The priests, as well as the sacrifice, were always crowned with wreaths of oak, or of some other sacred tree. They sacrificed not only beasts, but men; and these human sacrifices were taken from among their slaves or malefactors. They burnt their dead bodies, and, having gathered up the bones and ashes of the funeral pile, buried them together; at the funerals of the great, warlike exercises were exhibited with all the rude pageantry of barbaric splendour, and songs were sung in memory of the heroic actions of the deceased.

These were the manners of the Germans before they were subdued by the Romans, who met with such resistance, that they were contented with making the Rhine and the Danube the boundaries of their conquests; they accordingly built fortresses, and stationed garrisons on the banks of both those rivers, to prevent the incursions of what they termed the barbarous nations: but within about a hundred years after Constantine the Great, the Franks, Burgundians, Alemanni, and other German nations, broke through these boundaries, passed the Rhine, and dispossessed the Romans of all Gaul, Rhætia, and Noricum, which they shared among themselves; but the Franks prevailing over the rest, at length established their empire over all modern Germany, France, and Italy, under the conduct of Charlemagne, or Charles the Great.

This celebrated man was crowned at Rome by pope Leo III. in the church of St. Peter, on Christmas-day, 800, amidst the acclamations of the clergy and the people. Nicephorus, at that time emperor of the East, attended at the coronation; and these princes agreed that the state of Venice should serve as the limit to each empire. Charlemagne now exercised all the authority of the Cæsars; the whole country from Benevento to Bayonne, and from Bayonne to Bavaria, acknowledging his power.

The Germans had previously been converted to Christianity by one Winfred, an Englishman, who also collected them in towns, and thus introduced the elements of civilisation amongst them. The Saxons were made Christians by Charlemagne, after a long and bloody warfare.

After the death of Charlemagne, and of Louis le Debonnaire, his son and successor, the empire was divided between the four sons of Louis; Lothaire was emperor; Pepin, king of Acquitaine; Louis, king of Germany; and Charles the Bald, king of France. This partition was a continual source of discontent among the parties. The French enjoyed the empire under eight emperors, until the year 912, when Louis III., the last prince of the race of Charlemagne, dying without male issue, Conrad, count of Franconia, son-in-law to Louis, was elected emperor; but was not acknowledged in Italy, nor in France.

The reign of Conrad produced no change whatever in Germany; but it was about this period that the German bishops fixed themselves in the possession of their fiefs; and many cities began to enjoy the right of natural liberty; following the example of the cities of Italy, some bought these rights of their lords, and others procured them with arms in their hands.

Questions affecting the general interests of the Germanic body were determined in a diet, consisting of the emperor, the electors, and the representatives of the princes and of the free cities. There were also minor diets in the different cities or divisions of the empire. It may, however, be proper to mention in this place, that the constitution of the empire has undergone a total change. There is no emperor of Germany; the title is sunk in that of emperor of Austria, which that sovereign holds by inheritance, not election. The ecclesiastical electorates have been taken possession of by secular princes. Bohemia is united to Austria; the palatinate has disappeared; Saxony is given to the kingdom of Prussia, formerly the electorate of Brandenburg; and the electorates of Hanover and Bavaria are also converted into kingdoms. Most of these changes are the result of recent wars.

Conrad was succeeded by Henry, duke of Saxony, whom on his death-bed he recommended to the states. And in Henry II. the male race of the Saxon kings and emperors ended, in 1024. The states then elected Conrad II., who, by means of his son, afterwards Henry III., annexed the kingdom of Burgundy to the empire, rendered Poland subject to his dominion, and in a treaty with Denmark, appointed the river Eider as the boundary of the German empire. Henry III. is regarded as the most powerful and absolute of the German emperors.

Henry III. deposed three popes who had set up against each other, and supported a fourth against them; from which time the vacancy of the papal chair was always intimated to the emperor, and it became an established form for the emperor to send a deputation to Rome, requesting that a new pope might be elected.

Henry IV., his son, was, however, put under the ban by the pope, Gregory VII., and his subjects and son excited to rebel against him; on which he was deposed by the states.

Henry V. succeeded his father, but was obliged to renounce all pretensions to the investiture of bishoprics, which had been claimed by his ancestors: and in him became extinct the male line of the Frank emperors.

Upon this the pope caused Lotharius, duke of Saxony, to be elected; but he was not acknowledged by all Germany for their sovereign till after a ten years' war. Frederick I., who became emperor in 1152, effectually exercised his sovereignty over the see of Rome, by virtue of his coronation at Aries, reserving also his dominion over that kingdom, and obliging Poland to pay him tribute and to take an oath of allegiance. To him succeeded Henry VI., Philip III., and Otho; the latter of whom, being deposed by the pope, was succeeded by Frederick II., whom historians extol for his learning, wisdom, and resolution: he was five times excommunicated by three popes; but prevailed so far against pope Gregory IX. as to depose him from the papal chair. These continual contests between him and the popes gave rise to the two famous factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelines; the former adhering to the papal see, and the latter to the emperors.

About the middle of the thirteenth century the empire was rent asunder by factions, each of which supported a particular candidate for the imperial dignity: these were William, earl of Holland; Henry of Thuringia; Richard, earl of Cornwall, brother to Henry III. of England; and Alphonso, king of Castile. At this time the great officers of the household laid claim to a right of electing the emperor, to the exclusion of the princes and great towns, or without consulting any other members of the empire: the distracted state of the empire served to confirm to them this claim; and Gregory X., who then filled the pontifical chair at Rome either considering such claim as valid, or desirous of rendering it so, directed a bull to those great officers, the purport of which was to exhort them to choose an emperor, and by that means to end the troubles in Germany. From that time they have been considered as the sole electors; and their right to this privilege was established beyond all controversy in the reign of Charles IV., by the glorious constitution known by the title of the *golden bull*, published in the year 1357, which decreed that the territories by virtue of which the great offices were held should descend to the heirs male for ever, in perpetual entail, entire and indivisible.

Germany began to recover from its distracted state in the year 1273, when count Rudolph of Hapsburg, the founder of the house of Austria, was advanced to the imperial dignity.

Charles IV., of the Austrian family, lived to see his son Wenzel, or Wenceslaus, elected king of the Romans. This prince, who was the fourth son of Charles, at his father's desire succeeded to the empire; but, being dissolute and cruel, was deposed after he had reigned twenty-two years.

Charles was succeeded by three other princes, whose reigns were short; at length, in 1411, Sigismund was unanimously chosen emperor, and in 1414, he proclaimed a general council to be held at Constance, in which three popes were deposed and a new one was set up. At this council the reformers, John Huss and Jerome of Prague, were condemned and burnt, although the emperor had granted them a passport, and was engaged in honour and conscience for their safe return to their country; this so exasperated the Hussites of Bohemia, that they raised a formidable army, and under the conduct of Zisca, their general, defeated his forces in fourteen battles.

Frederick, duke of Austria, son-in-law to the emperor Sigismund, was chosen emperor upon the death of his father, and reigned fifty-three years. His son Maximilian was chosen king of the Romans during the life of his father, and afterwards obtained from the pope the imperial crown. During his reign the empire was divided into ten circles.

Charles V. surnamed the Great, son of Philip, king of Spain, and grandson to Maximilian, was elected emperor in 1519. He procured Luther's doctrine to be condemned, and in his reign the disciples of that great reformer obtained the name of protestants, from their *protesting* against a decree of the imperial diet in favour of the catholics. He is said to have been victorious in seventy battles: he had the pope and French king prisoners at the same time, and carried his arms into Africa, where he conquered the kingdom of Tunis; but was disgraced in the war with the piratical states. He compelled the Turks to raise the siege of Vienna, made war on the protestant princes, and took the elector of Saxony and the prince of Hesse prisoners; but, after a reign of thirty-eight years, he resigned the empire to his brother Ferdinand, and the kingdom of Spain to his son Philip II., himself retiring to the convent of Yuste in Spain.

The abdication of this prince left the

power of the princes of Germany more firm. The house of Austria was divided into two branches; one of which reigned in Spain, and, by the conquest in the New World, had become much superior in power and riches to the Austrian branch. Ferdinand I., successor to Charles V., had great possessions in Germany: Upper Hungary, which he also possessed, could afford him little more than the support of the troops necessary to make head against the Turks; Bohemia seemed to bear the yoke with regret; and Livonia, which had hitherto belonged to the empire, was now detached, and joined to Poland.

Ferdinand I. distinguished himself by establishing the *aulic* council of the empire; he was a peaceful prince, and used to assign a part of each day to hear the complaints of his people. Maximilian II. and his son Rudolph II. were each elected king of the Romans, but the latter could not be prevailed upon to allow a successor to be chosen in his lifetime.

Under Maximilian II., as under Ferdinand I., Lombardy was not, in effect, in the power of Germany; it was in the hands of Philip, appertaining rather to an ally than a vassal. During this time, the legislative authority resided always in the emperor, notwithstanding the weakness of the imperial power; and this authority was in its greatest vigour, when the chief of the empire had not diminished his power by increasing that of the princes. Rudolph II. found these obstacles to his authority, and the empire became more weak in his hands.

The philosophy, or rather the effeminacy, of this prince, who possessed particular virtues but not those of a sovereign, occasioned many fermentations. Lutheranism had already spread itself in Germany for the space of a century; princes, kings, cities, and nations, had embraced this doctrine. In vain Charles V. and his successors had endeavoured to stop its progress; it manifested itself more and more every day, till at length it broke all bounds, and menaced Germany with a general war. Henry IV. having nullified the measures of the party formed against the house of Austria, the protestants and catholics appeared reciprocally to fear each other; and hostilities ceased after the taking of Juliers.

Germany, however, continued to be divided into two parties. The first, which was named the *angelic union*, had for its chief the elector palatine, united to whom were all the protestant princes, and the greater part of the imperial cities. The second was called the *catholic league*, at the head of which was the duke of Bavaria. The pope and king of Spain joined themselves to this party; and it was further strengthened by the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt: the first, because he was jealous of the elector palatine; and the latter, because he had his particular reasons for keeping fair with the emperor.

Rodolph died in 1612. The electors, after an interregnum of some months, bestowed the empire on the archduke Matthias, brother to the late emperor. This prince had already mounted the thrones of Hungary and Bohemia, as a friend to the protestant cause. But he had no sooner ascended the imperial throne, than he laid aside the mask, and renounced the reformed religion. It was not long before he received the proper reward of his dissimulation. An irruption being made into Hungary by the Turks, he applied to the protestants for succour, who refused him every assistance.

In 1619 Matthias died, leaving no issue. The protestant party used its utmost endeavours to prevent the empire from falling into the hands of a catholic prince, especially one of the house of Austria; notwithstanding which, Ferdinand II., cousin to the late emperor, was elected, and for a time he was the most happy as well as the most powerful monarch in Europe; not so much from his personal efforts or abilities, as from the great success of his generals, Wallenstein and Tilly. The power of Austria menaced equally the catholics and the protestants, and the alarm spread itself even to Rome.

The pope thought it advisable to unite with France, in order to check the growing power of Austria. French gold, and the entreaties of the protestants, brought into this confederacy Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, the only monarch of his day who had the smallest pretension to the name of a hero.

The arrival of Gustavus in Germany changed the face of affairs in Europe. In 1631 he gained the battle of Leipsic, defeating general Tilly. Many of the new manœuvres introduced at that time by the Swedish monarch into the art of war, are even now practised by most of the European powers, and are esteemed, by military men, chef-d'œuvres in military art.

Ferdinand, in 1632, had nearly lost Hungary, Bohemia, and the empire; but his good fortune saved him: his enemy, Gustavus Adolphus, was killed in the battle of Lutzen, in the midst of victory.

The house of Austria, which had sunk under the arms of Adolphus, now felt new spirits, and succeeded in detaching the most powerful princes of the empire from the alliance of Sweden. These victorious troops, abandoned by their allies and deprived of their king, were beaten at Nordlingen; and although more fortunate afterwards, they were less feared than when under Gustavus.

Ferdinand II. died at this conjuncture: he left all his dominions to his son Ferdinand III. In the reign of this prince the celebrated treaty of Westphalia was solemnly signed at Munster, October 24, 1648. It was the basis of all subsequent treaties, and is esteemed as the fundamental law of the empire. It was by this treaty that the quarrels of the emperors, and the princes of the empire, which had subsisted 700 years, and the disputes about religion, (although of less duration, not less dangerous), were terminated. Germany appeared gradually to recover its losses; the fields were cultivated, and the cities rebuilt

Leopold, the son of Ferdinand, succeeded. His first war was very unfortunate, and he received the law by the peace of Nimeguen. The interior of Germany was not materially injured; but the frontiers, on the side of the Rhine, suffered considerably. Fortune was less unequal in the second war, produced by the league of Augsburg; Germany, England, Spain, Savoy, and Sweden, against France. This war ended with the peace of Ryswick, which deprived Louis XIV. of Strasburg.

The third war was the most fortunate for Leopold and for Germany: when Louis XIV. had considerably increased his power; when he governed Spain under the name of his grandson; when his armies not only possessed the Netherlands and Bavaria, but were in the heart of Italy and Germany. The battle of Hochstadt, in 1704, changed the scene, and every place he had acquired was lost. Leopold died the following year, with the reputation of being the most powerful emperor since Charles V.

The reign of Joseph I., his son, was yet more successful than that of Leopold. The gold of England and Holland, the victories of prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, and his good fortune, rendered him almost absolute. He put to the ban of the empire the electors of Bavaria and Cologne, partisans of France, and took possession of their dominions.

Joseph died in 1711, and was succeeded by his brother, Charles VI. Although powerful as he was, by the possession of all Hungary, of the Milanese, of Mantua, of Naples, and of Sicily, the nine provinces of the Low Countries, and the flourishing state of his hereditary German dominions, he was obliged to sign, on receiving the imperial crown, an obligation to conserve and augment the right of the Germanic body.

The empire was tranquil and flourishing under the last emperor of the house of Austria. The war of 1716, against the Turks, was principally on the frontiers of the Ottoman territory, and terminated gloriously. Germany had changed its face during the times of Leopold and Joseph; but, in the reign of Charles VI. it may be said to have arrived almost at perfection. Previous to this epoch, the arts were uncultivated; scarcely a house was well built; and manufactures of fine articles unknown; the thirty years' war had ruined all.

The affairs of Charles were uniformly successful until 1734. The celebrated victories of prince Eugene over the Turks at Temeswar, and at Belgrade, secured the frontiers of Hungary from molestation; and Italy became safe in consequence of Don Carlos, son of Philip V., having consented to become his vassal.

But these prosperities had their termination. Charles, by his credit in Europe, and in conjunction with Russia, endeavoured to procure the crown of Poland for Augustus III., elector of Saxony. The French, who supported Stanislaus, had the advantage, and Stanislaus was elected king. Don Carlos being declared king of Naples, after the battle of Bitonto, took possession also in 1735. Charles, to obtain peace, renounced the two kingdoms, and dismembered the Milanese in favour of the king of Sardinia.

New misfortunes afflicted him in his latter years. Having declared war against the Turks in 1737, his armies were defeated, and a disadvantageous peace was the consequence. Belgrade, Temeswar, Orsova, and all the country between the Danube and the Saave, were ceded to the Turks. He died broken-hearted, in 1740.

The death of Charles plunged Europe in one general and ruinous war. By the 'pragmatic sanction,' which he had signed, and which was guaranteed by France, the archduchess Maria Theresa, his eldest daughter, had been named as heiress to all his possessions. This princess married, in 1736, Francis Stephen, last duke of Lorraine. She solicited the imperial throne for her husband, and sued for the inheritance of her father. They were both disputed by the elector of Bavaria, who, supported by the arms of France, was elected emperor in 1742.

Charles VII. died in 1745, and was succeeded by Francis I., the husband of Maria Theresa. He died in 1765, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Joseph II., who had been elected king of the Romans the preceding year. When this prince attained to the imperial dignity, he was considered as distinguished by a steady and active attention to every department of government; and he actually introduced a variety of bold and salutary reforms in the state. A noble liberality of mind, and enlarged views of politics, were imputed to him when he rendered the condition of the lower orders of men in his hereditary dominions less wretched and servile, by alleviating that cruel vassalage in which they were held by the feudal lords of the soil; whilst a free and unreserved toleration was granted to all sects and denominations of Christians: but these hopes were frustrated by a more full developement of his character, in which activity without efficiency, enacting laws and abrogating them, forming great designs and terminating them in mean concessions, appeared conspicuous.

On the death of the elector of Bavaria in 1777, the emperor laid claim to a considerable part of that electorate, founded on a vague right which had been set up, but not contended for, so long ago as the year 1425, by the emperor Sigismund. The king of Prussia, as elector of Brandenburg, opposed these pretensions, on the ground of protecting the empire in its rights, privileges, and territorial possessions, against all encroachments upon, or diminutions of them; but the emperor not being induced by negotiation to relinquish his designs, in 1778 the two most powerful monarchs in Europe led their formidable armies in person, to decide the dispute by arms; nearly half a million of men appearing in the field, to fight for a territory which would have been dearly purchased at the sum expended on one year's support of those vast armies—so little is the ambition of princes regulated by the intrinsic worth of the object at which they aim!

The kingdom of Bohemia was the scene of action, and the greatest generals of the age commanded; as marshal count Laudohn, on the side of Austria; prince Henry of Prussia, and the hereditary prince (afterwards duke) of Brunswick, on the side of Prussia. The horrors and the *éclat* of war were then expected to be revived, in all their tremendous pomp; but the campaign was closed without any general action, or any brilliant event whatever; and during the following winter the courts of Petersburg and Versailles interposing their good offices to make up the breach, terms of peace were soon adjusted at Teschen, in Austrian Silesia. The territory acquired to the house of Austria by virtue of this treaty extends about seven English miles, and in breadth is about half that space.

The court of Vienna, being thus put into possession of this territory, renounced, in the fullest and most explicit terms, all other claims whatever on the electorate, by which every latent spark that might kindle future contentions and wars was supposed to be extinguished. In the year 1781, the court of Vienna endeavoured to procure for the archduke Maximilian, brother to the emperor, the election to a participation of the secular bishoprics of Cologne and Munster, together with the reversion of the former: this measure was strenuously opposed by the king of Prussia, who remonstrated against it to the reigning elector, and to the chapters, in whom the right of election is lodged: but notwithstanding the power of the prince who thus interposed, the house of Austria carried its point. After this the views of the emperor were directed to the restoration of the commerce formerly carried on by the ancient city of Antwerp; and also to invite foreign ships to the port of Ostend, by which he hoped to render the Austrian Netherlands flourishing and opulent; nor was he less attentive to abridge the power of the clergy and the authority of the church of Rome, in every part of his hereditary dominions.

Joseph II. died February 20, 1790, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and was succeeded by his brother Leopold II., then grand duke of Tuscany, who became emperor of Germany, and king of Hungary and Bohemia.

This prince severely felt the thorns which encompassed a diadem; although a lover of peace, he was compelled to wage war with the French republic: whilst he saw his sister, the queen of France, degraded from her rank, kept a close prisoner, and in continual danger of an untimely end; but death closed his eyes upon these afflictive scenes in March 1791, five months after his advancement, in the forty-fourth year of his age.

Francis had no sooner been declared emperor, than he joined in the hostilities carrying on against France, on account of his hereditary states, as well as the empire. He soon lost the Netherlands; and the empire all its territory west of the Rhine: the Austrian possessions in Italy followed in 1797. The progress of the French arms was arrested only by the treaty of Campo Formio. A congress was afterwards held at Rastadt, which continued sitting for many months, and at length broke up without procuring peace. During the year 1799, the Austrians, joined by the Russians under Suwarrow, penetrated into Italy, and deprived the French of the greater part of their conquests acquired by the military skill of Buonaparte.

In 1800, Buonaparte, having returned from Egypt, raised an army, and crossed the Alps, with a view to recover Italy, lost in his absence. Fortune favoured his arms, and all the possessions of Francis fell into his hands by the famous battle of Marengo. Piedmont also submitted to the conqueror, and was, with Parma, Placentia, and some imperial fiefs, incorporated with France.

The peace of Luneville, in 1801, made the Rhine the boundary between France and Germany; the latter thus lost more than 26,000 square miles of territory, and nearly 4,000,000 inhabitants. The Austrian monarch founded the hereditary empire of Austria in 1804; and the first consul of France was declared emperor of the French, under the title of Napoleon I. Austria and Russia soon after united against Napoleon; and the peace of Presburg, which took place on the 26th of December 1805, terminated the war, in which three states of the German empire, Bavaria, Wirtemberg, and Baden, had taken part as allies of France. In the following year, sixteen German princes renounced their connection with the German empire, and entered into a union under the name of the confederation of the Rhine, which acknowledged the emperor of France as its protector. This decisive step was followed by a second. The German empire was dissolved; the emperor Francis resigned the German crown, renounced the title of emperor of Germany, and declared his hereditary dominions separated from the German empire.

The first year of the existence of this 'confederation' had not elapsed, when its armies, united with those of France, were marched to the Saale, the Elbe, and the Oder, against the Prussians, and afterwards to the Vistula, against the Russians. After the peace of Tilsit the confederation was strengthened by the accession of eleven princely houses of northern Germany. The kingdom of Westphalia was established, and Jerome, the brother of Napoleon, put upon the throne. Four kings, five grand dukes, and twenty-five dukes and other princes, were united in the new confederation.

The peace of Vienna increased its extent and power. The north-western parts, however, and the Hanseatic cities, Bremen, Hamburg, and Lubec, were united with France in 1810. When Napoleon, in 1812, undertook his fatal expedition to Russia, the contingents of the Rhenish confederation joined his army; and not less than about 100,000 Germans found their graves in the snows of Russia. The Russians pursued their advantages to the frontiers of Germany. Prussia, wearied with her long sufferings, joined them with enthusiasm, and, at the same time, some of the states

of the north of Germany united with them. Lubeck and Hamburg rose against the French, and all Germany was animated with the cheering hope of liberation. Austria next joined the grand alliance; and the war, owing to the enthusiasm of the people, soon assumed a most favourable appearance for the allies. On the 8th of October 1813, Bavaria joined the allied arms; and ten days afterwards, the battle of Leipsic destroyed the French dominion in Germany, and dissolved the confederation of the Rhine.

The king of Wirtemberg, and the other princes of the south, soon after followed the example of Bavaria; and after the battle of Hanau, Oct. 30, the French army had retreated over the Rhine. Everywhere in Germany the French power was now annihilated; neither the kingdom of Westphalia nor the grand-duchy of Berg any longer existed. Throughout Germany immense preparations were made for the preservation of the recovered independence. The victorious armies passed the Rhine on the first days of the following year, and all the territory which the French had conquered from Germany since 1793, was regained and secured by the events of the campaign in France and the peace of Paris. It was stipulated, by the articles of the peace, that the German states should be independent, but connected together by a federative system. This provision of the treaty was carried into effect by the congress of Vienna, Nov. 1. 1814, and by the statutes of the Germanic confederation in 1815.

In the new system of Europe, established at the congress in 1815, and by the treaty concluded with Bavaria, at Munich, in April 1816, the Austrian monarchy not only gained more than 4,238 square miles of territory, but was also essentially improved in compactness; and its commercial importance was increased by the accession of Dalmatia and Venice. The influence of this power among the states of Europe, in consequence of the congress of Vienna, as the first member of the great quadruple alliance (changed by the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle to a quintuple alliance), and as the head of the German confederation, has since been gradually increasing. Of the foreign affairs of the government, the most important is the connection of Austria with the German confederation.

The termination of the war with Russia, or, as it is called in Germany, 'the war of liberation,' restored Germany to its geographical and political position in Europe, but not as an empire acknowledging one supreme head. A confederation of thirty-five independent sovereigns and four free cities has replaced the elective monarchy, that fell under its own decrepitude. In the choice of the smaller princes, who were to become rulers, as well as of those who were obliged to descend to the rank of subjects, more attention was paid to family and political connection than to the old territorial divisions under the empire. The clerical fiefs, and the greater part of the free imperial cities, were incorporated into the estates of the more powerful princes, upon the dissolution of the empire, and were not reestablished. Only four cities remained in the enjoyment of their political rights.

The princes then formed themselves into a confederacy, named the 'Bundestag' or Diet, and agreed to hold its sittings in Frankfort-on-the-Maine. They gave to it a constitution (named the Bundesacte) by which the sovereigns, of their own authority, constituted themselves the diet, and gave to each a vote in it corresponding to the extent of their dominions; but in which the German people were not recognised as entitled to any representation. The thirteenth article of this act of union, however, declared that in every separate state of the confederation a constitution 'shall be instituted.' But no *time* was mentioned, and no description of the constitution was given; and it was only in some of the smaller states, such as Hanover, Baden, and Hesse, that the provision was carried into effect. During more than thirty years the rulers of Austria and Prussia, although constantly solicited by their subjects to redeem this pledge, refused to fulfil their obligations. So far from granting constitutions, a congress of ministers, under the direction of prince Metternich, assembled at Carlsbad on the 20th of September 1819, and adopted the following among other resolutions:—1st, that the universities shall be subjected to a strict superintendence; 2nd, that no daily or other periodical work, nor any book unless it shall exceed twenty sheets, shall be published in any state of the Union until they shall have been previously revised and sanctioned by the public authorities; and, 3rd, that a central commission, consisting of seven members of the diet, shall sit in Mayence, charged with the suppression of all revolutionary tendencies in the states of the confederation.

From that date till 1848 these resolutions continued to be acted upon with unsparing rigour. The 'central commission' considered themselves authorised to abrogate, suspend, and act in opposition to the 'constitutions' enjoyed by the minor states on every emergency, which appeared to them to call for an exercise of repressive authority. The natural fruits of this breach of faith soon showed themselves. The students of the universities, and in many instances the professors, became the determined enemies of the ruling powers. The men of literature and science winced under the galling censorship to which they were subjected; and the mass of the people, having been rendered by their schools capable of feeling, reading, and thinking, thoroughly sympathised with the classes before named, and all demanded freedom. In this manner the intelligence and physical force of Germany were nearly unanimous in the opinion that their sovereigns had broken faith with them, abused their confidence, and, in return for all their sacrifices, had treated them with harshness, indignity, and injustice.

Even so late as 1844, a conference took place at Vienna, of plenipotentiaries of the

German states, for the avowed suppression of a powerful body of malcontents, whom prince Metternich described as hostile to all authority; tending to disturb all social relations, either public or private; and which would, if left unchecked, finally deprive certain princes of all monarchical authority. This congress was, therefore, convened by the sovereign princes and free towns of Germany, to provide against the slightest change in the existing order of things.

In these circumstances, the French revolution of February 1848 burst forth like a volcano. It operated throughout Germany like an electric spark applied to combustible materials. The people, the students, and, in many instances, the professors, rose, and, with the tacit sanction of the middle ranks in general, rebelled against the sovereigns and demanded their political rights. The soldiers in almost all the German states partook of the common sentiments, and offered either no, or only a brief and feeble, resistance. The sovereigns saw their power vanish like a shadow. In Vienna, on the 13th of March 1848, the cry was uttered, 'Down with Metternich,' and, on the 14th, prince Metternich was a fugitive, and the city in the hands of the students and the burgher-guard. The emperor hesitated, and on 15th May there was a second rising, in which the people triumphed. The court then promised reformed institutions, and subsequently appointed a so-called liberal minister to carry them into effect.

On the 18th and 19th March the people of Berlin rose in arms. In the Konig's Strasse, where the chief contest ensued, the words 'Respect private property,' were posted on every shop, and on the city chambers were inscribed, 'Public property.' The government was beaten, few excesses were committed, the king promised free institutions, and tranquillity was restored. Political movements took place at the same time in Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover, and the other minor German states, and everywhere the sovereigns, prostrate before the popular power, acceded to the demands of their subjects. These demands were limited to representative constitutions, freedom of the press, guarantees against personal arrest except on the warrant of a court of justice, trial by jury, publicity of judicial proceedings, and other constitutional privileges, which in England are reckoned the birthright of even the humblest individual. These having been conceded, the sovereigns were left in the undisturbed possession of their thrones.

Simultaneously with these occurrences, a self-constituted assembly of political reformers met at Heidelberg, to devise means for obtaining a new constitution for confederated Germany, in place of the obnoxious diet, which the princes consented to abolish. They had two grand objects in view. To secure a due representation of the people in the confederated government, and by means of this government to render Germany a great and united political power. Their labours ended in the election, by nearly universal suffrage, and with the consent of the sovereigns, of a certain number of deputies from each of the confederated states, who met in Frankfort as a German parliament, with power to frame a constitution for the confederation, and to constitute Germany, in her foreign relations, a single, powerful, and united state. On the 29th of June 1848, the parliament chose the archduke John of Austria as the head of United Germany, under the title of the 'Reichsverweser,' or 'lieutenant-administrator of the empire.' 'The election was received with universal acclamation. Fires of joy blazed on every hill, cannon thundered out the public greeting of the constitution, and thousands of voices shouted forth in jubilee, "Hail our German Fatherland!"'

Immediately after the installation of the Reichsverweser, the German parliament commenced its labours of framing a constitution. By this scheme, the countries composing till that period the Germanic confederation, together with Schleswig, and the provinces of the eastern and western Prussia, were all to be fused into one grand, free, fraternal empire of Germany; the sovereignties at present existing within these territories being limited and subordinated up to the point which the perfection of imperial unity might be found to require. This empire was to be hereditary, and its capital was to be Frankport on the Maine. The emperor of Germany was to be maintained in his dignity by a civil list, voted by the German parliament; he was to have the executive in all affairs of the empire, and to nominate and appoint all officers of the state, of the army and navy, and of the staff of the national guard. In the imperial power, as constituted by this emperor and parliament, would be vested all the international representation of Germany with respect to foreign states, the disposal of the army, the right of conducting negotiations and concluding treaties, and of declaring peace or war. The parliament was to consist of two houses; the upper constituted by the thirty-three reigning sovereigns (or their deputies), by a deputy from each of the four free towns, and by a complement of as many imperial councillors, with certain qualifications, as should raise the whole chamber to the number of 800 members; the lower by representatives to be elected by the people in fixed proportions, but by methods to be determined by the respective states. Provision was also made for the establishment of supreme and imperial courts of judicature, with ample powers, vast fields of operation, and most effective machinery. But long before this gigantic scheme could be matured, the proceedings of the German parliament were thrown into a different channel by events to which we must now briefly advert.

Schleswig and Holstein are two duchies, which, by hereditary descent, have come to be connected with the crown of Denmark, as Hanover was with that of England. But the king of Denmark is duke only of Schleswig and of Holstein, and

their German laws and constitution have remained unchanged during all the period of their connection with Denmark. In Holstein the succession has always been limited to heirs male; and as in some ancient charters there was a clause declaring the union between Holstein and Schleswig indissoluble, the Germans, in the near prospect of the crown of Denmark falling into the female line, had, for a long period, been eager that measures should be adopted to the effect that the duchy of Schleswig should follow the succession of the duchy of Holstein, and that all political connection between Denmark and the duchies should cease. To this arrangement the Danes were naturally hostile. This question had attracted great attention in 1846 and 1847, and some opposition was offered to the centralising tendencies of Christian VIII., because it was thought that the measures of the court were directed against the nationality of the duchies. The accession of this sovereign, followed by an attempt to embrace his different possessions under one constitution, increased the discontent of the German party in Schleswig Holstein. To alter the connection existing between the duchies, and to propose to treat either of them as integral parts of the monarchy, was resented as an attack upon the rights of the country, and as an attempt to extinguish the nationality of the duchies. During this exasperated state of feeling the French revolution of February, 1848, opportunely broke out. The momentary success which attended it, stimulated the German party in the duchies to throw off the Danish yoke; and a provisional government was at once proclaimed. Though it appears singular that the government and the people of Germany should have seriously set to work to invade an ancient monarchy for the benefit of an empire which never existed, yet so it was—the kingdoms and the principalities of Germany took up the quarrel. The assembly at Frankfort aided the insurgents both by word and deed. Troops from every quarter were hurried to the assistance of a 'kindred race;' and general Wrangel, at the head of a considerable army, occupied Jutland, and raised enormous contributions from the unfortunate inhabitants. It was in vain that the king of Denmark, who, as duke of Holstein, was a member of the Germanic confederation, protested against the invasion of his rights. The Germans, from the Rhine to the Oder, had set their hearts upon making Germany a naval power, and were determined to acquire the harbour of Kiel, together with a large portion of the Danish coast. The Danes, however, manfully resisted; though compelled to retire from their continental dominions by the superior numbers of the invading army, they inflicted no small loss on the enemy by blockading the German ports. Denmark then applied to Russia, France, and England, her allies, for fulfilment of treaties guaranteeing to her the integrity of her dominions. The danger of a general European war became imminent; and the Prussian government, which, up to that moment, had been the chief instigator and support of the insurgents, found it necessary to consent to an armistice. This armistice was concluded at Malmo, Aug. 26, and was to last for seven months. It virtually put an end to the war; for though it again broke forth, and raged with great violence during the spring and summer of the following year, the combatants were confined almost exclusively to the Holsteiners and the Danes; the German governments having meanwhile abandoned a cause to which they had lent themselves at first with unexampled eagerness.

The assembly at Frankfort, after a stormy debate, approved of this armistice, but by a small majority. The liberal members, with Dahlmann at their head, loudly expressed their indignation, which found a powerful echo out of doors. Meetings were held outside the town, at which it was resolved that those who had ratified 'the infamous armistice of Malmo were traitors against the majesty, liberty, and honour of the German people;' and a deputation was appointed to inform them of this resolution. The archduke John was now officially informed that the senate could not preserve the peace of the town. His minister of the interior, Von Schmerling, forthwith summoned Austrian, Prussian, and Bavarian troops to Frankfort; and when the populace began to erect barricades, and throw stones at them, the town was declared in a state of siege. At length the conflict began by an attack on one of the barricades, at which the ominous red flag was displayed. One barricade after another was carried under a galling fire from behind them and the houses. Artillery had to be called for, and employed against some; but by midnight all resistance was at an end. Martial law was proclaimed. This insurrection was marked by some incidents more than usually atrocious. As prince Lichnowsky and major Auerswald were attempting to reason with the insurgents, they were fired upon, mortally wounded, and then barbarously cut and hacked. The decline of the assembly may date from this day.

In the midst of these complicated transactions, the important question as to the prince on whose head the imperial crown should be placed, could no longer be deferred. A large majority of the national assembly voted for the king of Prussia; and a deputation was appointed to go to Berlin to apprise his majesty of the vote. But the king, who had so often appeared anxious to seize the imperial crown, now declined it until the princes of Germany should have made known their views. This answer pleased no party. Austria did not find the refusal sufficiently distinct; and the Frankfort assembly saw in it a proof that a rupture was at hand. Then followed a series of complicated events, in which the German parliament disappeared. Austria, through her minister, M. de Schmerling, declared that the assembly had exceeded its powers; that it had not been nominated to dispose of the empire, but to frame a constitution for the approval of the different governments finally, that the assembly no longer existed

and that the Austrian deputies might consider their mission at an end.

Thus abandoned by Prussia, and attacked by Austria, the German parliament was at a loss where to turn to for support. Many of the most distinguished members, who had had faith in the mission of the parliament, lost courage, and one by one resigned their functions, and thus left the field open to the wild and revolutionary spirits whom they had hitherto kept in check. Left to the freedom of their own will, they at once proceeded to depose the archduke John, who, however, took no heed of their deposition; and, at length, on the 30th of May 1849, they resolved to quit Frankfort, and removed to Stuttgart. There they formed nothing but a club, and the first German parliament received its deathblow from the police agents of the king of Wirtemberg. The revolutionary deputies then dispersed over Germany; and we find them taking part in all the insurrections of which Dresden, Leipzic, and Baden were shortly afterwards the bloody stage.

The king of Prussia, now acting under the counsel of general Radowitz, attempted to obtain by diplomatic means what he had rejected when presented by the popular will. But it would far exceed our limits to detail the policy to which he had recourse to effect his object. Suffice it here to state, that the various schemes which he adopted had no definite result, save to revive, in all its force, the fierce struggle for supremacy that had long existed between Austria and Prussia. Prussia by convoking at Erfurt certain elected deputies as a central parliament, in lieu of the Frankfort parliament already hastening to an end, had recognised the political existence of the people, and their right to participate in framing a federal constitution. Austria, on the other hand, refused to allow her subjects to elect deputies to that assembly, and protested against the character of a federal parliament given to it by Prussia. Austria argued that as the Frankfort parliament, to which she had consented, was dissolved, the old diet revived as a matter of right. Prussia resisted this view, and maintained that the diet was for ever extinguished, and that, on the dissolution of the Frankfort parliament, the field was once more open to the reconstruction of a new federal constitution. But, in defiance of the protest of Prussia, the diet at Frankfort was once more convoked, the *plenum* announced to be complete, and the usual recognition by foreign powers formally demanded. The German people were in despair. The king of Prussia was regarded as their only, although a forlorn hope; and they longed for some event which, by uniting them, might once more enable them to vindicate their own political existence and their rights.

Such an event most unexpectedly occurred. The electorate of Hesse-Cassel was one of the minor German states which enjoyed a constitutional government. For eighteen years it had been in full operation; and through its instrumentality many beneficial measures had been introduced. But the chambers having, in 1850, declined to vote certain taxes, the elector dissolved them, and in flagrant violation of the constitution, proceeded to levy the taxes by his own sovereign authority. But the individuals, from whom taxes were illegally demanded, applied to the supreme civil court, and received from it an injunction to restrain the collector. This brought the sovereign and the supreme court, as representing the law and the constitution, into collision, and the people universally rallied round the constitution. They remained perfectly quiet, but offered a determined passive resistance. The elector fled to Fulda, and there proclaimed martial law, appointed a commander-in-chief, and ordered him to collect the imposts by military execution. The officers of the elector's army resigned their commissions, and he was forced to disband his soldiers! He then applied to the confederate sovereigns to reduce his subjects to obedience. Austria and Bavaria at once responded to the call, and induced Wirtemberg to aid them. The German people, with one voice, appealed to the king of Prussia, who marched his troops to the confines of Hesse-Cassel to support the constitution. The soldiers of Austria and Bavaria approached by another line to enforce the dictates of the elector's irresponsible will. To give effect to his demonstration, the king of Prussia summoned his chambers, and called out his landwehr, or the whole military force of his kingdom. The chambers, his army, and people responded to the call to war with acclamations of joy; and a conflict seemed inevitable. The whole German people gave indications of participating in the same spirit. The agitation was universal, and the sovereign speedily discovered that, if the sword were once drawn, it would be a war not of Austria against Prussia, but of the people of all the German states, and of Bohemia, Hungary, and Lombardy, against their kings! The rulers stopped short on the brink of the precipice. The king of Prussia suddenly prorogued his chambers, and on the 29th of November 1850, prince Schwarzenburg, representing Austria, and baron Manteuffel, the minister of Prussia, met at Olmutz, and adopted propositions for 'solving,' as they termed it, 'the pending differences' regarding both Holstein and Hesse-Cassel. The solution was very simple. These sovereigns agreed that all the German princes should name two commissaries, whose office shall be to force Denmark and Holstein to make an arrangement, and also to force the elector and his subjects to come to terms; and in the meantime, in order to establish, 'in the electorate of Hesse as well as in Holstein, a legal state of things responding to the principles of the diet,' and which should 'render the fulfilment of the federal duties possible,' Prussia agreed to join Austria in occupying Hesse, and in sending commissaries to Holstein, to call on 'the stadtholderate (the Holstein people), in the name of the diet, to cease hostilities.'

These resolutions were soon afterwards carried into effect; and from that moment

the revolutionary flame which burst forth in 1848, and had continued to burn with more or less intensity for two years, may be said to have been extinguished. The subsequent history of Germany possesses little interest for the English reader. Suffice it to state that the old diet at Frankfort was reinstated with its former authority; and repeated conferences were held at Dresden, Berlin, Vienna, and elsewhere, for the purpose of regulating the internal commerce of the different German states, and arranging other weighty matters. But, far from cementing the interests of the different governments, the contest for supremacy between Austria and Prussia still raged so violently, that even the Zollverein, whose grand *unifying* influence for many years operated so beneficially on the material interests of Germany, was threatened with dissolution.

In August 1863, a congress of German sovereigns and princes took place at Frankfort for the purpose of discussing a project for the reformation of the bund, the king of Prussia being almost the only ruler who held aloof. The result of the congress was an act which decreed, among other things, that a directory should be formed for managing the affairs of the confederation, that a federal council should be formed of the plenipotentiaries of the governments, that an assembly of federal delegates should be periodically convoked, and a federal court of justice established.

The following territories, with the population of each, were, according to the statistics of 1857–62, comprised in the German confederation:—

States.	*Population.*
1. Austria	12,813,263
2. Prussia	14,139,003
3. Bavaria	4,689,837
4. Saxony	2,225,240
5. Hanover	1,888,070
6. Wurtemberg	1,720,708
7. Baden	1,369,291
8. Hesse-Darmstadt	856,250
9. Mecklenburg-Schwerin	548,449
10. Mecklenburg-Strelitz	99,060
11. Saxe Weimar	273,252
12. Oldenburg	295,242
13. Luxemburg	196,804
14. Hesse-Cassel	738,454
15. Nassau	456,567
16. Brunswick	281,697
17. Saxe-Meiningen	172,341
18. Saxe-Altenburg	137,162
19. Saxe-Coburg-Gotha	159,431
20. Holstein and Lauenburg	594,566
21. Anhalt-Dessau Köthen	124,013
22. Anhalt-Bernburg	57,811
23. Hesse-Homburg	26,817
24. Schwarzburg-Sondershausen	64,895
25. Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt	71,613
26. Waldeck-Pyrmont	58,904
27. Lippe-Detmold	108,513
28. Schaumburg-Lippe	30,774
29. Reuss-Griez (senior branch)	42,130
30. Reuss-Schleitz (junior brauch)	83,360
31. Liechtenstein	7,150
32. Homburg	229,941
33. Bremen	98,575
34. Lubeck	49,482
35. Frankfort	83,380
Total population	44,802,050

The total military force of the confederation, 503,072 men.

In the year 1855, the emperor of Austria entered into an important concordat with the Pope, which showed how strong a power the Roman church still ventured to exercise, where she knew that her claims would be admitted. By it all education was placed absolutely in the hands of the clergy, who were to decide what books should and should not be read, not only by the pupils, but also by the nation at large; and the government engaged to prevent the interdicted books from spreading over the empire, as well as to suppress all contempt of the church, her ministers, and her ordinances, whether shown in word, deed, or writing. Questions of law and property were dealt with in the same spirit.

To this concordat succeeded in 1860 political reforms, of which the results are likely to be antagonistic to the ecclesiastical domination. The numbers of the Reichsrath or council of the empire were fixed at 80, and in its periodical sessions, it was (1) to fix the amount of the budget, to examine the state balance sheets, and the reports of the national debts' commission; (2) to consider the more important draughts for general laws; and (3) the proposals of the provincial constitutions. But it had not the right of initiating and making proposals for laws or ordinances. The old Reichsrath was to continue its functions on questions not cognisable by this new Reichsrath, the members of which were called counsellors extraordinary. On the 21st of October, the emperor promulgated a new constitution. This constitution introduced many important improvements, and granted to the people a much larger share of real freedom; but throughout it regarded freedom as the spontaneous gift of the sovereign, revocable at will, and not as the inalienable right of the people. Hence the Hungarians were naturally dissatisfied. What they wanted was no arbitrary gift from a benevolent emperor, but the restoration of rights which they had once exercised, and which had been violently suspended. They demanded therefore the carrying out of an existing constitution, not the promulgation of a new one; and further, as a natural sequence, the coronation of the emperor at Pesth as king of Hungary, as well as the reunion of the Banat and Voivodina with the present kingdom of Hungary. What the final result may be, the history of 1862 does not enable us to determine. The political atmosphere seems outwardly calm; and the attention of the Austrian government is wisely given to financial reforms which are urgently needed. The difficulties involved in the occupation of Venetia may be reserved until an answer to them can no longer be withheld.

HUNGARY.

THE Huns are described by the old historians as a nation of ferocious savages, emanating from Scythia, or Western Tartary. They lived upon roots, and flesh, half raw; they had neither houses nor cities; and their wives and children dwelt under tents. They fought without order, and without discipline; and trusted much to the swiftness of their horses. They do not appear to have been known to the Romans until about the year 209 of the Christian era, at which time the Romans called them Pannonians.

The people of Hungary consist of seven distinct races, viz. Magyars, Slowacks, Croatians, Germans, Wallachians, Rusniacks, and Jews; of whom the Magyars are by far the most considerable. In their own country their oriental denomination of Magyars is usually given to them, the name of Hungarians being used only by other nations.

Under Attila, they penetrated into Gaul, and became masters of the finest cities; and were approaching towards Paris, when Aetius, the Roman general, defeated them near Troyes, in Champagne. After this battle, Attila retired into Pannonia; but as soon as he had repaired his losses, he ravaged Italy; and was preparing anew to enter Gaul, when death put an end to his victories in the year 454.

Attila was really what he had named himself, 'the terror of men, and the scourge of God.' After his death, great divisions took place among the Huns, who no longer kept that name, but assumed the appellation of Hungarians; but of their history during the time of the Western and Eastern empires, and the various wars and invasions which are said to have taken place between the third and tenth centuries, there is no information upon which reliance can be placed.

They began to embrace Christianity under the guidance of German missionaries. Stephen, chief of the Hungarians, who had married the sister of the emperor Henry, was baptised at the beginning of the eleventh century. The pope bestowed upon him the title of 'the apostolic king;' and idolatry soon after disappeared in Hungary.

Stephen, thus honoured by the pope for his services in converting the heathens, endeavoured to strengthen his kingdom by the power of the hierarchy and the aristocracy. He established ten richly endowed bishoprics, and divided the whole empire into seventy counties. These officers and the bishops formed the senate of the kingdom, with whose concurrence king Stephen granted a constitution, the principal features of which are still preserved. The unsettled state of the succession to the crown, and the consequent interference of neighbouring princes, and of the Roman court, in the domestic concerns of Hungary; the inveterate hatred of the Magyars against the Germans, who were favoured by Peter, the successor of Stephen; the secret struggle of Paganism with Christianity, and particularly the arrogance of the clergy and nobility, long retarded the prosperity of the country.

The religious zeal and bravery of St. Ladislaus, and the energy and prudence of Calomun, shine amidst the darkness of this period. These two monarchs extended the boundaries of the empire; the former by the conquest of Croatia and Sclavonia, the latter by the conquest of Dalmatia. They asserted with firmness the dignity of the Hungarian crown, and the independence of the nation, against all foreign attacks; and restored order and tranquillity at home by wise laws and prudent regulations. The introduction of German colonists, from Flanders and Alsace, into Zips and Transylvania, by Geysa II., in 1148, had an important influence on those districts; and the connection of Hungary with Constantinople during the reign of Bela III., who had been educated in that city, had a favourable effect on the country in general. The Magyars, who had previously passed the greater part of the year in tents, became more accustomed to living in towns, and to civil institutions. On the other hand, Hungary became connected with France, by the second marriage of Bela with Margaret, sister to Henry, king of France, and widow of Henry, king of England. She introduced French elegance at the Hungarian court, and at this time we find the first mention of Hungarians studying at Paris; but these improvements were soon checked, and the kingdom was reduced to a most deplorable condition by the invasion of the Mongols in the middle of the 13th century. After the retreat of these wild hordes, Bela IV. endeavoured to heal the wounds of his country. He induced Germans to settle in the depopulated provinces, and elevated the condition of the citizens by increasing the number of royal free cities.

The king, Ladislaus, having been killed in 1290, by the Tartars, the emperor Rodolph of Hapsburg, pretending that Hungary was a fief of the empire, gave the crown to one of his sons; but, in 1309, pope Boniface VIII., supposing it to be his right to dispose of the kingdom, invested Charlbert, who supported his appointment with his sword. Under him Hungary became powerful: he added to his kingdom Croatia, Servia, Transylvania, Moldavia, and part of Dalmatia.

In 1437, Albert of Austria ascended the

Hungarian throne. Under him commenced the intestine divisions which, joined to the irruptions of the Turks, almost depopulated the country. The civil war between the people and the nobles, in the reign of Ladislaus V. and the Corvins, weakened it so much, that it was not in a state to resist the Ottoman power; and the army of Solyman entirely destroyed that of Hungary in 1526; when the king, Louis II., was killed. 200,000 captives were taken away by the Turks.

Ferdinand I., emperor of Germany, was elected king of Hungary by the states in 1527. He found the country weak in population, very poor, divided by the Catholic and Protestant factions, and occupied by the Turkish and German armies. It was in a deplorable state under all the kings of the house of Austria, but more particularly so under Leopold, elected in 1655. In his reign, Upper Hungary and Transylvania were the theatre of revolution, bloody war, and devastation.

The Hungarians defended their liberties against Leopold; and the consequence was, the death of the principal nobility on the scaffold, at Vienna. A man named Emeric Tekeli, whose father and friends had fallen under the hands of the executioner, in order to avenge their deaths, raised a force in Hungary, in 1683, and joined Mahomet IV., then besieging Vienna. John Sobieski, king of Poland, Charles, duke of Lorraine, and the princes of the empire, had the good fortune to oblige Mahomet to retire, and thus relieved the emperor and his capital.

Leopold was resolved to be revenged on the Hungarians; he erected a scaffold in the month of March 1687, and it remained until the close of the year, during which time victims without number were immolated by the hands of the executioner. The shocking butcheries which the Hungarians saw practised on their countrymen filled them with horror and intimidated them.

The Turks were twice repulsed, and Hungary submitted. Transylvania was conquered, and in possession of the imperialists. The crown, which, since the time of Ferdinand I., had been elective, was declared hereditary; and Joseph, son of Leopold, was crowned king at the close of the year 1687. It continued in the possession of the old Austrian house until the death of Charles VI., 1740.

After his death, Maria Theresa, his daughter, who had married into the house of Lorraine, and was by right heiress to his hereditary states, was in great danger of being dethroned. France and Bavaria overran her dominions; but at length she overcame all her difficulties: her husband, after the death of Charles VII., of Bavaria, was also invested with the joint sovereignty. On her death, in 1780, her son Joseph II., emperor of Germany, succeeded. He, dying in 1790, his next brother, Peter Leopold, grand duke of Tuscany, became king of Hungary; but died five months after his elevation, and was succeeded by his eldest son Francis.

From this time the Hungarian nation was too much occupied with wars and rumours of wars to proceed regularly and zealously with constitutional and social reforms. Nay, the chivalrous nature of the people itself, and their loyalty to the Kaiser's throne, led them to submit to repeated and exorbitant demands for men and money, without exacting a correspondent redress of grievances. Francis I., when the victories of Napoleon were shattering the unity of Austria, reminded the diet of its response to Maria Theresa at a similar crisis; and on each appeal was met with equal devotion, if not with equal enthusiasm, even after the Hungarians were weary of a war in which they performed the giant's task, and received the dwarf's reward. From 1796 to 1811, the diets were convoked to grant supplies, and to be dismissed as soon as they spoke of grievances.

But with the restoration of peace in 1812, a new era began for Hungary. In spite of war and levies, and bad government, the kingdom had advanced in material prosperity; and it was expected that peace would afford leisure for carrying out the social and constitutional reforms which previous commissions had recommended. But it was an era of brief promise and protracted disappointment. Austria, as a member of the Holy Alliance, was more than ever determined to set Hungary upon the same footing as the hereditary states. A court party was sedulously fostered in the country and the chambers; Austrian officers were put in command of Hungarian regiments; the bondage of the press was rigorously enforced; new shackles were imposed on trade; the currency was depreciated; for twelve years no diet was summoned, and nearly every article of the constitution was assailed by violence, or evaded by intrigues. The arbitrary measures by which, in 1822 and 1823, the Austrian cabinet attempted to levy taxes and troops in Hungary, in express violation of Leopold II.'s nineteenth article in the 'diploma,' and of so many preceding charters, were arrested by the imposing diet of 1825. Francis I. upon this retracted, apologised, and by three additional articles engaged to observe the fundamental law of his Hungarian kingdom, to convoke the diet at least triennially, and not to levy subsidies without its concurrence. From 1825 the movements of the Austrian government were less daring and more insidious. It tampered with elections, stimulated the hostile prejudices of the races, and augmented its number of partisans in the chamber of magnates. Its success, however, in these arts was scarcely answerable to its diligence. The municipalities of Hungary, her county elections, and the temper of her country gentlemen, opposed, in most cases, an effective barrier to the encroachments of absolutism. The nation needed only a strong impulse to complete its organisation; and from the year 1827 dates that regular and active opposition which, under the title of the *Hungarian party*, withstood for twenty years (1827–1847) the assaults of despotic innovation. The soul of this party was Kossuth, who, though not a member of the diet at this time contributed by his pen to the diffusion of liberal principles, and more than once

expiated his courage by fine and imprisonment. In 1847 he was returned to the diet, where his influence became transcendent. The movements of the diet were materially quickened by the news of the French revolution of February 24, 1848; and it was resolved to require a responsible ministry to be chosen from the ranks of the liberal party. Kossuth made this motion March 3rd, and so powerful was the support he commanded, that 'the conservative delegates agreed to give their tacit consent; or, in other words, that the motion should be carried, without a single observation being made from either side of the house, by general acclamation.' The influence of the Paris revolution was exceeded by that of Vienna, March 14th. When the news arrived, that prince Metternich had been compelled to resign office, it became self-evident that the Hungarians must have a *bonâ fide* responsible ministry, liberty of the press, and annual diets at Pesth. To these demands the sovereign acceded, and a Hungarian ministry, composed of the most distinguished members of the diet, was installed in office. That ministry embraced the names of Louis Batthyani and Szechenyi, of Paul Esterhazy and Kossuth. For the first time for three centuries, the Magyars beheld at Pesth a truly national government; and, forgetting ancient grudges, the whole kingdom was filled with loyalty and devotion to their hereditary sovereign.

But scarcely had the just claims of Hungary been recognised when the cabinet of Vienna began to consider how the newly-granted privileges of the Magyars could be wrested from them. One mode of effecting this object speedily suggested itself. The Sclaves had been for some time dreaming of a united empire, and the idea of flattering their hopes, and then employing them to crush the new-born liberties of Hungary, readily occurred to the successors of prince Metternich. The Sclavonic people of the empire were envious of the success of the Hungarian movement, and thus became more readily the dupes of their imperial masters. The baron Joseph Jellachich, at this period colonel of a Croat regiment of horse, with a handsome person and a ready wit, was suddenly elevated to the dignity of Ban of Croatia. He employed all his eloquence, which was undoubtedly great, to incite the Serb and Croat population against the Magyars. He collected troops along the frontier, whom, in his boastful proclamations, he promised to enrich with the spoils of Hungary; he even threatened to march to Pesth with his 'Red mantles,' the wildest of those robber hordes by whom he was surrounded, and to dissolve the diet by force. Suspicions began to be entertained that the ban of Croatia was secretly backed by the imperial court, and a formal complaint was brought against him at Innspruck, where the court was residing. In consequence of these representations, the ban of Croatia was, by proclamation, deprived of all his titles, and publicly declared a traitor.

The fears of the Hungarian diet were, for a short time, lulled by this decisive act. The agitation on the Croatian frontier, however, still continued, and the marauding bands whom Jellachich had drawn together committed the grossest outrages on the inhabitants of the Lower Danube. The few Austrian regiments which were quartered in that district offered so feeble a resistance to the insurgents, as to revive all the suspicions of the Magyars. Before a month had elapsed, the true intentions of the court became apparent. The Serbs and Croats were no longer denounced as rebels and traitors; and an imperial proclamation was even issued, approving generally of their proceedings.

Roused to a sense of the imminent danger which threatened them, the diet at length took effective measures to resist any attempt which should be made against its liberties. Towards the middle of July, Kossuth, as minister of finance, in an elaborate address, proposed that funds should be immediately provided for raising an army of 200,000 men; these were granted with enthusiasm.

Both parties were now in earnest. Austria had resolved at all hazards to retrace her steps, and Hungary was no less determined to maintain her long-lost nationality. From this time it was evident that all further negotiation was fruitless, and the imperial cabinet prepared to carry out its scheme of invading Hungary from the south. For this purpose the 'traitor Jellachich' of the 10th of June was, on the 4th of September, reinstated in all his dignities and titles, and on the 9th of the same month he crossed the southern frontier with an army of upwards of 60,000 men, composed partly of Austrian troops, but chiefly of irregular bands of Serbs and Croats, with whom the heroic ban declared he would march direct to Pesth, and disperse the diet. Before he could make good his boast, however, he suffered a signal defeat from the army of Hungarian volunteers which awaited his approach in the vicinity of the capital. After this discomfiture, he made the best of his way with a remnant of his force to Vienna.

Serious events had meanwhile occurred. At Presburg, count Lamberg, who had been sent to take the military command in Hungary, but whose appointment, without the sanction of the diet, was illegal, had fallen a victim to the popular fury. This occurrence materially widened the breach between the diet and the imperial authorities, and both parties actively prepared for the deadly struggle which was now inevitable. A proclamation was immediately issued by the emperor (October 3rd) dissolving the diet, declaring all its resolutions which had not his sanction null and void, appointing Jellachich military commander and royal plenipotentiary in Hungary, and laying the kingdom under martial law. The Vienna revolution of October 6th, with the subsequent bombardment and capture of the city, left the military forces of Austria free to act against Hungary. In that direction they were immediately sent; and no doubt was entertained of a certain and speedy triumph. But before the army had time to

enter Hungary, Ferdinand V., who felt himself unequal to the crisis, abdicated the throne in favour of his nephew Francis Joseph, who at once caused himself to be proclaimed emperor of Austria and *king of Hungary*, without waiting for the constitutional form of his election in accordance with ancient treaties.

In the month of December, prince Windischgratz entered Hungary at the head of 130,000 men; and one stronghold after another submitted to their assault. On the advance of this great force, the diet retired from Pesth, and established itself at Debreczin, to the eastward of the Theiss, behind which river Gorgei, the commander-in-chief of the Hungarians, concentrated his army. Encouraged by success, a royal proclamation was issued March 4th, 1849, annihilating the separate existence of Hungary; declaring it an integral portion of the 'hereditary empire of Austria,' and naming Vienna as the capital, and seat of the executive power. But the end was not yet. The Hungarians now began to act on the offensive, and the campaign which followed is one of the most remarkable in history.

General Bem, a Polish emigrant, recovered Transylvania; having with singular rapidity, and with very inadequate means, cleared that country of Austrian troops. Gorgei having inured his raw levies to discipline and danger throughout the winter, at this time suddenly abandoned his defensive tactics, and, crossing the Theiss at several points, made a vigorous attack upon the lines of the Austrian field-marshal. His first efforts against the Austrian lines were successful, and he instantly followed them up by a fresh attack. During the next ten days there was a continuous series of battles, which terminated generally to the advantage of the Magyars. Windischgratz retired slowly before his impetuous adversary, who drove him, without a day's repose, from one position to another, until he reached Godollo. Near to that place the Austrian general intrenched himself along a range of wooded heights, which, being thickly planted with artillery, he deemed impregnable. But he was mistaken. Gorgei advanced immediately to the attack. The Austrians fought with their proverbial obstinacy; but nothing could withstand the furious charges of the Hungarian horse, which, breaking through every obstacle, made their way to the heights, and silenced the enemy's artillery. The victory was complete; and the Austrians retired in confusion from the field. After his last discomfiture, Windischgratz was removed from the command; and Welden, who was sent to succeed him, immediately evacuated Hungary with the wreck of the imperial forces.

We now approach the critical point of this great struggle. On the 14th of April 1849, a few days after the decisive defeat of Windischgratz, the declaration of Hungarian independence was issued by the diet. The particular form to be assumed by the government was reserved for a future diet, it being provided, in the meantime, 'by acclamation and with the unanimous approval of the diet,' that Louis Kossuth should be governor, and that the affairs of the kingdom should be conducted 'on the basis of the ancient and received principles which have been recognised for ages.' Gorgei did not object to this measure; but from this time he manifested a desire to thwart the views of the diet. After the retreat of the Austrian army, he was strongly urged by Kossuth and by Dembinski, who had now arrived in Hungary, to march directly upon Vienna with his victorious troops. Instead, however, of directing his steps towards the Austrian capital, he marched upon Buda, which was still held by the imperial troops, and closely invested that ancient seat of royalty. He did, indeed, succeed in capturing Buda after an obstinate defence, but each precious day wasted before that city strengthened the arms of his opponents. The war in Italy had now been concluded by the decisive defeat of the king of Sardinia at Novara, and a considerable force could be spared. To crown the whole, the aid of Russia was invoked to crush the Hungarians; and in the month of June, the combined imperial armies entered Hungary simultaneously from the north, south, east, and west.

The summer campaign commenced under the auspices of general Haynau, who arrived on the banks of the Danube, hot from the slaughter of Brescia; and being strongly reinforced from various quarters of the empire, he lost no time in commencing active operations. On the 20th of June, he at length engaged the army under Gorgei, near the confluence of the Waag and the Danube. The Austro-Russian army was greatly superior in point of numbers to the Hungarian force; but after several days' hard fighting, and great loss upon both sides, no decisive result followed. On the 2nd of July, a vigorous attack was made upon Gorgei's intrenched camp, near Komorn. The combat lasted the whole day, but the assailants were at length repulsed, with the loss of 3,000 men. Gorgei, who had fought at the head of his troops throughout the day, was severely wounded upon this occasion. But on the same night, a despatch was received from Kossuth, to the effect that Gorgei had been removed from the post of commander-in-chief. That the diet had strong grounds of complaint against this general, there can be no doubt: but their decision came at a most unseasonable moment; and there can be little doubt that it hastened the catastrophe which followed so shortly afterwards.

The struggle now drew rapidly to its conclusion. Gorgei, finding it impossible to make head any longer against the Austrian and Russian armies on the Danube, resolved to fall back upon districts which he had occupied during the winter, behind the Theiss. Leaving general Klapka with a large garrison in the impregnable fortress of Komorn, he commenced his retreat about the middle of July. By the rapidity and skill of his movements, he succeeded in eluding the vigilance of his enemies,

and once more found himself on the left bank of the Theiss, at the head of a considerable army. He now moved to the southwards, with what object did not appear, for he thus placed himself between the army of Haynau and that of the Russian general, Rudiger, who were both advancing upon central Hungary. But the catastrophe was at hand.

On the 11th of August, he had an interview with Kossuth, at Arad; and shortly afterwards a public proclamation was issued by Kossuth and his colleagues, resigning the whole of their powers into the hands of general Arthur Gorgei, whom they nominated dictator of Hungary. What was his motive in accepting this nominal dignity—whether to avenge the slight he had received during the previous month, or to give more effect to the step he meditated—we shall not venture to decide. Certain it is, that two days subsequent to his elevation, he made an unconditional surrender of his forces, consisting of upwards of 30,000 men, and 144 pieces of cannon, to the Russian commander, at Villagos. In a proclamation issued immediately afterwards, he recommended the rest of the Hungarian chiefs to follow his example, and trust to the generosity of the Russian czar. With the surrender of Gorgei, the contest was virtually at an end. The greater number of the Hungarian chiefs followed his example, trusting to the vague assurances of safety which were held out to them by their favourite general, and which were so completely belied by the subsequent conduct of the Austrian government. Kossuth, Bem, since deceased, Dembinski, Guyon, and some others, sought refuge in Turkey. But Austria and Russia immediately demanded from the Porte the surrender of the refugees, and the cabinet of the sultan appealed to England and France for support. Failing in the immediate accomplishment of their purpose, the ambassadors of the former powers suspended diplomatic relations with the Porte, and waited further instructions from Vienna and St. Petersburg. In these circumstances the Turkish government addressed six queries to the ambassadors of France and England, with a view of ascertaining their opinions on the points in dispute, and of learning whether, in the event of war being declared, the Porte might 'count upon the effective cooperation of those two powers.' France and England were united on this point, and their combined fleets were ordered to take up a position near the Dardanelles, from which they might promptly render aid if such were required. This necessity, however, was prevented by the vigour of the measures which had been adopted. The Austrian and Russian governments gave way, and ultimately Kossuth, and the more eminent of his co-patriots, were removed to the Interior, with a view of preventing further disturbance to these powers.

Meanwhile numerous memorials were addressed to the English government, praying its interference on behalf of the refugees; and the United States sent a steam-frigate to convey Kossuth and his companions to the Western World. Austria threatened vengeance in case they were permitted to depart; but the Turkish cabinet resolved to listen to the representations of other powers, and on the 22nd of August 1851, the welcome tidings of freedom were conveyed to Kossuth. On the 1st of September, he left Kutayah, landed at Southampton on the 23rd of October, amid the acclamations of congregated thousands; and, after a triumphal progress through different parts of England, sailed for the United States. Since his surrender general Gorgei resided in great seclusion at Klagenfurth, where he cheered his solitude with the composition of a work in which he details his 'Life and Acts in Hungary,' and which, if it conclusively rebuts the charge of treason that has been preferred against him, fully establishes the fact that he had no desire for Hungarian independence, and exerted himself but languidly in its support.

In the year 1860 the Austrian emperor entered on what is called the path of constitutional government. In other words, of his own sovereign grace and solely as an act of his own unfettered will, revocable, therefore, at pleasure, he granted certain political privileges to be enjoyed by all the subjects of his crown. These grants and reforms might have been a boon to people who had never known real freedom; they were an insult to those who had once possessed it, and who had been deprived of it by a violent despotism. And as such they were repudiated by the Hungarian diet. On the 18th of May 1861, M. Deak made a speech on these Austrian concessions, which showed that the principle of absolutism was committing the emperor to very dangerous risks. He urged indignantly that the constitution which they had inherited from their forefathers had been taken away, and they had been governed despotically until the Austrian emperor chose 'to enter the path of constitutionalism.' But that constitution so given encroached on Hungarian independence, inasmuch as it transferred to a foreign assembly (the Reichsrath) the right to grant the supplies of money and men, and made the Hungarian government dependent on the Austrian, which is not responsible for its acts. If Hungary accepted the diploma of October 20th, 1860, she would cease to be herself, and would become, to all intents and purposes, an Austrian province. 'Therefore,' he said, 'we will neither send deputies to the present Reichsrath, nor take any share in the representation of the empire.' The Croatian diet had already made its protest on the 10th of May. An address was adopted, which the emperor refused to receive because it did not recognise him as king of Hungary; but to a second address he replied by 'rejecting the idea of an amalgamation, but granting an internal autonomous administration, together with dynastic, military, diplomatic, and financial unity with the rest of the empire.' In the Hungarian diet this rescript was received with feelings of contempt and disgust. The task of preparing an answer was given to M. Deak, who in it insisted that, 'accord

ing to the pragmatic sanction, there exists between Hungary and the hereditary countries no other bond of union besides the identity of the reigning house, while the right of making laws and interpreting them belongs to the legally crowned king and the legally assembled diet, and cannot be exercised without the latter. To this pragmatic sanction he declared that Hungary was determined to adhere, while it protested against the exercise, on the part of the Reichsrath, of any legislative or other power over Hungary in any relation whatsoever. All acts, therefore, passed by the Reichsrath in reference to Hungary would be invalid, and Hungary would recognise no financial measures passed by that assembly.

The chamber by an immense majority voted for the immediate adoption of this reply, which was also adopted unanimously by the upper house. By way of dealing with the difficulty, the emperor dissolved the diet by a rescript dated August 21st, and he resolved to meet by force the passive refusal of the Hungarians to pay any taxes. Soldiers were billeted on the people, and a system of almost intolerable oppression carried out, until their firmness gave way, and the taxes were sullenly paid. The storm was repressed for the present, but for the present only.

The position of Austria in relation to the other German states was materially altered by the 'Seven Weeks' War' of 1866, and the events which took place at the same time in Italy. For an account of these events the reader is referred to the histories of Prussia and Italy for that year.

But the constitutional questions affecting the several nations of which the Austrian emperor is the sovereign, are of more lasting importance than his relations to an external confederacy. He now saw that he could not hope to rule in peace, except as a constitutional sovereign, and thus the object for which Hungarians had long struggled and fought was now gained without further bloodshed. A Hungarian ministry was formed early in 1867 with count Andrassy for its president. In June the emperor and empress were crowned at Pesth, as king and queen of Hungary, the constitution having been signed, and an amnesty declared for all political offenders.

For the next few years the history of Austria is marked by few incidents beyond those of parliamentary conflict. In the great struggle between France and Prussia, as the head of the north German confederation, Austria maintained a strict neutrality, and by so doing marred the calculations of the French emperor (see p. 647*) almost as effectually as if she had taken part against him. He had relied on her friendship, as well as on the adhesion of her allies who made common cause with the Prussians; to his amazement, Austria, when the war began, held aloof, while his allies took the part of his enemies.

The pope had long regarded Austria as the mainstay of his power. Even here his hopes were to be rudely dealt with. Of the four religious measures introduced in the Reichsrath in 1874, the first, doing away wholly with the state of things upheld by concordats, made the sanction of the state necessary for all ecclesiastical appointments, reserved to the state the further right of demanding their dismissal, and virtually placed on the clergy all the restrictions to which the Falck laws had subjected them in Prussia. The second measure, dealing with the religious orders, placed their supervision in the hands of the government, without whose sanction no new houses could be established. The third imposed a tax on benefices, the proceeds to be bestowed on the inferior clergy. The fourth recognised the existence of separate religious bodies, and thus far favoured the growth of the body of Old Catholics.

These measures were, of course, condemned by the pope, as animated by the deadly spirit of the Falck laws. With the question of degree he did not care to meddle. They might be milder in their operation, and might show greater kindliness on the part of those who projected them; but they involved not less surely in the long-run the destruction of the church. With this encyclical the pope addressed a letter of personal entreaty to the Austrian sovereign. In the parliament the opposition offered to the bills was of the usual kind; and it was supposed by some that the ministry would listen to these objections with passive silence. To their surprise the minister of public worship expressed the firm resolve of the government not to allow religion to be used for political purposes which might in any way endanger the safety of the state; and this explicit declaration was followed by a majority in favour of the bill of 224 against 71.

The results, however, were far less lamentable here than in Prussia. On neither side was there the same exasperation. The bishops did their best to oppose the bills before they became law; but when these efforts proved to be vain, they submitted with a good grace, and the government officers on their part administered the law with the utmost regard for the feelings and prejudices of the clergy. The poorer parochial clergy were probably more than pacified by the tax in their favour, which produced about £100,000.

The Austrian Arctic expedition, which had set out from the Norwegian port of Bremerhaven in 1872, was this year brought to a successful conclusion. Taking Nova Zembla as their base of operations, the crew of the "Tegethoff" had explored the sea as far as 83 degrees. They were compelled finally to abandon their ship; but the men were brought back safely. To the northernmost point of the country which they here discovered they gave the name of Cape Vienna.

THE HISTORY OF PRUSSIA.

THE name of *Prussians* was unknown till the tenth century; and its etymology is very uncertain: some authors suppose that the former inhabitants, alluding to their proximity to the Russians, called themselves Porussi, or, bordering on the Russians; for *po*, in the old Prussian language, signifies near.

In that age the kings of Poland took great pains, and even made use of fire and sword, for the conversion of the pagan Prussians to Christianity. Boleslaus I. began with chastising the Prussians for the murder of St. Albert, or Adelbert, called the apostle of that nation. His successors had also several quarrels with the Prussians; and Boleslaus IV., who committed dreadful ravages in this country, lost his life in an unsuccessful battle in 1163.

In the thirteenth century, the Prussians ravaged Culm, Cujavia, and Masovia; upon which Conrad, duke of Masovia, was obliged to apply to his allies, who all wore the cross, which they carried into the field against the Prussians, whom they considered as the enemies of the Christian name. But all their efforts proving ineffectual, the duke applied to the German knights of the Teutonic order, and strongly represented the great importance of defending the frontiers. Accordingly, in 1230, they obtained palatinates of Culm and Doberzin for twenty years, and afterwards for ever, with the absolute authority over any future conquests in Prussia. These knights, after long and bloody wars during the space of fifty-three years, by the assistance of the sword-bearing knights, subdued the whole country. A war afterwards broke out between the Teutonic knights and the Lithuanians, which was attended with the most dreadful outrages. These knights made religion the cloak of their ambitions views, and, under the pretence of propagating the gospel of peace, committed the most inhuman barbarities; nay, it is generally agreed that they extirpated the native Prussians, and planted the Germans there in their stead. Their territory at that time extended from the Oder along the Baltic, to the bay of Finland, and contained cities like Dantzic, Elbing, Thorn, Culm, &c. But in 1410 their savage zeal received a terrible check; for after a most bloody battle they were totally defeated.

In 1454 half of Prussia revolted from its obedience to the Teutonic order, and declared for Casimir III., king of Poland. This occasioned a fresh effusion of blood; till at last a peace was concluded in 1466, by which it was agreed that the part now called Polish Prussia should continue a free province under the king's protection; and that the knights and the grand-master should possess the other part, acknowledging themselves vassals of Poland. The knights soon endeavoured, but in vain, to throw off this yoke. In 1519 they raised new wars, which were terminated in 1525 by a peace concluded at Cracow; by which it was agreed, that the margrave Albert, grand-master of the Teutonic order, should be acknowledged duke or sovereign of the eastern part of Prussia, which he was to hold as a fief of Poland, and which was to descend to his male heirs; and upon failure of male issue, to his brothers and their male heirs. Thus ended the sovereignty of the Teutonic order in Prussia, after it had subsisted three hundred years.

The new duke favoured the introduction of the reformed religion into his dominions, and founded the university of Konigsberg. The elector Joachim added the duchy of Prussia to the electoral house of Brandenburg, with which it had been closely connected. The reign of the elector George William was unhappily distinguished by the calamities of the thirty years' war, in which Prussia suffered much from the ravages of the Swedes.

Frederick William, called the 'great elector,' from his extraordinary talents as a general, a statesman, and a politician, obtained, in 1656, by a treaty with Poland, an extinction of the homage heretofore paid to that kingdom; and he was acknowledged by the powers of Europe a sovereign independent duke. He made firm his right in Jullers; obtained Cleves; recovered part of Pomerania; and increased the population of his country by affording an asylum to the refugees of France, after the impolitic revocation of the edict of Nantes by Louis XIV.

Frederick, his son, raised the duchy of Prussia to a kingdom; and on the 11th of January 1701, in a solemn assembly of the states of the empire, placed the crown, with his own hands, on his own head and that of his consort; soon after which he was acknowledged king of Prussia by all the other Christian powers.

His son, Frederick William I., who ascended the throne in 1713, greatly increased the population of his country by the favourable reception he gave to the distressed and persecuted Saltzburgers, as his grandfather had done by making it an asylum to the Huguenots, when driven out of France by the revocation of the edict of Nantes, in the year 1684. He was wise, bold, and economical; his principal study the aggrandisement of his kingdom.

This monarch was succeeded in 1740 by his son Frederick II., then in the twenty-ninth year of his age, who rendered his kingdom formidable by his valour and prudence, and promoted the happiness of his

subjects by an amendment and simplification of the laws, the increase of commerce, and many wise regulations. His depredations on Poland, and his arbitrary and unjust violation of the guaranteed privileges of Dantzic, as well as the oppressions which the city of Thorn endured, though they might serve to aggrandise his kingdom, sullied his name in the eyes of an impartial posterity.

On the death of the emperor Charles VI., in the same year, Frederick led a large army into Silesia, to a considerable part of which duchy he laid claim. He for some time maintained a war against Maria Theresa, daughter of the late emperor, who was married to the grand duke of Tuscany; but on the 1st of June 1742, a treaty between the queen of Hungary and the king of Prussia was signed at Breslau; by which the former ceded to the latter Upper and Lower Silesia, with the county of Glatz in Bohemia, and the king of Prussia engaged to pay to certain merchants of London the sums which they had advanced to the late emperor, commonly called 'the Silesian loan;' and at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, the contracting powers guaranteed to him whatever had been thus ceded.

His father had ever paid peculiar attention to his army, but the attention of the son was more judiciously and effectually directed; for, in the year 1756, he had 150,000 of the best troops in Europe. At that time a league was formed against him by the empress queen, and the court of Versailles: Augustus, king of Poland and elector of Saxony, had secretly become a party to this confederacy, the object of which was to subdue the Prussian dominions, and partition them among the contracting powers. Frederick obtained early and authentic information of his danger from Saxony, and proceeded with no less spirit than effect to avert it. He marched a powerful army into that electorate; compelled the troops of the elector to lay down their arms; became master of Dresden: entered the palace, got possession of the correspondence which had been carrying on against him, and published to all Europe the authentic documents he had thus obtained; which fully justified him in the hostilities he had thus commenced. The war soon after raged with great fury, and the empress of Russia joined the confederacy against this devoted monarch; but his unparalleled exertions, judicious measures, and personal bravery, which were powerfully supported by the wealth and arms of Great Britain, finally baffled all the attempts of his enemies, and the general peace which was ratified in 1763, terminated his labours in the field.

The Great Frederick, long regarded as the hero of the Prussian monarchy, and *par excellence* the hero of the age, brought to perfection what his father had so successfully begun. He resisted the power of half Europe, and, by his conquests and the wisdom of his administration, he doubled the number of his subjects, and almost the extent of his territories. He was as great in his projects as he was fortunate in their execution: he was a legislator, a general, a statesman, a scholar, and a philosopher. Indeed, it may be said, he was one of those men whom nature only produces at long intervals; but, at the same time, it must not be forgotten that, instead of exercising a paternal care for his people, he regarded the Prussian nation as a foreign general regards the army under his command; his sole thoughts, in fact, appearing to be constantly centred in the love of fame and of power.

Frederick died in 1786, and left to his nephew, Frederick William II. (by some called Frederick III.) an extensive and prosperous kingdom, a large and well-disciplined army, and a well-filled treasury; but he possessed none of those commanding talents, that energy, or that patient perseverance, which so eminently distinguished his predecessor. The finances of Prussia were soon exhausted; and in consequence of the high rank among the European states to which Frederick the Great had elevated her, she was obliged to take a prominent part in the most important affairs of the continent, which, without his genius, could not be maintained. Frederick William II. died in 1797, and was succeeded by his son, Frederick William III.

By the partition of Poland in 1792, and its final dismemberment in 1795, Prussia acquired a great extension of territory, including the important city of Dantzic, and upwards of two millions of inhabitants. In 1796 the Prussian cabinet made a secret treaty with France; and after many sinister and vacillating movements, Prussia resolved upon the maintenance of a strict neutrality, which, in the state of Europe at that time, was impossible. In 1803 France occupied Hanover; and in 1805, when a third coalition was forming against France, Prussia wavered more than ever. Alexander of Russia appeared at Berlin, and brought about the convention of Potsdam, Nov. 3, 1805; but after the battle of Austerlitz, Prussia sought for and obtained peace with France, and was consequently compelled to submit to the harsh terms of the conqueror.

Again, when Napoleon had concluded the confederacy of the Rhine, Prussia stepped forward to arrest his gigantic power; but the battle of Jena disclosed to the world how incapable it was for her to contend against the emperor and his confederated allies. The peace of Tilsit reduced Prussia to half its former dimensions, which half had to support 150,000 French soldiers until the end of 1808, and to pay 120 millions of francs, while French troops were to retain possession of the fortresses of Stettin, Kustrein, and Glogau. The minister Von Stein, who was long at the head of affairs, was a most uncompromising enemy of France, and when he was in consequence compelled by her to quit Germany, baron Hardenberg was placed at the head of the government as state-chancellor. The continuance of French oppression, and the insulting humiliation the Prussians had to endure, at length roused, rather than subdued, the dormant spirit of the people. After Napoleon's Russian campaign the population

rose *en masse*, and to their zealous efforts in the cause of oppressed Europe, the completeness of his discomfiture may be mainly attributed. The part which Prussia played in this great game of war we have elsewhere related, and it is not consistent with the limits of our work to make needless repetitions: it is sufficient to state, that at the general peace of 1815, Prussia became more powerful than ever; for although a portion of her Polish dominions passed into the hands of Russia, it was more than compensated by valuable acquisitions in Saxony, Pomerania, &c.

From this period, the Prussian states, in spite of great political restrictions, continued to advance steadily in prosperity. A great impulse to the extension of German commerce was given by the establishment of the Zollverein, or 'Customs Union,' under the auspices of Prussia, by which internal trade was freed from all restrictions, and a uniform system of duties agreed on for those states that joined it.

Frederick William IV. ascended the throne in 1840, and became remarkably popular. His affability and his varied acquirements rendered him personally attractive, and gained him the hearts of all with whom he conversed. Soon after his accession to the throne, he declared that he would develop the system of representative government, as established in the provincial estates; but he made no promise to grant a representative constitution for the whole kingdom. On the contrary, he declared at Königsberg that he would never do homage to the idea of a general popular representation. But various public changes, chiefly in the provincial administration, were soon after, and at different times, introduced. In the autumn of 1842 the king convoked, at Berlin, a meeting of deputies, delegated by the provincial states, to deliberate on questions of taxation, railroads, and other public improvements. Discontents arose afterwards on account of the censorship of the press; and it became evident in the following year that the bold sentiments of the provincial diet of the Rhenish provinces were not confined to the speakers. In 1844 or 1845, manifestations were made in different provinces, significant of a general determination to obtain a constitutional government. In 1846 disturbances broke out at Posen and Cologne, followed by arrests, trials, and convictions. In 1847 the states were convoked at Berlin; and a new era of freedom, it was supposed, was then about to dawn on the country. But this assembly was not a representative parliament. It was composed of delegates from the provincial states, summoned to deliberate and report on questions not initiated by themselves, but those only which were submitted to them by the government; it consequently gave little satisfaction. On the 17th of January 1848, a committee of the delegates of the provincial states commenced its sittings in order to examine the new penal code submitted to it by the king for its deliberations. In the midst of these deliberations was heard the *contre-coup* of the French revolution. On the 6th of March the committee of the assembled diet of the states at Berlin, having completed its deliberations, was dissolved in person by the king, who was prepared to make some concessions, among which was the liberty of the press, with certain guarantees and conditions. A royal patent was issued convoking a diet to meet on the 2nd of April. But before this could be effected, grave events had taken place.

On the evening of the 14th of March crowds were in the streets of Berlin, with patrols both of horse and foot, parading there also. On the 15th, in the Schlossplatz, the people assembled before the king's palace, growing in numbers and courage, assaulting the sentinels, and managing to protect themselves from the cavalry by barrels and barricades. The 16th was a comparative lull, the 17th was pronounced quiet, but on the 18th the tempest recommenced. On that morning the king made great concessions to his people; but the latter, while acknowledging the royal condescension with shouts and huzzahs, demanded the withdrawal of the troops from the palace. A staff-officer, who thought that the crowd was approaching too near, essayed to keep them at a distance, and provoked violence, which a detachment of cavalry advanced to repress. Two chance shots were fired; the popular wrath was awakened; and the troops in all the streets were attacked. Ere long arms were obtained by the multitude; the troops were fired on from the houses, and many superior officers, distinguished by their dress, and affording the better mark, were killed. The populace themselves had to fight against 20,000 armed men; but reinforced by the armed students, active and enthusiastic, were led forward to victory. The prisons were forced open, the prisoners were set free, and soon afterwards the troops refused to fire unless attacked. At night the city was illuminated; until morn the alarm bells were rung. On the morning of the 19th, the city of Berlin looked like a town of war. The streets were torn up, and filled with heaps of stones, which the people had thrown from the windows and roofs on the soldiers. Early appeared a royal proclamation, ascribing the shots on the Schlossplatz to a mistake; and by eleven, the troops were all withdrawn. The people, again, in the Schlossplatz were addressed by the king from the balcony. But some atonement to the slaughtered was yet needed. The bodies of those who had fallen in the Friedrichstadt were laid in a waggon, attended by a large procession of citizens, and taken to the palace, the populace calling on the king to appear and do homage to the corpses. With reluctance he appeared, and then granted their desired armament to the people, who forthwith rushed to the arsenal, and claimed the distribution of arms. On the 24th the obsequies of the slain were celebrated; all the municipal and communal authorities, all the magistracy, guilds, clergymen of all confessions, and students, headed by the illustrious Humboldt, forming the funeral procession.

On the 2nd of April, the diet convoked by the king of Prussia met at Berlin, under

the presidence of a royal commissioner, the new minister of state, Camphausen. But in the midst of the agitations that prevailed, the constituent assembly made little progress in its deliberations; and out of doors the democratic party assumed so formidable an aspect that the days of the monarchy seemed numbered. Ministry after ministry was appointed in the hope that the revolutionary torrent might be stemmed: but in vain; and it was not till November that a more resolute minister, the count of Brandenburg (since deceased), seconded by general Wrangel (who had returned from his campaign in Denmark), determined to remove the assembly from Berlin to Brandenburg, and even ventured in the following month to dissolve it. The king now proposed to concede (*octroyer*) a constitution, and convoked an assembly to examine it. But this attempt at constitution-making fared no better than its predecessor. The king's refusal to accept the imperial crown of Germany offered to him by the Frankfort parliament; the long continuance of the state of siege at Berlin; and finally the ministerial efforts to preserve as much as they could of the royal authority and the ancient aristocracy—all this irritated the opposition into acts which were supposed to be incompatible with kingly power; and the assembly was dissolved in April 1849. The third and last attempt to frame a constitution was soon afterwards begun, and this time with more success. In November of the same year, the constitution of the second chamber of the Prussian parliament was promulgated. It conferred the elective franchise on all Prussians of not less than twenty-five years of age, resident three years within the electoral district, and having paid one year's taxes—military garrisons being also considered as residences, and including also as electors all Germans of thirty years of age, and residing in Prussia. The chamber of peers consists of the hereditary nobility, limited to primogeniture, to a certain number named by the king for life, and to a similar number elected by electors who have paid the maximum of taxations. In each of the provinces there are elective assemblies; besides, the municipalities have each their local administrations. The constitution defining the powers of the king and the parliament, the duties of the ministers of the crown, was published on the 2nd of February 1850. It neither establishes the liberty of the press, nor includes any habeas corpus enactment; but it has hitherto so far worked practically that if honestly carried out, it will enable the Prussians finally to secure for themselves a fair share of civil, political, and religious liberty.

The principal part of the Prussian dominions lies continuously along the south shore of the Baltic, between Russia and Mecklenburg. The inland frontier of this part of the monarchy on the east and south is sufficiently connected; but on the west side its outline is very irregular, some small independent states being almost entirely surrounded by the Prussian dominions. But exclusive of this principal portion, there is an extensive Prussian territory on both sides the Rhine; which is separated from the eastern part of the kingdom by Hesse-Cassel, part of Hanover, Brunswick, &c. Some detached territories in Saxony also belong to Prussia.

Some account of the position which Prussia assumed in the Russian war of 1854-6, will be found in the histories of England and France. Since that time no event of great importance has occurred in the history of Prussia. The king, Frederick William IV., died on January 2, 1861, and was succeeded by his brother, who had exercised the regency during the illness of the king. An important political contest soon arose on the question of taxation for the support of the army, involving the more serious question of constitutional government. A majority of the Prussian parliament determined that the number of the army should be reduced; but the king persisted in refusing to give his consent, and the parliament withheld the vote of supplies. On this the king declared his intention of levying the taxes on his own authority, and dissolved the chambers.

The meeting of the chambers in 1863 failed to bring about any solution of the constitutional struggle between the king and his parliament. The latter had demanded the disbanding of about one-third of the cavalry and about half the infantry; and M. Bismark asserted that their failure to withdraw these demands made the idea of a reconciliation almost hopeless. The English ministry, he insisted, was the ministry of the parliament: the Prussian was the ministry of the king. To the assertion by the chamber that the right of granting the expenditure was the first right of the representatives of the people, the king replied that the people was represented by both houses of the diet, and that if both of these did not agree on an arrangement approved by himself, the government would, in default of it, carry on the administration without interruption; but that, much as he desired to replace the finance administration of the state on a legal basis, he could not, to effect that purpose, betray the rights of the crown and the chamber of the lords. In the upper house, more than half the members were absent when the ministerial address was carried. The king was of course fully satisfied with its loyalty and its agreement with his views.

The alleged convention between Russia and Prussia with regard to Poland was another subject of strife. It was asserted that Prussia had agreed to give up all Poles taking refuge in her territories; M. Bismark, denying the correctness of the current reports, yet refused to say what the convention was. By 246 to 57 the chamber of deputies resolved that the interest of Prussia requires that the government should not assist or favour either of the contending parties in Poland, or allow armed persons to touch the Prussian soil without, at the same time, disarming them. On the 27th of May, the king closed the session of the chambers with a speech, in which

he said, that as their refusal to co-operate with the government had made it necessary to bring their deliberations to an end, the government reserved to itself the power of determining the manner in which the financial measures should be arranged, and hoped to come to a better understanding hereafter with the representatives of the country.

On the 1st of June a royal decree authorised the suppression of newspapers 'which persistently exhibited tendencies dangerous to the welfare of the state,' and the exclusion of foreign journals which might, on this account, be objectionable. Two days later the crown prince forwarded to the cabinet through M. Bismark a formal protest against the decree, and on the day following wrote to the king, asserting that the decree was an evasion and a violation of the charter. In September the chambers were dissolved; but although the liberal party was as strong in the new chambers which met in December, it seemed that an end was opened for the controversy by the claim of the prince of Augustenburg to the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein in opposition to that of Christian IX., who had just succeeded to the throne of Denmark. An address was drawn up, having as its object the setting aside of the treaty of London of May 1852, and the recognition of the prince of Augustenburg as the duke of Schleswig-Holstein. But the ministry refused to withdraw formally from the London treaty, and the chamber refused the loan asked for on the ground of the possibility or likelihood of a war on the Schleswig-Holstein question.

In 1865 a convention was signed, on the 14th of August, at Gastein, between the king of Prussia and the emperor of Austria. This document declared that the co-dominion hitherto existing in the countries ceded by Denmark in 1864, was leading to inconveniences dangerous to the good understanding between the governments and to the interests of the duchies, and that it was determined therefore to divide the exercise of it geographically until further agreement. This convention was severely condemned by the British government, and in his despatch to the diplomatic agents abroad lord Russell declared, that by it all rights, old or new, whether based upon a solemn agreement between sovereigns, or on the clear and precise expression of the popular will, had been trodden under foot; that the authority of force was the sole power consulted and recognised by it; and that violence and conquest were the only basis on which the dividing powers had established their convention.

As if to add point to this condemnation, the question of the succession to the duchies had been submitted by the Prussian government to the crown lawyers, who decided that the father of the claimant, on behalf of whom the confederation had gone to war, had yielded up his title, or, as they put it, had receded behind king Christian IX. and that sovereign's male posterity, and that the prince of Augustenburg could lay no claim to a privileged right of succession to the duchies. It followed that, at the time of going to war, the confederacy had no technical title whatever, and that whatever claim they had on the duchies was given by the treaty of 1864, which by force of arms they had extorted from the king of Denmark.

With the senate of Frankfort, the Prussian government continued to deal not less unceremoniously. The meeting of the federal delegates had roused the wrath of M. Bismark, who protested against their allowing Frankfort to become 'the source of all senseless schemes.' But in spite of this paper and a similar reproof from Austria, the senate announced that it still adhered to its original programme, that Germany should be constituted as a federal state, the central authority of which should be transferred to Prussia upon condition that such transfer be sanctioned by a parliament representing the whole German nation; that the settlement of the Schleswig-Holstein question would be brought about only by a vote of the population of the duchies, and that the convocation of their estates could no longer be delayed.

The same dissatisfaction showed itself at the beginning of 1866, owing to the prohibition of a banquet which the citizens of Cologne intended to give to the liberal members of the chambers; and in February the lower house decreed by a large majority, that the union of the duchy of Lauenburg with the crown of Prussia should not take place without the approval of both the chambers. As before, the king suddenly put an end to the session on the 23rd, and the liberal and conservative parties were arrayed against each other as bitterly as ever. Of the former, Herr Gneist declared that not only the constitution but each and every law relating to matters political had ceased to exist in Prussia. On the other hand, Herr Wagner asserted that the constitution was an imperfect and in some respects an indefinite, indistinct statute: there must be somebody entitled to give an authentic interpretation of its meaning: the liberals wished to take that office on themselves, the conservatives wished to confine it to the king. He further urged his opponents to look on this as a fair stand-up fight, and to fight it out without abuse and the imputation of bad motives. M. Bismark cut the matter short by saying that the lower house tended to ferment strife, and that therefore it was much better to do without it.

Another act in the drama was a decree issued in March by the Prussian king, imposing imprisonment as a penalty for any Schleswiger signing an address or delivering a speech in favour of the duke of Augustenburg. This added strength to the feeling with which Austria regarded Prussia as a power bent on depriving her of the hegemony of Germany. The Prussian government did not care to conceal the satisfaction with which it would welcome a war. Austria accordingly began to prepare for the struggle, and the Prussians treated this preparation as an offence. In short, Herr Bismark's time had come. On the 24th of

March a despatch was sent from Berlin to the minor German states, peremptorily demanding to know which side they would take, if Prussia was forced into a war with Austria. Of these states, many replied by referring to the 11th clause of the federal act, which forbade war between the members of the bund, and provided peaceable means of settling disputes; and Bavaria added that a state resorting to force against another federal state had violated the federal constitution. In the result, seventeen out of the thirty-three states forming the union seceded from it, and all the minor northern states except the elder house of Reuss took part with Prussia, which further allied itself with Italy. Meanwhile other negotiations were going on. Austria and Prussia proposed disarmament for each of its own free act; but Austria, while ready to withdraw her forces on the Prussian side, said that the army on the side of Venetia must be kept on a war footing, as the king of Italy was evidently preparing to attack it. This just suited M. Bismark's plans, who pronounced the excuse utterly unsatisfactory. In short, it was clear what the issue must be.

On the 7th of May the Prussian troops in Schleswig crossed the Holstein frontier, to assert their right to a joint occupation of the two duchies. Against this Austria protested in the federal diet. The French emperor proposed his remedy of a conference; and this, as might be supposed, ended in nothing. (*See* 'History of France,' for 1866.) On the 15th of June the Prussians entered Saxony and occupied Leipzig. Their whole force was divided into three main armies: one, under prince Frederic Charles, occupied Saxony and threatened Bohemia; the second, under the crown prince, was in Silesia; the third was the army of the Elbe, under general Herworth. General Benedek was placed at the head of the northern army of Austria. The plan of the Prussian campaign had been arranged by general von Moltke at Berlin; but, in addition to the ability shown in this plan, they had a further advantage in a rifle, called the needle-gun, infinitely superior to any weapon in the hands of the Austrians. It is unnecessary to enter into the military details of operations which resulted in the total defeat of the Austrians at Königgrätz, as well as in reverses, more or less serious, undergone by them in almost every engagement of a struggle which, from the time of its duration, was known as the 'Seven Weeks War.' It was now evident to the Austrian emperor that his northern army was overmatched, while an immense proportion of his forces was held at a distance guarding Venetia. He therefore took the sudden step of surrendering that territory to the emperor of the French, who at once proposed to the Prussians his remedy of a conference, to be preceded by an armistice to last for five days, from July 22.

Meanwhile the Hanoverian army had been compelled to capitulate to the Prussians at Langensalza on the 28th of June, after a severe engagement on the previous day. On July 14 the remaining representatives of the German bund withdrew from Frankfort to Augsburg. Two days afterwards the Prussians entered Frankfort, and most severe burdens were laid upon the city. The occupation of Brünn led to the abandonment of Moravia by the Austrians, and on the 14th of July the Prussians were within fifty miles from Vienna at Znaim. Unhappily another battle was fought at Blumenau, in which the Austrians had the worst, on the very day on which the armistice began. At twelve o'clock an officer from the quarters of prince Frederic Charles came to announce that the armistice was to begin at noon that day; but general Fransky, fearing for general Bose, who was operating at some distance, allowed the engagement to go on for two hours longer, and then ordered a general advance. When the armies were ordered to cease firing, the Austrians found that they had escaped imminent danger of severe defeat, as general Bose was in their rear.

By the treaty of peace signed at Prague the emperor of Austria consented to the union of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom with that of Italy, recognised the dissolution of the late German bund, and gave his consent to a new formation of Germany in which Austria should have no part. The German states to the south of the Main were to form a union, which should have an international independent existence, its connexion with the Northern Federation being left to be defined hereafter. The duchies of Schleswig and Holstein were of course wholly abandoned, on the understanding that if the Schleswigers, by a free vote, expressed a wish to be united to Denmark, they should be allowed to do so. The territorial gain to Prussia included the following states: Hanover, Hesse Cassel, Nassau, Hesse-Homburg, the duchies of Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg, the portion of Hesse-Darmstadt lying to the north of the Main, and the principality of Hohenzollern.

These great successes were represented to the lower Prussian chambers as a favourable opportunity for ending past differences. By their adopting the bill of indemnity to the government from any consequences of having violated the law by collecting taxes which had not been voted by the chambers, the government would be morally compelled to act in a friendly spirit towards the house. To the intercession of the Hanoverians on behalf of their king, the king of Prussia replied that annexation was in this case his duty. He was bound to render impossible in the future any recurrence of the danger from the hostile attitude of Hanover.

On the 12th of September a bill was passed, determining the constitution of the new German parliament

The result of the Seven Weeks' War had, in reality, changed the position of Germany in reference to foreign powers far more than some at least of those powers were ready to believe. The idea of a united Germany seemed no longer a mere dream, and states hitherto sundered by irrepressible jealousies were becoming more and more ready to make sacrifices in order to make this union a substantial fact. Hence, when on the ridiculous pretext furnished by the candidature of the prince of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen for the throne of Spain, the French emperor was egged on into a declaration of war against Prussia (see France, page 645*), the expectations of the French politicians as to the action of the south German states were signally disappointed. It was supposed that the memory of Königgratz and Sadowa would rouse these states to an opposition which would be fatal to the north German confederation. Instead of this, Austria maintained a strict neutrality: the other states made common cause with Prussia. As the king of Prussia put it in his speech to the north German parliament on July 19, 1870, "If Germany in former centuries bore in silence violations of her rights and of her honour, it was only because, in her then divided state, she knew not her own strength." It might fairly be said that she did not know it still. The people were determined to defend their country to the last: but there was more than a mere fancy that the quarrel might have to be fought out before the walls of Berlin. Nor was it until the German armies had been suffered to cross the Rhine unopposed, and blow after blow struck on the enemy showed how little he was prepared for the contest, that the sense of relief was followed by a stern determination to inflict a punishment, which should leave him, for generations at least, incapable of mischief. How unflinchingly this resolution was carried out, the history of France for this memorable year shows with startling clearness. So thoroughly had all the old feelings of enmity vanished, that it was the king of Bavaria who first proposed that the realisation of German unity should be marked by raising the king of Prussia to the imperial dignity. The deputation which was to express this wish to the king of Prussia was received by him on December 17 at Versailles, that city in which, as the speaker put it, "more than one destructive armed incursion against Germany had been considered and put into execution."

The history of Germany for the year 1871 has been told already in great part in the history of France. The country exhibited, on the whole, a spectacle of union and sobriety in singular contrast with the stormy agitations of the French. But in Prussia, as elsewhere, causes of disturbance were not lacking. Here too the "International" was present for the stirring up of strife; and with the republicans or communists the Ultramontanes seemed likely to unite themselves for the time for the attainments of ends which would leave them more widely sundered than ever. There was the task of dealing with these two classes, and the further task of providing for the wants of Lothringen and Elsas (Lorraine and Alsace). The Ultramontane ranks were indeed somewhat weakened by the Old Catholic movement, which threatened to assume dangerous proportions, especially in Bavaria, where Dr Döllinger was pre-eminent as the leader. But in addition to these indirect assaults the infallibilist clergy were attacked directly by a bill introduced into parliament in November of this year, which made it penal for clergymen to preach on political subjects.

The following year (1872) was marked by few incidents beyond those which would naturally attend the struggle against Ultramontanism, and the aristocratic element in alliance with it. This struggle was not altogether acceptable to the orthodox Protestant party, who saw that the crusade was one which really went against all dogmatism; nor did the party of progress hesitate to compare Herr Von Mühler (the minister of education), with his Catechism to Pius IX. with his Syllabus. Hence the resignation of Mühler took no one by surprise. Dr Falck, a man of name well known already, and to be still more widely known hereafter, took his place; and a School Inspection Bill was at once brought forward and passed, which provided that the state should have the supervision of all educational institutions, private as well as public, and that all inspectors should be responsible to the state alone. The next phase of the contest was a declaration of the bishop of Ermeland, that where civil and canon law came in contact he must be guided by the latter. Hence he had taken on himself to excommunicate two professors for denying the doctrine of papal infallibility; and he was informed that such a sentence, as affecting the civil honour of the professors, was altogether illegal. The summons to retract the sentence was disregarded; and for the present nothing more was done. The next adversary was the pope himself, to whose court cardinal Hohenlohe was accredited as Prussian envoy. Hohenlohe was a liberal, and this with the pope was a sufficient reason for declining to receive him. This event was followed by a great debate on the position of the Jesuits in the empire, the issue turning on the principle that if the priest cannot do without the help of the state, the latter is perfectly justified in ascertaining the quality and conduct of the persons whom it aids, and that if these persons oppose the law or undermine the safety of the state, they must be restrained and, if need be, punished. A resolution was accordingly passed, requesting the chancellor to decide whether religious orders should be admitted on Ger

man soil, and if so, on what terms, and to impose adequate penalties on such orders as might imperil the public order and safety. A bill subsequently passed enacted that all Jesuit convents on German soil should be abolished, and that this veto should extend to all societies connected with them, the decision of this fact to rest with the government.

This controversy naturally gave some force to the Old Catholic movement. A "Union of German Catholics" was formed at Mainz by bishop Ketteler, and a declaration put forth affirming the precedence of canon over civil law, and signed, among others, by Hefele, bishop of Rottenburg, who had in years past spoken of the infallibility dogma as nothing less than a death-blow to the Catholic Church. The Old Catholics now published the letter which contained this expression; and in their synod which was held at Cologne in September, it was openly declared that Catholicism could be united and regenerated only by the help of Protestantism.

During the following year (1873) the same great controversy was the most prominent subject of public attention; and the promulgation of the Falck laws showed still more the determination of the German people to crush the intrigues of the Ultramontanes. These laws were designed to protect individual freedom, to insure the training of a national, as distinguished from a seminarist, clergy, and to guard the inferior clergy against the arbitrary despotism of their superiors. By these laws all seminaries for the training of youths for orders were subjected to government inspection, and no new ones could be opened without a state licence.

These laws were met at once by a vigorous resistance. The bishops of Paderborn, Posen, Fulda, and Trêves refused to permit the inspection of their seminaries; the other bishops soon followed their example. The government had no hesitation in carrying out its own policy. The pupils of the Paderborn seminary were pronounced ineligible for ecclesiastical appointments in Prussia; the boys' school of Fulda was forcibly closed; the Posen clergy were declared amenable to the law of conscription for the ordinary rank and file of the army; and the archbishop of Cologne was prosecuted for venturing without state permission to excommunicate those of his priests who had declared themselves Old Catholics. For making an ecclesiastical appointment without state sanction the archbishop of Posen was fined 200 thalers, but for the present with little effect. On the other hand, the ecclesiastical opponents of the Ultramontanes became more pronounced in their opposition. In August, Professor Reinkens was consecrated as Old Catholic bishop of the German empire by the bishop of Deventer, Dr Rinkel being at the same time consecrated to the Dutch see of Haarlem. At the synod, which was this year held at Constance, Professor Schulte announced that the progress of the movement was fully as encouraging as the most sanguine could have expected it to be. The alliance of the Old Catholics with the state was cemented by the oath taken by bishop Reinkens of submission to the state without any reservations of paramount obedience to the pope. The pope, on his side, had been led to think that the German emperor regarded with dislike the Falck laws and their results, and under this impression addressed to him a letter which called forth in reply an expression of amazement at the notion that the emperor's government could enter on a path of which he did not approve, and a declaration that he had received a mission to protect internal peace and maintain the authority of the law in all the states of which he was ruler. The battle seemed daily to become more fierce. A decree was issued that no Catholic bishop would be recognised by the state until he had taken the oath which pledged him to hold no communion and to have no connexion within or without the country which may be dangerous to the public security. To this measure and to others of like kind the pope responded in that spirit of strange indiscretion which turns every occasion of difference into a reason for internecine war. With him there could be no shades or degrees of guilt. The Old Catholics were no better than atheists or murderers; all alike were 'sons of perdition,' and all were involved in the same endless ruin.

It was clearly the beginning of a conflict for life or for death; and it was not less clear that the main body of the people heartily approved the policy of Bismarck, although the advanced radicals were disposed to take part with the Ultramontanes against a system which seemed likely to clash with their own liberty. In May 1874 the Falck laws of the previous year were supplemented by three bills, the first merely explaining some ambiguous terms, the others providing for the administration of dioceses which might be deprived of their bishops. It seemed not unlikely that many would soon be in this predicament. The archbishop of Posen had been arrested in February for refusing to pay the fines imposed upon him. At the end of March the archbishop of Cologne had compelled the police officers to use force in taking him from his palace to the prison. To meet the difficulties which might thus be caused there was need of imperial legislation; bills were accordingly passed by the Federal Council and the Reichstag which forbade priests from resuming their functions at the end of their term of imprisonment, and ordering them in case of contumacy to be expelled from the territories of the German empire. Other bills dealt with the subject of patronage in the same uncompromising spirit.

The Prussian assembly contained a further element of discord in the deputies from Elsas and Lothringen (Alsace and

Lorraine). Of these some denied the validity of the treaty which had transferred them from France to Germany, and asserted that they could not be made members of the German family against their own interests. Others, like the bishop of Strasburg, fully accepted the validity of the treaty, and thus showed that the deputies from the newly-annexed districts were not in harmony among themselves. With the former, prince Bismarck made short work, informing them that the making them freemen was by no means the primary intention of the Germans in annexing them; that the necessity of strengthening their frontiers as they best could, after the sinful and infamous attack in which the Alsace-Lorrainers took part, drove the Germans to the annexation; and that, having done this, the Germans would now proceed to make them as happy as they could. He had no doubt that the population would soon learn to feel like Germans again, and that if two centuries hence they should be requested to say whether they wished to be reattached to France, they would pretty unanimously decide in favour of the Germans. He reminded them that if they objected to annexation now, they should have protested against war in 1870, whereas both then and in previous wars the Alsatians had always supplied the French army with a disproportionately large quota of soldiers and non-commissioned officers.

On the 18th of July prince Bismarck was shot at by a man who turned out to be an Ultramontane fanatic. He had never seen the prince, and had no other cause for his enmity beyond public policy. He avowed that the immediate motive for his deed was the persecution of archbishop Ledochowski of Posen. Nor can it be denied that the state of things was such as to rouse passions which in ill-regulated minds might lead to the commission of grave crimes. By the beginning of November twenty-nine parishes in the province of Posen were without pastors. At Xions a priest had been introduced by state order, and the dean excommunicated him under pain of eternal damnation if he should die under the sentence. The dean in his turn was imprisoned on the charge of refusing to yield up the church books. Impelled by vehement indignation, bishop Ketteler denounced the intention of celebrating the anniversary of Sedan, adding, that as the liberals, who desired the celebration, were irreligious to a man, churchmen could not be expected to sympathise with them on this or any other point. These ill-judged utterances only provoked a fiercer vehemence on the other side, and sent over to the enemy the great body of patriotic Catholics. Still stronger measures were taken with bishop Martin of Paderborn, who after trial was deposed from his see. Some ladies presented to him an address of condolence; they were all fined, and congratulations for their sufferings in the cause of truth were offered to these victims of the Falck laws by a body of English ladies, headed by lady Lothian and lady Herbert of Lea.

The conduct of the pope and his court had now determined the Prussian government to suppress their embassy at the Vatican; and prince Bismarck, in justification of this step, announced that he was in possession of evidence conclusively proving that the war of 1870 was the combined work of Rome and France, and was, in fact, brought about directly by Ultramontane influence against the wish of the emperor Napoleon, whose resistance was overpowered by persons representing Rome.

The closing months of the year were occupied with the trial of count Arnim, who had been Prussian ambassador first at Rome, then at Paris, and had been also the intimate friend of prince Bismarck. Differences, for whatever reason, had arisen between them; and the count, it was said, published, or allowed to be published, at Vienna, copies of despatches which he had written at Rome to prince Bismarck. The trial ended in his condemnation, and in the light sentence of three months' imprisonment, his guilt being confined, the judges said, to a technical point. He had at first refused to yield up certain despatches on ecclesiastical matters, which he said he regarded as unfit for the perusal of his successor at Paris, who was a Roman Catholic, and that by taking these despatches to Carlsbad, instead of bringing them to Berlin, he had made himself guilty of the offence of removing public documents. Against this sentence both sides determined to appeal. The resignation of the chancellorship by Bismarck, following soon after this, seemed to show that he had fallen into disfavour with his master; but any such inference was discountenanced by the firmness with which the king refused to accept it. His influence was, in truth, greater than ever; and this fact would suffice to explain the existence of an organised conspiracy for bringing about his assassination. On this prince Bismarck had nothing more to say than that the hatred thus shown was directed not against his person, but against the cause which he was resolved to maintain without flinching.

A feeling of disappointment is the natural result, when a nation, for the first time really united, beats off an unprovoked aggressor, and having finished a righteous work with dignity and sobriety, seems to exhibit afterwards a spirit of superfluous vindictiveness. Such was the feeling excited in England when in 1875 some eminent Prussian statesmen denounced what they called manifest preparations for war on the part of the French, and insisted on the duty of crushing France before those preparations could be completed. What had happened to create this alarm, was known at the time by none except those who expressed it: and perhaps it may never be known. The only fact which seemed to be clear was that the mediation of Russia, aided in some degree by that of England, was

needed before Europe could be re-assured that the peace between Germany and France was not to be broken.

In the autumn the German emperor, visiting the king of Italy at Milan, entered into a closer alliance with the sovereign, who, with himself, was engaged in a struggle with the Papacy and its Ultramontane supporters. On the other hand, the latter party seemed for the moment to have won a victory in Bavaria. A bare majority of Ultramontanes, returned to the chamber by the new elections, insisted that the king should change his ministry and submit to Ultramontane advisers. To this request the king returned a peremptory refusal. The assembly was prorogued: the civil marriage law was put into immediate operation; and a fresh proof was given that the spirit of German unity had little to fear from the assaults of its Ultramontane adversaries.

BAVARIA.

BAVARIA, now one of the principal secondary states of Germany, was derived from a circle of the German empire, of the same name, bounded by Franconia and Bohemia on the north, Austria on the east, Tyrol on the south, and Suabia on the west. The earliest inhabitants of Bavaria were a tribe of Celtic origin called the Boii, from whom it received its old Latin name of Boiaria; but, about the time of Augustus, the Romans subdued it, and it afterwards formed a part of what they termed Rhætia, Vindelicia, and Noricum. After the downfall of the Roman empire, the Bavarians fell under the dominion of the Ostrogoths and Franks, by whom it was governed till Charlemagne took possession of the country, and committed the government to some of his counts. On the partition of his imperial dominions amongst his grandsons, Bavaria was assigned to Louis the German. Its rulers bore the title of Margrave till 920, when Arnold, its reigning prince, was raised to the title of duke, which his successors continued to bear till 623, when Maxmilian I., having assisted Ferdinand II. against the Bohemian insurgents, was elevated to the electoral dignity.

In 1070 Bavaria passed into the possession of the Guelphs; and in 1180 it was transferred by imperial grant to Otho, count of Wittelsbach, whose descendants branched out into two families, the Palatine and the Bavarian, the former inheriting the palatinate of the Rhine, the latter the duchy of Bavaria. Few events of any importance occurred till the war of the Spanish succession, when Bavaria suffered severely from following the fortunes of France. It, however, received a great accession in 1777, when, upon the extinction of the younger line of Wittelsbach, the palatinate, after a short contest with Austria, was added to the Bavarian territory. After the adjustment of the Austrian pretensions, the electorate enjoyed the blessings of peace till the French revolution, which involved all Germany in the flames of civil discord. The elector remained on the side of the imperialists till 1796, when the French marched a powerful army into his dominions, and concluded a treaty for the cessation of hostilities. In the following year was signed the treaty of Campo-Formio, and in 1801 that of Luneville, by which all the German dominions left of the Rhine were annexed to France, and the elector lost the palatinate of the Rhine, his possessions in the Netherlands and Alsace, and the duchies of Juliers and Deux Ponts; receiving as indemnities four bishopries, with ten abbeys, fifteen imperial towns, and two imperial villages, and some other minor privileges which it would be superfluous to mention.

In the conflicts between France and the continental powers, Bavaria continued to maintain a neutrality till 1805, when the elector entered into an alliance with Napoleon, who shortly afterwards raised him to the dignity of king, and enlarged his dominions at the same time by the annexation of several important provinces. Of all the allies of the French emperor, no country has retained more solid advantages than Bavaria. Shortly after the campaign of 1806, when Austria, to purchase peace, sacrificed part of her possessions, Bavaria received a further enlargement, by the addition of Tyrol, Eichstadt, the eastern part of Passau, and other territories; when she began to assume a more important station amongst the surrounding states.

At the dissolution of the Germanic constitution, and the formation of the Rhenish confederation, another alteration took place, the duchy of Berg being resigned for the margraviate of Anspach, together with the imperial towns of Augsburg and Nuremburg. In 1809, Bavaria again took part with France against Austria, and again shared in the spoils of war; but subsequently ceded some of her territories to Wirtemburg and Wurtzburg; and, by another alteration which shortly followed, exchanged a great part of Tyrol for Bayreuth and Ratisbon.

But the friendship of the Bavarian monarch for his ally and patron was soon to be put to the test. When the thirst for military conquest induced Napoleon to march the French armies to Moscow, the Bavarian troops were amongst the number Apprehending the ruin that awaited the French, but while the fortunes of Napoleon were still doubtful, the king of Bavaria seized the critical moment, and entered into a treaty with the emperor of Austria, and joined the allies in crushing that power which had long held so many nations in thraldom. These important services were not forgotten. Bavaria was confirmed in her extensive acquisitions by the treaties of 1814 and 1815: for though Austria recovered her ancient possessions in the Tyrol, &c., Bavaria received equivalents in Franconia and the vicinity of the Rhine.

Though the inferior kingdoms and states of Germany are of too little importance to become principals in any European war, they are frequently found very effective allies, as was the case with Bavaria. Its army during the war amounted to 60,000 men. In 1818 Bavaria received a constitution, which continued to work with tolerable regularity till 1846, when king Louis, whose poetic and artistic tastes had secured

for him considerable fame beyond the limits of his own dominions, began to adopt measures which roused the indignation of his subjects. Into this course he was betrayed by the infatuation which had seized him for the well-known Lola Montes, whom he had created countess of Lansfeldt; and, in March 1848, immediately after the French revolution of that memorable year, the attitude of the Bavarian people became so menacing, that the king saw himself compelled to abdicate the throne in favour of his eldest son, Maximilian; who both during, and subsequently to, the stormy period that ensued, displayed great firmness, vigilance, and prudence, not only in regard to his own kingdom, but on the wider field of European diplomacy.

In the history of Greece it will be seen that Otho, a Bavarian prince, was in 1832 elected king of that country; that, in 1843, he consented to give his subjects a more liberal government, that his promises were miserably broken, and that he himself was ignominously expelled in 1862.

HANOVER.

THE kingdom of Hanover, which, until the year 1815, was an electorate, was formed out of the duchies formerly possessed by several families belonging to the junior branches of the house of Brunswick. The house of Hanover may, indeed, vie with any in Germany for antiquity and nobleness. It sprang from the ancient family of the Guelphs, dukes and electors of Bavaria, one of whom, Henry the Lion, in 1140, married Maude, eldest daughter of Henry II., king of England. Their son William, called Longsword, was created first duke thereof. The dominions descended in a direct line to Ernest, who divided them, upon his death in 1546, into two branches; that of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel, and Brunswick Lüneburg. The possessor of the latter, Ernest Augustus, was in 1692 raised to the dignity of an elector; before which he was head of the college of German princes. Ernest married Sophia, daughter of Frederick, elector palatine, and king of Bohemia, by Elizabeth, daughter of James I., king of Great Britain. Sophia being the next protestant heir to the crown of England, through the medium of the house of Stuart, the parliament fixed the succession upon her, on the demise of the then reigning queen Anne. Sophia died a short time before the queen; and her eldest son, George Louis, in consequence, became king of Great Britain. This was in 1714, from which time till 1837, at the death of William IV., both England and Hanover have had the same sovereign.

The families set aside from the succession by the parliament on that occasion, independent of the family of king James II. by Mary of Este, were as follows: the royal houses of Savoy, France, and Spain, descendants of Charles I., through his daughter Henrietta; Orleans and Lorraine, descendants of James I. through Charles Louis, elector palatine, eldest son of Elizabeth, daughter of the said king; Salm, Ursel, Condé, Conti, Maine, Modena, and Austria, descendants of James I. through Edward, elector palatine, youngest son of the said Elizabeth.

The history of Hanover for the two centuries preceding the Lutheran reformation presents little interest, except in the connection of its princes with the wars of the Guelphs and Ghibelines, in the latter end of the 14th century. Amongst the most zealous supporters of the reformation, however, were the princes of Brunswick, and their subjects during the thirty years' war very effectively supported their anti-papal efforts. Ernest of Zell, the reigning duke at that period, was one of the most eloquent defenders of Luther at the diet of Worms; and his endeavours to improve the people by establishing clerical and general schools, when learning was appreciated by only a few, show him to have been a man of enlightened and liberal views.

On the accession of her present Majesty to the throne of Great Britain, the Hanoverian crown, by virtue of the salic law, devolved on her uncle Ernest, duke of Cumberland, fifth, but eldest surviving son of George III. It had previously been for many years under the viceroyship of the duke of Cambridge.

Hanover suffered in the French war of 1757; but it experienced still greater sufferings during the French revolutionary war, after the enemy got possession of it. At the peace of Amiens, it was given up to the king of Great Britain; but that peace being of very short duration, it again fell into the hands of the French, without resistance, or without an effort to save it, on the part of the inhabitants or the government.

In 1804 Prussia took possession of Hanover, but ceded it in the same year to the French, who constituted it a part of the kingdom of Westphalia, established in 1808. At the peace of 1813, the king of Great Britain reclaimed his rightful dominions, which were then formed into a kingdom and much enlarged by the stipulations of the treaty of Vienna.

The countries which compose what is called Hanover, consist of Lüneburg, acquired by inheritance in 1292; Danneburg, by purchase, 1303; Grubenhagen, by inheritance, 1679; Hanover (Culenburg), by inheritance, 1679; Diepholtz, by exchange, 1685; Hoya, by inheritance, in part, 1582; the remaining part by a grant from the emperor in 1705; Lauenburg, by inheritance, 1706; Bremen and Verden, by purchase, 1715 and 1719; Wildeshausen, by purchase, 1720; and the Hadeln-land, 1731. The district of Lauenburg has since been ceded for the bishopric of Hildesheim, the principality of East Friesland, the districts of Lingen, Harlingen, &c.

Hanover so long formed an appendage to the British crown that we are induced to extend this slight history by quoting from Mr. M'Culloch an account of its government:—

'Before Prussia ceded Hanover to France, in 1804, the form of government was monarchical, and the various territories were subject to feudal lords. The peasants of the marsh lands had more freedom, and in East Friesland the constitution of the country was almost republican. In the territories of the princes of the empire, the representation of the people by estates, composed of the nobles, prelates, and deputies from the towns, served to check the power of the sovereign, as in other parts of Germany. In 1808, when

Napoleon created the kingdom of Westphalia, the territories of Hanover, with the districts of Hildesheim and Osnabrück, formed a part of it, and the Code Napoleon took the place of the ancient laws, and a sham representative government was established. On the return of the rightful sovereign to Hanover, in 1813, the French institutions were summarily abolished, and the old forms reestablished; and in 1818 the estates, summoned upon the ancient footing, drew up the form of a new constitution, modelled on that of England and France, and substituting a uniform system of representation for the various representative forms which prevailed under the empire. The chief change that excited disapprobation arose from the arbitrary decision of the sovereign (George IV.), advised by count Munster, that there should be two chambers instead of one, contrary to the proposal of the estates and the universal custom of Germany. The respective rights of the sovereign and the country to the crown-land revenues were not clearly defined by this fundamental law; but the interests of the people were supposed to be sufficiently consulted by the institution of a national treasury, the commissioners of which, named for life, were *ex officio* members either of the upper or of the lower chamber.

'This constitution, however, contained no properly defined statements respecting either the rights of the people, or the prerogatives of the crown; and as the new system of representation was not sufficiently consolidated to resist the encroachments of a monarch supported by powerful foreign influence, the necessity of a more definite fundamental law, in which the rights of the citizens should at least be declared, was felt on all sides. This feeling led to the drawing up of the constitution of 1833, which differed in but few, though most essential, points from that of 1819. The principal points of difference were a fuller acknowledgement of the right of the chambers to control the budget, and to call the ministers to account for their conduct; the restriction of the king's expenditure, by a regulated civil list; and the reservation, for the use of the nation, of the surplus revenue of the crown demesnes. These modifications rendered the treasury, whose functions thus devolved upon the chambers, wholly unnecessary; and it was dissolved. The new fundamental law, after being discussed by both chambers, received the assent of William IV. in 1833, who, however, by the same act, modified fourteen articles of the bill. New elections followed, and the new chambers were exhibiting their activity in reforming abuses, and introducing economy into the state disbursements, when the death of William IV. interrupted the proceedings. As the salic law, excluding females from the succession to the throne, prevails in Hanover, William IV. was succeeded by his eldest surviving brother, Ernest, duke of Cumberland, in England. Immediately on taking the government, the new king declared the chambers dissolved; and previously to their reassembling, he abolished, by proclamation, the fundamental law which had been adopted under the reign of his predecessor, and, in the most arbitrary manner, insulting alike his brother's memory and the whole country, declared the fundamental law of 1819 to be alone valid. Under the last-named law he summoned a fresh parliament: but he found the spirit of the nation aroused and indignant; for not only the courts of law, but the highest legal authority in Germany, and several faculties of universities, declared his proceedings illegal; many towns refused to send representatives to parliament, and those which met signed a memorable protest, declaring their opinion that the fundamental law of 1833 was still the law of the land. As the chambers could not be convened, for decency's sake they were declared dissolved.

'In this state of things, the government of Hanover was managed by authorities partly belonging to the period of 1819. The privy council, which met to advise the king on state affairs, in the same manner as that of England, was arbitrarily abolished, and a cabinet council, composed of the king's ministers and creatures, appointed in its place. Matters remained in this state till 1848, when king Ernest saw himself compelled to yield to the revolutionary tempest which then swept over Europe. The constitution of 1833 was then restored, and has been in force ever since. But the old aristocratic party of the country, who saw themselves deprived of certain privileges by the restored constitution, were not inactive during the reactionary period that afterwards set in; and it is generally understood that nothing but the firm consistency of the king stood between them and success. In 1851 king Ernest I. died, and was succeeded by his only son, George V.

'A treaty of mutual inheritance has long existed between Hanover and Brunswick, which was formally renewed in 1836, and by which the Hanoverian crown is declared to descend to the dukes of Brunswick on the extinction of male heirs of the line of Hanover, and *vice versâ*.

THE HISTORY OF THE NETHERLANDS,

COMPRISING

HOLLAND AND BELGIUM.

THE NETHERLANDS, or Low Countries, which now form two populous kingdoms, though of second-rate importance when compared with the great European powers, were, at the commencement of the Christian era, mere dreary marshes and dismal forests of vast extent, which were frequently overflowed by the sea. This inhospitable low tract was thinly inhabited by people of German origin, called Batavians and Frisians, many of whom lived in miserable huts, raised on wooden piles, or built upon mounds of sand, to secure them above the reach of the tides. But it is not to be understood that the entire region was of this description; although it has been graphically said, that whole forests were occasionally thrown down by a tempest, or swept away by an inundation—that the sea had no limits, and the earth no solidity. The higher grounds, extending from the Rhine to the Scheldt, including that vast extent of woody country, the ancient forest of Ardennes, were inhabited by various tribes of the German race, who subsisted by agriculture and the chase. They had towns and villages in the heart of the forest; their country produced abundant supplies of corn and cattle; they were courageous and uncivilised; and the people consisted of two classes, chiefs and slaves.

When the Romans under Julius Cæsar subdued the Gauls, that warlike nation turned their arms also against the people we have just spoken of, whose country they denominated Gallia Belgica, or Belgium; but they did not pursue their conquests farther towards the north, thinking probably that the desert plains and patches of land, rising, as it were, from their watery bed, were scarcely worth the trouble of exploring, much less of contending for. They accordingly offered peace and alliance to that part of the Netherlands now called Holland; while the Frisians were left to struggle with the Roman legions for their liberty.

From the writings of Cæsar we learn that Flanders was occupied by the Menapii and Morini, Brabant by the Atuatici, Hainault and Namur by the Nervii (so remarkable for desperate courage as to excite the wonder of the veterans of Rome), Luxemburg and Limburg by the Eburones, &c. Cæsar emphatically describes the Belgians as the most warlike of the Gallic tribes, and observes that in stature and bulk they surpassed the Romans. But though they fought with an energy and a determination which nothing could exceed, the discipline and military skill of the Romans eventually obtained the mastery.

In subduing this brave people, the Romans had recourse to the most barbarous practices of ancient warfare; and for a time either extermination or expulsion seemed to be necessary to conquer their fierce and valiant spirits: thus we read, that in Cæsar's celebrated battle with the Nervii, near Namur, the army of the confederated tribes, amounting to 60,000 men, was reduced to 500, and that on taking the town of Tongres he sold 53,000 of the Atuatici for slaves. By degrees, however, they became incorporated with their conquerors, adopted their manners, and served in their armies, proving themselves, in many memorable instances, the ablest auxiliaries that ever fought by the side of the Roman legions. In this state they remained for about four centuries, during which time the Belgic population underwent considerable changes from the successive invasions of the Franks from the north, whose progress westward terminated in their establishing the Frankish empire in Gaul.

We have already had occasion more than once in this volume to notice, that when the Romans subjugated any country, the inhabitants, however barbarous, gradually became acquainted with the arts and advantages of civilised life, and that the subsequent prosperity and rank to which they attained in the scale of nations may justly be attributed to the connection which subsisted between the conquerors and the conquered. Thus it was with the Belgic provinces. From the Romans they learned how to redeem their inundated lands, by constructing dykes, embankments, and canals; and as they were naturally an active and intelligent people, they drained their marshes, and prepared the land not merely as pasture for cattle and the growth of corn, but for the cultivation of choice fruits and vegetables; while towns and villages were built on the higher ground, and the country, instead of being a dreary waste of bog-land and water, presented to the eye a varied prospect of fertility and an industrious population.

Towards the declension of the Roman empire, when its rulers were compelled to withdraw their troops from the provinces, Gallia Belgica shared the fate of the rest; and it was successively overrun by the various tribes from the north of Germany But notwithstanding these serious disad

vantages, the spirit of improvement kept pace with the age; more land was reclaimed from the ocean, and rendered both productive and habitable. The maritime lowland descendants of the Mennpii, now blended with Saxons and Frisians, continued to prosper in commerce and agriculture. Large towns had been built, and many arts and manufactures, brought from other countries, were carried on with credit and success. Bruges, Ghent, Antwerp, and other towns rose in importance, and the commercial importance of the Flemings was universally acknowledged.

At what precise time the Christian religion was introduced, it is impossible to assert with certainty; but we know that previous to the reign of Charlemagne the conversion of the people had become general, and that churches and monasteries existed in various parts of the country. But no trace of the fierce and valiant warriors of former days remained; their swords had indeed been turned into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks, but feudal institutions had converted the free sons of the soil into abject vassals, who now toiled only to enrich the baronial lords and haughty priests, whose power and possessions were immense. This state of vassalage did not, however, extend to the towns, the inhabitants of which were mostly merchants and manufacturers, enjoying all the advantages of free citizens. Their industry and ingenuity not only made them wealthy, but obtained for them attention and respect; and in the course of time they elected their own magistrates, made their own laws, fortified their cities, and organised a regular militia from among themselves; so that they were able to maintain their privileges and defend their liberties against the encroachments of foreign princes or their own powerful nobles.

At the period to which we are now referring, the maritime commerce of the Flemings had made a great progress with Spain and England, from whence they obtained large importations of wool. Their skill in the manufacture of woollen stuffs and cloths had established for them a market in every foreign port; the herring fishery was also a great source of wealth; and to these they added a large trade in corn, salt, and jewellery.

In the eleventh century the country was divided into duchies, counties, and imperial cities; Brabant, or Lower Lorraine, and afterwards Luxemburg, Limburg, and Gueldres, were governed by dukes; Flanders, Holland, Zealand, Hainault, Artois, Namur, and Zutphen, by counts. Friesland Proper remained a free lordship; Utrecht became a bishopric, the secular authority of the bishop extending over Groningen and Overyssel. Of all these realms, the counts of Flanders were the most powerful, and, after their possessions had passed, in 1383, to the more powerful house of Burgundy, the latter, partly by marriages, partly by force or cession, obtained possession of the largest part of the Low Countries.

During the crusades the Flemish burghers obtained great advantages, owing to the mania with which many of the nobles were seized to join the holy leaguers. In order to raise money for equipping armies to combat against the Saracens, they were induced to part with their lands and to grant great privileges and political powers to their wealthy tenants, who thus were enabled to purchase independence and a jurisdiction of their own, as we have before mentioned. 'The people, conscious of their power, gradually extorted from their rulers so many concessions, that the provinces formed, in reality, a democracy, and were only nominally subject to the monarch of France and his nobles. When the rest of Europe was subject to despotism, and involved in comparative ignorance and barbarism, the court of the counts of Flanders was the chosen residence of liberty, civilisation, and useful knowledge; and when the ships of other nations scarcely ventured beyond the sight of land, those of the Flemish merchants traversed the ocean, and Bruges and Antwerp possessed the commerce and wealth of the north of Europe. In this state the provinces long continued, until they came under the dominion of the duke of Burgundy, about the middle of the fifteenth century. Previous to this event, we find only unconnected duchies, counties, lordships, and towns, with innumerable rights, claims, and privileges, advanced and enforced now by subjects and vassals against each other or against their lords; and now by lords and vassals against the monarch, without the expression of any collective idea of Belgium as a nation. Under the Burgundian dynasty the commercial and manufacturing towns of the Low Countries enjoyed a remarkable prosperity. The famous order of the Golden Fleece was instituted in 1430; and before the end of the fifteenth century the city of Ypres had 4,000 looms, and the city of Ghent 50,000 weavers. Bruges and Antwerp were the great marts of the commercial world, and contained each about 200,000 inhabitants. In the Flemish court of the duke of Burgundy, named Philip the Good, about 1455, luxurious living was carried to a vicious and foolish excess. The wealthy were clad in gorgeous velvets, satins, and jewellery, and their banquets were given with almost incredible splendour.

'This luxury produced depravity and crime to such an extent, that in one year 1,400 murders were committed in Ghent, in the gambling-houses and other resorts of debauchery. The arts were cultivated with great success. Van Eyck invented the beautiful oil colours for which the Flemish school is renowned Painting on glass, polishing diamonds, lace, tapestry, and chimes were also invented in Belgium at this period. Most of the magnificent cathedrals and town-halls in the country were built in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. History, poetry, and learning were much cultivated; and the university of Louvain was the most celebrated in Europe. In 1477 Belgium passed under the dynasty of the empire of Austria; and

after many years of contest between the despotic Maximilian and the democratic Flemings, the government, in 1519, descended to his grandson, Charles V., king of Spain and emperor of Germany. In his reign the affluence of the Flemish burghers attained its highest point. The city of Ghent contained 175,000 inhabitants, of whom 100,000 were engaged in weaving and other industrial arts. Bruges annually exported stuffs of English and Spanish wool to the value of 8,000,000 florins. The Scheldt at Antwerp often contained 2,500 vessels, waiting their turn to come to the wharfs; her gates were daily entered by 500 loaded waggons; and her exchange was attended, twice a day, by 5,000 merchants, who expended 130,000 golden crowns in a single banquet given to Philip II., son of Charles V. The value of the wool annually imported from England and Spain exceeded 4,000,000 pieces of gold. This amazing prosperity experienced a rapid and fatal decline under the malignant tyranny and bigotry of Philip. The doctrines of the protestant reformation had found very numerous adherents in Belgium; Lutheranism was preached with frenzied zeal by several popular fanatics, who drew around them crowds amounting sometimes to 10,000 or 15,000. Parties of iconoclasts also appeared and demolished the ornamental property of 400 churches. Protestant persecution by the Inquisition had been commenced by Charles V.; but by Philip II. it was established in its most diabolical extravagance. He filled the country with Spanish soldiers, and commissioned the duke of Alva to extirpate, without mercy, every protestant heretic in Belgium. Volumes have been written to describe the proceedings of this able soldier, but sanguinary persecutor, who boasted that in less than six years he had put to death 18,000 men and women by the sword, the gibbet, the rack, and the flames. Ruin and dread of death in its most hideous forms drove thousands of artisans to England, where they introduced the manufacturing skill of Bruges and Ghent. Commerce and trade in Flanders dwindled away, many of the rich merchants were reduced to beg for bread, the great cities were half deserted, and forest wolves often devoured the scattered inhabitants of desolated villages.' [For the foregoing spirited sketch of the rise, progress, and decline of commerce and the arts in Belgium, we are indebted to Mr. M'Culloch's Geographical Dictionary.]

These oppressions being exercised with the most tyrannical fury by Ferdinand of Toledo, duke of Alva, whom Philip had created governor, the Netherlands made a strong effort for their freedom, and William, prince of Orange, in conjunction with his brother, count Louis of Nassau, undertook the defence of the inhabitants, in their noble struggles for religious and civil liberty. Accordingly, the states of Holland, in their own names, conferred the *stadtholdership*, a title equivalent to lieutenant, on the former, and several other towns and provinces declared for him. He first united them, in 1576, in one general association, under the title of 'The Pacification of Ghent.' But this union being soon dissolved, the prince laboured to the utmost of his power to form a more durable alliance, which he happily accomplished in 1579. In that year the celebrated league of Utrecht was concluded, which gave name to the United Provinces, and became the basis and plan of their constitution.

The prince of Orange was afterwards on the point of being nominated the sovereign of these countries, but was treacherously shot in 1584, by an assassin named Balthazar Gerhad, who had assumed the name of Francis Guyon. This man was supposed to have been hired to perpetrate the murder by the Spanish ministry, but no tortures could force a confession from him. The United Netherlands, however, continued to maintain, sword in hand, that liberty to which they had raised themselves; and Elizabeth of England took them under her protection, and rendered them essential assistance. When the earl of Leicester, the favourite of that queen, was sent over by her to the Netherlands, in the year 1585, the states appointed him governor and captain-general of the United Provinces, or, in other words, their stadtholder; but his haughty carriage, and unskilful manner of conducting the war, soon rendered him unpopular, and the next year he returned to England. The Dutch, being afterwards better supported by the English, baffled all the attempts of the Spaniards; and their commerce arrived at such a height, that in 1603 their celebrated East India company was established. Spain, being both weakened and discouraged by the ill success of a tedious war, in 1609 agreed to an armistice for twelve years, and in the very first article of the treaty acknowledged the United Netherlands to be a free and independent state. During this truce the republic attained to a degree of power which it has never since exceeded.

Compelled by necessity to make war against the Spanish fleets, the republicans soon became excellent sailors, and enterprising indefatigable merchants, who visited every sea, and to whom no port was too distant, no obstacle too discouraging. The commerce of Cadiz, Antwerp, and Lisbon, fell into their hands; and in this way the United Netherlands were, in the middle of the seventeenth century, the first commercial state and the first maritime power in the world; for, with about 100 vessels of war, they bade defiance to every rival, while England and France rejoiced in the humiliation of the dreaded monarchy of Spain. The Dutch East India company, established in 1602, conquered islands and kingdoms in Asia; and with about 200 ships, they carried on a trade with China, and even with Japan. They alone supplied Europe with the productions of the spice islands. The gold, the pearls, the precious jewels of the East, all passed through their hands. The West India company was not so successful, on account of the

jealousy of England and France. Holland, nevertheless, for a long time maintained the dominion of the sea. Van Tromp and De Ruyter were victorious, and Louis XIV., who had laid a deep plan for humbling the daring republic, was finally exhausted, and obliged to sue for peace.

These signal successes were principally obtained by the able conduct of prince Maurice of Nassau, the second son of the first stadtholder; and to the same dignity this prince was chosen when only twenty-one years of age. He conducted the affairs of the states, during twenty years, with great ability and success. The latter part of this prince's government was sullied by cruelty and ingratitude; for he procured the condemnation and death of the pensionary Barnevelt, to whose influence he owed his elevation. This man, who was an Arminian in religion and a republican in politics, was sacrificed to his opinions; but his death caused the political principles for which he suffered to spread more widely. Those who opposed the stadtholder were afterwards called 'the Louvestein party,' from De Witt, burgomaster of Dort, and five other members of the states-general, being imprisoned in that castle for maintaining such sentiments.

In 1621 the war was again renewed, during which the stadtholder, prince Frederick Henry, youngest son of the first William (who succeeded, on the death of his half-brother, prince Maurice, in 1625), greatly distinguished himself. This war was brought to a period in 1648, by the peace of Munster, by which treaty Philip IV., king of Spain, renounced all claim to the United Netherlands.

Frederick was succeeded by his only son William, who was fourth stadtholder, being then twenty-one years of age. He appears to have been ambitious, as was his father.

In 1652 a war broke out between the United Provinces and England, the latter country then being under a republican form of government: this war was terminated two years after, by a treaty, in which the states of Holland engaged for ever to exclude the house of Orange from the stadtholdership of their province.

In 1665 another war was kindled with England, at which time that country had regained its regal constitution: this war continued until the treaty of Breda. The states of Holland and West Friesland then passed an edict, by which they abolished the stadtholdership in their provinces. This was effected by the influence of the grand pensionary De Witt. When France formed a design to seize on the Spanish Netherlands, the United Provinces entered into an alliance with the crowns of England and Sweden for the defence of those countries: by which France was, in 1668, compelled to agree to the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, but soon took a severe revenge by breaking that alliance, and inducing England, with some other powers, to enter into a league against the United Provinces; on which a war ensued. In this critical juncture, the republic, in 1672, nominated William, the young prince of Orange captain and admiral general; and the populace compelled the states of Holland to invest him with the stadtholdership, which two years after was declared hereditary in his family. He was the fifth stadtholder and the third of that name; he married the princess Mary, eldest daughter of James II. of England, and became king of England.

In the year 1678 a peace was concluded with France, at Nimeguen; but it was of no long continuance, for when, in 1688, the states supported their stadtholder in his expedition to England with a fleet and a large body of troops, France declared war against them, which was terminated by the peace of Ryswick in 1697. At length on the death of Charles II. king of Spain, in the year 1700, the Spanish provinces fell to the share of the house of Austria, and the republic became involved in a war respecting that succession, which continued till the peace of Utrecht, in 1713.

William died king of England and stadtholder of the United Provinces, in 1702. He appointed John William Frizo, prince of Nassau Dietz, his sole heir, who was born 1687, and was drowned in crossing an arm of the sea at Mardyke, 14th of July 1711. Three months after his death his widow was delivered of a son, who was christened William, and afterwards became stadtholder; but on the death of William III. that office was laid aside, until, in 1722, the province of Guelders elected him their stadtholder, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the other provinces.

On the decease of the emperor Charles VI. the Dutch assisted the queen of Hungary against France, which drew on them the resentment of that power; and in 1747, the French making an irruption into Dutch Flanders, the republic unanimously declared the above-mentioned William, prince of Orange, stadtholder, captain-general, and admiral-in-chief, making those dignities hereditary in his family, even in the female and collateral branches.

In the general war which broke out in Europe in 1756, the Dutch, taking no part in the quarrel, were perhaps the greatest gainers, by supplying the belligerent powers with naval and military stores; and when the dispute between Great Britain and the American colonies rekindled the flames of war, the most essential assistance was procured, both to America and France, by means of the Dutch settlement at St. Eustatius, and of the freights brought by their ships. At length it was discovered, by the capture of an American packet, that a treaty between the American States and the province of Holland was actually adjusted, and that Mr. Laurens, the president of the congress, was appointed to reside at Amsterdam in a public capacity. This occasioned the court of London first to cancel all treaties of commerce and alliance which then subsisted between that kingdom and the United States, and soon after, in December 1780, to issue a declaration of hostilities against the republic. The resentment of Great Britain proved extremely fatal to the possessions and wealth of the Dutch; the island of St. Eustatius, with a

large fleet of valuable merchant ships, fell an easy prey to a naval and military force under the command of admiral Rodney and general Vaughan; several homeward-bound East India ships, richly laden, were either taken by the English or destroyed; Negapatam, on the Coromandel coast, and their chief settlement on the island of Ceylon, were wrested from them; a fleet of merchant ships bound to the Baltic, convoyed by a squadron of Dutch men-of-war, under the command of admiral Zoutman, were obliged to return to the Texel, and one of the 74-gun ships was sunk in a very sharp action which happened with a British squadron under the command of admiral Hyde Parker (afterwards created a baronet). Had the admiral been supplied with only one more ship of the line, he would probably have captured most of the enemy's fleet.

In the meantime the emperor of Germany, attentive to the improvement of his dominions in the Low Countries, and desirous of procuring for his subjects the advantages to be derived from the extension of their commerce, determined to oblige the Dutch to allow a free navigation on the Scheldt, which river, by the treaty of Munster, in the year 1648, they possessed exclusively. To procure this, a ship, bearing the imperial flag, proceeded down the Scheldt from Antwerp; the captain being ordered not to submit to any detention or examination whatever from the ships belonging to the republic of the Seven United Provinces, or to make any declaration at the custom-houses belonging to the republic on that river, or to acknowledge them in any manner whatever. At the same time another vessel was ordered to sail from Ostend up the Scheldt to Antwerp. They were both stopped by the Dutch on their passage, which the emperor construed into a declaration of war on the part of the republic, although by the 14th article of the treaty of Munster, entered into with Philip IV. of Spain, it was stipulated that the Scheldt should remain shut: in consequence of which that river had remained guarded by two forts, *Lillo* and *Lieskenshoek*, assisted by guard ships. An army of 80,000 men was now assembling; and some imperial troops, with a train of artillery, advancing towards Lillo, the governor ordered the sluices to be opened in November 1784, which laid a large extent of circumjacent country under water. A war between the emperor and the republic seemed to be inevitable; but the interposition of the courts of Versailles and Berlin prevented that evil; and the emperor at length agreed to give up his claims, on receiving a very large sum of money from the Dutch, to indemnify him for the expenses which had been incurred by his preparations for war.

William V., the seventh stadtholder, on the death of his father in 1751, succeeded to that dignity when only three years of age; the princess dowager, his mother, who was princess royal of England (being the eldest daughter of George II.), was appointed governess and guardian to the young prince; the prince of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel acted as captain-general and lord-high-admiral during the minority, which continued until the year 1766, when the prince, having attained to eighteen years of age, took upon himself the administration of public affairs. The year following, he married the princess Frederica Sophia Wilhelmina of Prussia.

The amiable manners and benign disposition of this prince procured him general esteem, whilst the absolute ascendency which the duke of Brunswick had acquired, during so long a minority, over the mind of a prince in whom gentleness and acquiescence were such prevailing qualities, caused him still to retain all his plenitude of power. It was not long, however, before the people began to complain that the most undisguised partiality was shown to foreigners in the appointments to offices.

One of the chief favourites about the person of the prince of Orange was Capellan Vander Marsh, who had been advanced from a low origin to the station of chamberlain and ennobled. This man, having continual opportunities of conversing with the prince in private, represented to him the necessity there was for him to interfere, by exerting that authority which the states had vested in him, and no longer to delegate it in so unqualified a manner. The prince acknowledged the justice of the suggestion, and promised to act upon it; but when instances were pointed out in which he might render himself highly popular by appointing certain persons to vacant offices, he found the restraints in which he had ever been accustomed to be held too strong to be broken. This led Capellan to desert the cause of his master, and to join the republican party. Soon after, the duke of Brunswick resigned his employment and quitted the country.

The republican, or anti-stadtholderian party, which, as we have already seen, had subsisted in the provinces ever since the year 1647, or from the death of Maurice, the second stadtholder, found, in the ministry of France, the most effectual support which intrigue and a lavish distribution of money could render. More than a million of money had been issued from the treasury of the court of Versailles to further the interests of this party. However secretly these practices might be carried on, they were not concealed from the courts of London and Berlin, who were no less strenuous to support the Orange party. Internal dissensions, thus fomented by foreign interference, rose to a destructive height; and each party imbibed the most rancorous spirit against the other, insomuch that it was thought to be no longer safe for the prince and princess, with their family, to reside at the Hague; they therefore, in September 1785, retired to Nimeguen.

In this posture of affairs, the princess of Orange, who possessed an elevated mind, great abilities, and an enterprising spirit, determined on a very bold and decisive measure; which was, to proceed, without the prince, and with only two or three attendants, to the Hague, to make the expo-

riment how far her presence and address could be rendered serviceable to the cause of the prince her husband. As she was proceeding on her journey on the 28th of June 1787, she was stopped near Schoonhoven, by a commandant acting under the republican party, detained there during the succeeding night, and absolutely restricted from proceeding any farther. This indignity determined her to return to Nimeguen, and a representation of the treatment she had received was immediately transmitted to the king of Prussia, her brother, who had succeeded 'the great Frederick' on that throne. The king supported the cause of his sister with great warmth; but the states of Holland not being disposed to make any concessions, the reigning duke of Brunswick, nephew to the duke who had filled the high offices in Holland, was placed at the head of an army of Prussians, amounting to about 18,000 effective men, whom he led on the 13th of September into the province of Guelderland, for the express purpose of restoring the prince of Orange to his rights.

The judicious distribution of the troops, and the vigour of the operations, reflected the highest credit on the commander. A general panic seized the republican party: only the town of Goream, which was commanded by Capellan, sustained a bombardment of about an hour; the other places of strength opened their gates at the first summons. Even the strong city of Utrecht, in which were 10,000 men in arms, and whose fortifications had been greatly strengthened, instead of meeting with firmness the approach of the enemy, was deserted by the whole republican party, with all the precipitancy of desperation. These rapid successes of the duke caused the Orange party to gain the ascendency at the Hague; but the city of Amsterdam remained determined to resist to the utmost; relying upon the prodigious strength of the place, which both nature and art, it had ever been supposed, had contributed to render impregnable. The duke, however, made his arrangements for attacking the city in various directions, leading on his choicest troops to the most perilous assault in person. After a very obstinate conflict, some of the most important of the earthworks were taken, which gave the besiegers a secure lodgment, and threatened the city with a destructive bombardment: the magistracy of Amsterdam, finding themselves thus placed, thought it high time to submit to terms.

After this event, nothing material occurred till the invasion of the French revolutionists, which changed the whole aspect of affairs both in Holland and Belgium. In 1792 the national assembly sent general Dumouriez, at the head of a large army, to invade Belgium, it being an object of first-rate importance to deprive Austria of that country; and, in November, the French general gained a great victory at Genappe, in Hainault. In a few days afterwards Dumouriez made his triumphant entry into Brussels. The party who favoured the French was much too strong, conjointly with the invaders, for the friends of the house of Orange to resist the invaders with any chance of success: accordingly, in a very short time, all the principal towns of the Netherlands submitted to the French: and it was pompously asserted by the latter, that it was the wish of the Belgians themselves to throw off the government of Austria, and be incorporated with the French republic. That many really wished this there can be no doubt; but though the turbulent and disaffected were numerous, such a union was not desired by the majority of those who had anything to lose.

Although by a very easy conquest the French had gained possession of the Netherlands, the emperor of Austria took immediate measures with a view to its recovery. A large army, under the archduke Charles, joined by the duke of York and the prince of Orange, at the head of their English and Dutch troops, contended for a time with the armies of France; but after two years of warfare, in which the allied troops, but more particularly the British, suffered very severely, the cause of the stadtholder grew hopeless. When, therefore, in 1794, the victorious banners of republican France waved on the frontiers of Holland, the malcontents again rose. Pichegru, aided by the severity of the winter of 1795, and by the favour of the popular party towards the French, made an easy conquest of Holland. The hereditary stadtholder fled with his family to England, and the Batavian republic was formed, May 16, 1795.

The old provinces were now merged into one republic; the legislative power, in imitation of the French, was given to a representative assembly, and the executive to a directory of five. The new republic was obliged to cede to France some southern districts, particularly Maestricht, Venloo, Limburg, and Dutch Flanders; to form a perpetual alliance with that state; pay a sum of 100,000,000 guilders; and allow the French troops to occupy its territories. Six years after, it was found necessary to alter this constitution. The republic was again divided into the old provinces; in addition to which the 'land of the generality' was formed into an eighth. The administration of the government was simplified; the legislative assembly diminished to thirty-five deputies; and the executive power was extended to a council of state of twelve men. Notwithstanding these alterations, the Batavian republic, incapable of effecting its ends with the feeble remains of its strength, saw its fleets overpowered by those of England; its colonies laid waste; its commerce limited to a coasting trade, and to the domestic consumption; and the bank of Amsterdam ruined. By the peace of Amiens, in 1802, it was deprived of Ceylon, one of its richest colonies.

When peace had been concluded between Great Britain and France, and the hopes of better times were just awakened, the halcyon dream was suddenly dispelled, and the thunder of war again resounded on the

shores of Holland. Its ports were blockaded, its fleets were annihilated, and its distant colonies fell into the power of the British; its prosperity, indeed, seemed for ever gone; it was treated as a conquered country, and all the advantages promised by its republican allies proved a mere chimera.

In 1805, the Dutch constitution was changed for the third time; but, so far from any improvement taking place in the condition of the country, it continued to grow worse, and the only remedy that now seemed to present itself was the incorporation of Holland with the French empire. This accordingly took place in 1806, the mode in which it was accomplished being by erecting it into a kingdom, of which Louis Buonaparte, one of Napoleon's brothers, was invested with the sovereignty. But Holland was equally unfortunate as a kingdom, as when it was designated the Batavian republic. Though, by a treaty with France, king Louis possessed the rights of a constitutional monarch, and was disposed to exercise his authority with mildness and impartiality, he was made the mere instrument of Napoleon. It is true that he hesitated in enforcing, if he did not resist, the arbitrary decrees of the emperor, and that he incurred no small share of his disapprobation in consequence; but his efforts to promote the weal of his subjects proved wholly ineffectual, so thoroughly controlled was he by the power to whom he owed his regal elevation. Holland was excluded from the commercial privileges of France, though it had to follow all the wars of Napoleon. The national debt was augmented to 12,000,000,000 guilders. The only means by which the merchant could obtain a support was the smuggling trade with England. Almost all the former sources of prosperity were obstructed; and when Napoleon's Milan decree (of Nov. 11, 1807) was promulgated, and the Dutch ports were shut against British commerce, the trade of Holland was totally ruined. The well-disposed king, lamenting evils which he had no power to remedy, and finding that if he retained the sovereignty he must become a tyrant against his own will, voluntarily and unexpectedly abdicated the crown, in favour of his eldest son, a minor, July 1, 1810, and withdrew into the Austrian territory, as a private individual.

Napoleon did not, however, sanction his brother's measures. The French troops at once occupied Amsterdam, and a decree was passed for annexing Holland to the French empire; six senators, six deputies, in the council of state, two judges in the court of cassation, and twenty-five deputies in the legislative body, being assigned to it. The continental system was then more strictly enforced, the taxes were augmented, and the conscription laws were introduced, whereby husbands, sons, and brothers were torn from their families, and compelled to fight for a cause they detested, and a tyrant they abhorred. The Dutch departments, which had already been formed in the time of the kingdom, now constituted two military divisions; and all the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands were united under the dominion of France.

At length the fortunes of Buonaparte began to decline, and the people looked forward with hope that their worst days of suffering had passed. The prince of Orange had died in England, in 1806; but his son was living, and on him the hope of the nation was fixed. The Russian campaign of 1812, so fatal to the ambition of the French emperor, was regarded by the Dutch patriots as the advent of their deliverance. But Buonaparte was still in power, and most of the fortresses in the Netherlands were garrisoned with French soldiers. Ardent, therefore, as their feelings were, and anxious as were their hopes, they patiently watched that portentous cloud which appeared in the political horizon, and which at last burst with desolating fury on the host of Napoleon at Leipsic.

That important battle may be said to have decided the fate of Belgium and Holland: the armies of the allies advanced against France; a combined Prussian and Russian force, under Bulow, was sent against the Netherlands, and was joined by a detachment from England, under general Graham. All the great towns now declared for William, prince of Orange, who, on the 13th of November 1813, arrived at the Hague, and was welcomed with the sincerest tokens of joy and affection. He immediately repaired to Amsterdam, where he was proclaimed king, the people being unanimously desirous that the stadtholderate should be changed into an hereditary monarchy. It was not long before the whole country was entirely freed from the presence of the French, and the new sovereign (the sixth in descent from the illustrious founder of the republic) was solemnly inaugurated on the 30th of March 1814, and proclaimed by the title of William I.

By a vote of the congress of Vienna, the Belgic provinces were united with the United Netherlands, to form one kingdom, and William was recognised by all the powers as sovereign king of the Netherlands. At the time of this arrangement a treaty was made with Great Britain, which power agreed to restore all the colonies it had taken from the Dutch, except the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon, Essequibo, Berbice, and Demerara. This union by no means gave entire satisfaction; indeed, there had never been any cordiality between the two people, owing to the religious prejudices of the Belgians, who are catholics, and not only dislike being governed by a protestant king, but have a kind of national animosity to the Dutch. The people, however, were obliged to acquiesce in the decision of the ruling powers.

Scarcely was the union of Holland and Belgium accomplished, when the unexpected reappearance of Buonaparte on the soil of France disturbed the peace of Europe; and the Netherlands became once more a scene of warfare. Louis XVIII. had taken refuge in Ghent, and there remained till the fate of the enemy was decided on the field of Waterloo. As the principal features of this important battle have been

already given in this volume, it would be a needless repetition to introduce it in this place: we shall therefore merely notice a few incidents connected with the subject, or arising out of it.

In the month of June 1815, Brussels presented a gay and animated appearance, it being the head-quarters of the British army Officers in their bright uniforms, accompanied by elegantly dressed ladies, thronged the park; and on the 15th the duke of Wellington, with the chief of the officers, was present at a ball given by the duchess of Richmond. The duke had been that day dining at his hotel with some of his aides-de-camp, and before they left the table, a despatch was received from marshal Blucher (who had taken up his position at some few leagues' distance, to guard the outposts of the allied armies), informing the British commander that he had been suddenly and unexpectedly attacked by the French, and might probably require assistance, in which case he might soon expect to hear from him again. Orders were accordingly given by the duke for all the troops in Brussels to be ready to march at a moment's notice; and then, having made his arrangements with apparent composure, in order not to create unnecessary alarm in the city, he and his officers attended the ball; and up to a late hour all continued tranquil.

Soon after midnight, however, the rolling of drums and the sound of bugles alarmed the inhabitants; but all the information that could be obtained was, that the duke of Wellington had received a despatch in the ball-room, of so urgent a kind, that some of the cavalry officers, whose regiments were quartered in the adjacent villages, had not time to change their attire, but actually galloped off in their ball-room dresses. It was at length ascertained that the French had obtained some advantages over the Prussians, who had been obliged to retreat and take up a new position, about seven miles from the village of Quatre Bras.

The rolling drum, the clang of arms, the trampling of horses, and all the fearful din of warlike preparation, resounded in the streets of Brussels during the whole of that eventful night; and at break of day were to be seen, among the brave fellows who were waiting for orders to march, many an anxious weeping wife and child taking their fond farewell of those who, haply, before the sun went down, would leave them wretched and forlorn.

Silent and deserted were the streets as soon as the soldiers had left them for the battle-field; but wherever human countenances appeared during the dreadful moments of suspense, it was evident that fear and dismay usurped all other feelings. Presently the hollow sound of distant cannon was distinctly heard; and in the absence of authentic information, busy rumour magnified the real danger, and circulated accounts of disasters the most appalling. On this day (the 16th) two battles were fought: one at Ligny, by the Prussians under Blucher, against Buonaparte in person; the other at Quatre Bras, between a part of the British army under the duke of Wellington, against the French troops commanded by marshal Ney, who had intercepted the duke on his march to aid the Prussians.

At night authentic intelligence was received at Brussels that a most sanguinary battle had been fought, which was to be renewed on the following day, but that the French were no nearer than they were in the morning. This latter assurance in some measure allayed the worst fears of the inhabitants; but the night was very generally occupied in packing up their valuables, so that their departure might not be impeded should the French be ultimately victorious and become masters of the city. Every thing that occurred, in fact, strengthened this impression; and in the midst of the confusion attendant on the hasty harnessing of horses to the baggage-waggons and the rattling of trains of artillery, a troop of Belgic cavalry, who had fled from the field before the fight was over, spread a report that the British army was totally defeated, and that the French were within an hour's march of Brussels.

Despair now seized the panic-stricken citizens, but none had more cause to dread an unfavourable result than the numerous English visitors at that time in the Belgic capital, who were consequently among the foremost of the fugitives. At length it was ascertained that a most terrible conflict had taken place, in which the heroic duke of Brunswick, and most of the gallant Highlanders, who had marched from Brussels in the morning, were lying dead upon the field; and that the duke of Wellington had withdrawn to Waterloo, in order to be nearer the Prussians, who had retreated after their defeat at Ligny. Early next morning a number of long tilted waggons arrived, conveying the wounded soldiers slowly through the town to the hospitals.

Saturday was a day of breathless anxiety and intense grief. Some were mourning the loss of friends and relatives, others were anticipating the ruthless violence of the French soldiers when Brussels should be given up to plunder; while all who had the means of conveyance, and many who had not, set out for Antwerp. But that day passed with very little fighting, both armies being engaged in making preparations for a decisive contest on the following (Sunday, June 18). At ten o'clock the battle of Waterloo commenced, and was not concluded till nine at night, when the complete overthrow of the French army was effected.

The first accounts which reached Brussels ascribed the victory to the enemy, adding that the duke of Wellington was severely wounded, and that most of the English officers were either killed or made prisoners: nor was it until the following morning that the mournful lamentations of despair were changed into sounds of joy and gratulation. But the terrible nature of the conflict was fully understood, for every one who arrived from the battle-field agreed that the carnage of that dreadful day was

only surpassed by the matchless valour of the combatants.

So numerous were the wounded on the field of battle, that although the most active exertions were used to remove them, it was the work of three days; but it is satisfactory to know, that nothing could exceed the humanity of the peasantry in the neighbouring villages, who were incessantly occupied in conveying to the fatal field food, water, and such other necessaries as were calculated to alleviate the sufferings of those brave men who there lay steeped in gore, the dying mingled with the dead. Nor did their humane attentions end there: they received the perishing sufferers into their humble homes, so that every cottage, as it were, was converted into a hospital, and every inhabitant became a nurse. The public infirmaries of Brussels and Antwerp not being sufficiently extensive for the reception of all who were conveyed thither, the citizens made the wounded men their guests, and kindly administered to their necessities. In all the towns of the Netherlands subscriptions were set on foot for their relief, and every comfort that could be provided for them was liberally supplied.

Among the distinguished commanders who were wounded at the battle of Waterloo was the young prince of Orange, whose conduct in the field earned the warm commendations of the duke of Wellington. It also obtained for him among his countrymen no small share of popularity; and as a mark of gratitude for his services, the nation presented him with an elegant palace near Brussels.

The union of Belgium and Holland being finally settled, the king of the Netherlands was inaugurated at Brussels, in the presence of the states-general, on the 21st of September 1815. His first care was to deserve the good opinion of his subjects by giving them equal laws, and in endeavours to put the youthful population of Belgium on an equal footing with those of Holland; for which purpose he established national schools in every village, and appointed teachers properly qualified to impart instruction on the system which he had found so successful in his old dominions. By degrees, these schools were augmented and improved; and in the sequel, others of a very superior kind were founded, in which the fine arts were studied, and every incentive to emulation promoted by the distribution of prizes, &c. Nor was the attention of the king entirely confined to the mental improvement of his subjects. In order to cope with the manufactured goods of other countries, advantage was taken of the discoveries and inventions of scientific men wherever they were to be obtained; steam-engines and new machinery were introduced into the cotton factories; roads, canals, and railways were undertaken; coal and iron-mines were opened; every facility was given to commerce; and nothing but the inveterate prejudice of old habits prevented the agriculturists from benefiting by the wise suggestions of king William: such, however, was the obstinacy of the Belgian farmers, that they were determined to retain the rude and awkward implements which the husbandmen of bygone centuries had used, rather than adopt the improvements of modern times.

In many respects the laws of the new kingdom of the Netherlands were assimilated to those of Great Britain, and the country increased in prosperity with every succeeding year. Still it was evident there was a want of a common feeling between the Belgic and Dutch subjects of the new monarchy; and the circumstance of the taxes in Belgium being increased since the union was a constant and a not unreasonable theme for discontent to feed upon, inasmuch as they had been united without their own consent.

On the 17th of May 1816, a Netherlandish fleet, under admiral Van der Capellan, joined the English under lord Exmouth, and compelled the dey of Algiers to recognise the European law of nations. On the 25th a compact was concluded between the kings of Prussia and of the Netherlands respecting the cession of a tract of country to the latter; and, about the same time, the king of the Netherlands acceded to the holy alliance. The political relations of France with its new neighbour were pacific. With Sweden and Denmark, as with Spain and Portugal, the relations were purely commercial. But the amalgamation of the Dutch and Belgians into one nation was not successful: in short, a reciprocal aversion of the northern and the southern people was several times exhibited, with great animosity, in the church, in the army, and even in the chambers of the states-general.

As the difference of languages rendered the union of the southern and northern Netherlands into one nation difficult, the government, while it allowed the use of the French language as well as the Dutch in the proceedings of the states-general, abolished the use of French in judicial proceedings, and by the public authorities, only allowing advocates to make use of it for a certain period. The attempt to suppress the French language thus made two opposite parties the secret friends of France; the catholic Belgians, apprehensive for their church, because they believed the object was to propagate the protestant faith by means of the prohibition of French; and the Brabanters and Flemings adhered to France from old predilections. Thus, notwithstanding the prohibition of the French and German languages in public life, the bonds of national unity were by no means tightened. On the contrary, besides the diversity of language and religion, other causes separated the southern provinces from the northern; but the greatest obstacle to a cordial union lay in the uniform levying of taxes. Belgium, a manufacturing and agricultural country, wished to place the burdens on articles of export and import, while Holland, to spare its own commerce, wished to impose them on real estate. The budget, therefore, always employed a great part of the time of the states-general, who were convened in October of each year

alternately at the Hague and at Brussels. The new finance law created such dissatisfaction among the people, especially in what related to the meal tax, that in the grand duchy of Luxemburg disturbances arose, which it was found necessary to quell by force. From this period party violence may be said to have proceeded with tenfold vigour, and the discordant elements of which the new kingdom of the Netherlands was composed, speedily led to its destruction. But it is more than probable that if the revolution in France, which drove one branch of the Bourbons from the throne and invested the other with sovereign power, had not occurred so early, the revolt of the Belgians would have been delayed a few years longer.

As is the case in the capitals of most European countries, so it was customary in Brussels to celebrate the king's birthday with illuminations and other public rejoicings; but while the usual preparations were making, placards were posted on the walls, intimating that the example of the Parisians would on that occasion be followed. Thus warned, and being also assured of the increasing disaffection of the people, the magistrates immediately issued orders to suspend the fête; and the performance of the opera of Massaniello, which had been advertised, was also prohibited, on the ground that it contained many political allusions, which were calculated to excite the people at such a juncture, and so accelerate the threatened revolt. There is no doubt that the very act of forbidding the opera hastened the dreaded catastrophe; for a mob assembled in front of the theatre, demanding the representation of Massaniello; and so great was the tumult, that the government thought it prudent to comply.

The opera was accordingly performed, and with just such results as might naturally be expected. The audience that evening was composed chiefly of the lower classes; and as they were predisposed to mischief as well as excited by the revolutionary incidents of the drama, a scene of riot and brutal excess commenced as soon as they left the theatre. The gunsmiths' shops were broken open for the purpose of obtaining fire-arms, the wine-cellars were plundered, the house of the chief minister was set on fire, and the residences of several other persons connected with the government were broken into and despoiled. The rioters were, however, held in check by the more respectable inhabitants, who, imitating the Parisians, on the following day formed a national guard of citizen soldiers, for the protection of their property against the mob, as well as for effecting a revolution, though by a more orderly and systematic plan of operations.

A council of some of the most influential citizens undertook the management of affairs, and sent a deputation to the king at the Hague, with a statement of their grievances, at the same time demanding redress. The king saw that it was now too late to temporise; he had either to accede to the revolutionists, *in toto*, or to put down by force of arms the incipient rebellion; and he evidently preferred the peril which must attend the latter attempt, to the abandonment of his rights as sovereign of the Netherlands. At this critical moment, his sons, the prince of Orange and prince Frederick, at the head of a strong detachment of Dutch troops, were marching towards Brussels. When they reached Vilvorde, about five miles from the city, the citizens, in firm but respectful terms, informed the princes of their determination not to admit the soldiers; and not a moment was lost in unpaving the streets, cutting down trees to form barricades, and otherwise placing Brussels in the best state of defence in their power.

Sincerely desirous that no blood should be spilt, and anxious to bring this *émeute* to a favourable issue, the prince of Orange, unattended by a military escort, rode into the city; but no cordial greeting welcomed him, and it was with some difficulty that he reached the palace, where he remained till the deputation returned from the Hague with the king's answer. As his majesty merely replied to the effect that he would assemble the states-general, and take the subject into consideration, the public discontent was increased, and the council resolved on demanding a separation from the provinces of Holland, and, if they could not obtain it by amicable means, to effect it by force. They accordingly had a conference with the prince, and having stated that they were willing to acknowledge the king as their sovereign, but wished to have a separate parliament and a separate code of laws, he promised to use all his influence with his father and the states-general to procure an amicable arrangement.

But, although the states-general assembled, they spent their time in fruitless debates instead of pursuing measures likely to lead to an accommodation. Meantime, the revolt had spread throughout the Belgic provinces, and the acts of the insurgents at Liege, Namur, and other towns, showed that the spirit of discontent was not to be easily repressed. From among the citizens of Brussels was formed an executive government, under the title of the committee of public safety; but their councils were thought too moderate by the turbulent multitude, who refused to submit to their authority, and displayed all the violent passions common to an infuriated and lawless populace. On this being communicated to the king, prince Frederick, as commander-in-chief of the Dutch army, received his majesty's orders to take immediate steps for enforcing obedience; on which he issued a proclamation, preparatory to his entering Brussels, stating that, if the people laid down their arms and returned peaceably to their allegiance, a general pardon would be granted, but not otherwise. This brought matters to an issue. A determined resistance on the part of the insurgents was resolved on, and a scene resembling that of the revolution in Paris followed, the fighting, like that, continuing for three days.

On the 27th of September the Dutch troops

quitted Brussels, and the provisional government immediately issued a proclamation declaring the independence of Belgium. Up to this period the citizens of Antwerp had taken no part in the revolution; but they now admitted a body of Belgic soldiers into the town, and, uniting with them, compelled the Dutch troops to take shelter within the citadel, which, after some smart cannonading that did considerable damage to the houses, they were allowed to keep possession of; the Belgian auxiliaries being prevailed upon to leave the citizens to defend themselves in the best manner they could.

It was now fully evident that the king of Holland had not the power to retain, or rather to regain, the sovereignty of the southern provinces; and as the four great powers, Russia, Austria, Prussia, and England, had been the means of effecting the union, envoys from the three foreign courts were sent to London to settle the terms upon which the kingdom of the Netherlands should be separated. The council of Brussels appeared to be in favour of a constitutional monarchy; and they offered the crown to the duke of Nemours, second son of Louis Philippe of France. The prince, however, declined the offer, and they then fixed on prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg, who, after some hesitation, consented to become king of the Belgians, and was proclaimed, on the 4th of July, 1831, by the title of Leopold the First.

After a reign of thirty-four years, marked on the whole by great prosperity, Leopold died on the 9th of December, 1865, and was succeeded by his son Leopold II.

The ambassadors who had met in London to settle the terms of the separation, agreed that, while the negotiations were pending, all hostilities should cease between the Belgians and the Dutch, and that the troops of both parties should retire within the limits of their respective countries, according to their former boundaries. But this arrangement was opposed by the king of Holland, because it would compel him to surrender the citadel of Antwerp and also some forts on the Scheldt. Austria, Russia, and Prussia declined to interfere in the matter; but Great Britain and France, foreseeing that no final settlement could be effected while the Dutch held these important places, took a decided part in insisting on their immediate evacuation. The citadel of Antwerp was one of the strongest in Europe, and its garrison of 5,000 men was commanded by general Chassé, an intrepid and skilful veteran.

An English fleet was sent to blockade the mouth of the Scheldt, while a French army of 60,000 men, under marshal Gerard, laid siege to the citadel of Antwerp; but before the siege commenced, the two generals came to an understanding that the town should not be injured by either party, and that the inhabitants should take no part in the contest. As far as possible this arrangement was observed, but during ten days of almost incessant cannonading, the loss of life on each side was great, and the citadel was literally battered to pieces. At length, the gallant old general offered to capitulate, on condition that he and his men might be allowed to retire to Holland; this, however, marshal Gerard refused, unless two of the forts on the Scheldt were given up; but as they were not under the command of general Chasse, and the king refused to sanction their surrender, the brave defender of the citadel, and the surviving remnant of the garrison, were marched into France as prisoners of war.

There were still some minor points of dispute left untouched, particularly the appropriation of the provinces of Limburg and Luxemburg; but the siege of Antwerp was the last event of a hostile nature that occurred. The direct interference of England and France had terminated as must have been expected; and though there was much contention respecting the possession of the two provinces just mentioned, it was eventually arranged, through the mediation of the British government, that they should be divided between the two kingdoms, the king of Holland retaining Luxemburg, with the title of grand duke.

King William I. being nearly seventy years of age, and wishing to retire from the cares of public life, in 1840 abdicated in favour of his son, the hereditary prince of Orange, who was proclaimed king on the 8th of October. No man could be more generally esteemed by his subjects than the new sovereign, or more entitled to their esteem; and, indeed, it may with great truth be said, that William II. of Holland, and Leopold I., king of the Belgians, were both well calculated to promote the prosperity of their respective countries.

William II. died on the 17th of March, 1849, and was succeeded by his son William III., who has since been actively engaged in organising extensive reforms, at once political, financial, and administrative

THE HISTORY OF

SWEDEN, DENMARK, AND NORWAY.

SWEDEN.

THE early history of Sweden is no less involved in fables than that of most other nations; but as it is famous for being the native country of the fierce and warlike Goths, whose emigrations effected the most singular and rapid revolutions on the European continent that history records, we shall in the first place consider who were the earliest inhabitants of those rugged coasts and mountainous regions, whence issued the bold and barbarous Northmen, whose devastations and cruelties rendered them terrible as the invaders of more peaceful and sunnier lands.

The ancient name of the region now comprehending the three northern kingdoms, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, was Scandinavia; but the inhabitants were at that time known to the nations of the south of Europe only by vague rumour.

About A. D. 250 commence the fabulous accounts of Odin, or Woden. Till the middle of the ninth century Scandinavia was little known; but the bold expeditions of the natives into the southern and western parts of Europe, and the diffusion of Christianity amongst them, about the year 1000, shed light on this region. The kingdom of the Swedes was separated from that of the Goths till the twelfth century; but in 1132 both nations, with their several dependencies, were united under Swerker, king of the Ostrogoths, who was proclaimed king of the Swedes and Goths. It was afterwards agreed by both nations, that the Swedish and Gothic princes should hold the sovereignty alternately; but this occasioned many bloody intestine wars.

Magnus Smeck added Schonen and the adjacent territories to the kingdom; but at length, by his maladministration, he deprived both himself and his family of the throne; for after Albert, duke of Mecklenburg, his sister's son, had been elected king, Margaret, who was heiress to the crowns of Denmark and Norway, compelled him to give up the kingdom of Sweden to her; and by the union of Calmar, in the year 1397, the same princess united the three northern kingdoms under one head. This union excited in the Swedes the greatest indignation; and in 1448, the Swedes and Norwegians elected a separate king, Karl Knutsen, or Charles, the son of Canute, and formally renounced the union. After the death of Charles, several of the family of Charles reigned in succession, with the title of presidents, though with regal authority, until, in 1520, Christian II. of Denmark was acknowledged king of Sweden. But his tyranny disgusted the people. Even during the ceremony of the coronation, notwithstanding his promises of amnesty, he ordered ninety-four Swedish noblemen to be beheaded in the market-place of Stockholm, and perpetrated similar acts of cruelty in the provinces At length, by the assistance of a Swedish nobleman named Gustavus Erickson von Vasa, they shook off the Danish yoke.

The brave Gustavus Vasa, who had rendered himself extremely popular by the conduct and intrepidity he had shown in rescuing Sweden from the oppression of the Danes, was elected king, and not only became the founder of a line of monarchs of his family, but advanced the royal authority to a very great height.

The crown of Sweden had hitherto been elective; but the Swedes had been deprived of this right under the Danish kings: according to the laws of Sweden, the royal authority was so limited that the king could neither make war nor peace, levy money nor troops, without the consent of the states; he could neither erect a fortress, introduce foreign troops, nor put any strong place into the hands of a foreigner. The revenue of the crown then solely arose from some inconsiderable domains about Upsal, a small poll-tax on the peasants, and from fines and forfeitures which fell to the crown in criminal proceedings. Castles, fiefs, or manors, which were at first granted by the crown only for a term of years, or at most for life, were insensibly changed into hereditary possessions, which the nobility held by force, without paying the rents that had been reserved out of them. This was also done by the bishops and clergy, who possessed such estates, on pretence that the lands of the church ought to be exempted from all duties; and by these encroachments the royal revenue was so reduced, that the king could scarcely maintain more than five hundred horse. He was considered only as a kind of captain-general during a war, and as president of the senate in time of peace. The prelates and nobility fortified their castles, and rendered them the seats of so many independent states; and, arming their vassals, frequently made war on each other, and sometimes on their sovereign. They neither sought nor expected redress from the king's courts, when they thought themselves in

jured, but proceeded by force of arms to avenge their own cause. The kingdoms of Norway and Denmark were under the like form of government; both were elective, and had their respective senates without whose concurrence or that of the states assembled in their diet, the king could transact nothing of importance.

But to return to Gustavus Vasa, who found the kingdom in this situation. The states, to express their ardent gratitude to their deliverer, passed a solemn decree, by which they obliged themselves to approve whatsoever that patriot should think fit to enact for the preservation of his dignity, against a pretender who was set up in opposition to him. They, in particular, empowered him to make peace and war, and resolved that his enemies should be accounted the enemies of the nation.

This happened at the time that the doctrines of the reformation began to prevail in Sweden; and as the Romish clergy, Gustavus's greatest enemies, were in possession of one half of the lands and revenues of the kingdom, also holding many royal castles and domains, the new king, in order to resume these possessions, embraced the doctrines of Luther, procured an act to be passed, by which it was ordained that the bishops should immediately surrender their castles to the king, and disband their troops; that their pretended rights to fines and forfeited estates, which originally belonged to the crown, should be abrogated; that all the superfluous plate and bells belonging to the churches should be sold to pay the public debts; that all the grants of estates to the clergy, since the year 1445, should be revoked, and the lands reunited to the crown; that two-thirds of the tithes, generally possessed by the bishops and abbots, should be sequestered, for maintaining the army in the time of war, and for erecting and endowing public schools and hospitals in time of peace; and that all the privileges of the clergy should be entirely at the king's disposal.

Vasa, having thus obtained a constitutional title to the revenues of the church, marched through great part of his dominions, at the head of a body of horse, to see the act put into execution, attended by Olaus Petri and other Lutheran doctors, whom he ordered to preach before him in the principal churches. Wherever he came, he commanded the titles and grants by which the clergy held their lands to be brought before him, and either reunited them to the crown, or restored them to the heirs of the ancient proprietors; by which means he recovered from the secular and regular clergy above two-thirds of their revenues, and seized upon near thirteen thousand considerable farms. He also caused the superfluous church plate to be melted down and carried into the public treasury. This, indeed, occasioned some conspiracies and insurrections; but they were easily quelled.

Having now succeeded so happily in suppressing his greatest enemies, he obliged the nobility and gentry who held the crown-lands, which they had kept as their own, to resign their fiefs or to pay the rents that were originally due to the crown. Upon this they were obliged to compound with the king, and agree to pay him annually a certain sum for all their fiefs and manors.

The crown was next rendered hereditary to the issue of the reigning prince by the free consent of the states, and it has accordingly been enjoyed by his descendants until the present century. Gustavus Vasa died in 1560; but the division of the kingdom among his children, the maladministration of his son John, together with the popish tendencies of Erick, John's brother, and of Sigismund, king of Poland, the son of John, threw the kingdom into great disorder, which it required all the energy and prudence of Charles IX. and his son Gustavus Adolphus to suppress. Under the latter prince, who began his reign in 1611, the importance of Sweden rose to its greatest height; his armies supported the protestant interest in Europe, whilst his domestic policy established good order in his kingdom. He reduced the greatest part of Livonia, and penetrated so far into Germany as to become formidable to the emperor; but in the year 1632 he lost his life at the battle of Lutzen, dying in the arms of victory.

This prince was one of those rare mortals that join to the abilities of a great warrior and statesman the virtues that refine and exalt humanity. In his life and death he gained the noblest reward that worth like his could crave.

His daughter Christina succeeded to the throne in 1633, when only six years of age. She wrested from Norway and Denmark the territories of Jemptland and Harjedalen, with the islands of Gothland and Oeland, and in 1648 added Upper Pomerania, Bremen, Verden, and Wismar, to the Swedish dominions. She was no less remarkable for her learning and capacity than for her singularities of conduct. In the year 1654 that princess solemnly resigned the crown of Sweden, and was very instrumental in advancing to the throne her cousin Charles Gustavus, prince palatine of Deux-Ponts, son of John Casimir, prince palatine of the Rhine, by Catherine, daughter of Charles IX. and sister to Gustavus Adolphus, whom her subjects had wished her to make her husband. Charles, who coveted a crown rather than a marriage with his cousin, in 1658 added Schonen, Halland, and other places to the Swedish dominions. His son Charles XI. reassumed all the alienated crown-lands, and rendered himself an absolute monarch.

Charles XI. dying in 1697, in the forty-second year of his age, and the thirty-seventh of his reign, was succeeded by his only son Charles XII., who being under fifteen years of age, a regency was appointed; but the uncommon talents of this young prince soon procured for him the government; and through his mediation the peace of Ryswick was concluded, before he had completed his 16th year. In the year 1700, the Poles, Danes, and Russians, taking advantage of the king's youth,

endeavoured to recover the dominions of which their ancestors had been deprived. The English and Dutch sent a fleet into the Baltic to his assistance, and compelled the Danes to conclude a peace with him. This young prince then marched against the Russians and Poles, whom at the beginning of the war he defeated in almost every engagement, with numbers far inferior to those of his enemies, though he had well-disciplined veteran troops of Saxons to contend with, as well as Russians and Poles.

In the year 1708, the glory of Sweden rose to an unparalleled height. Its king then held the balance of Europe, and might have dictated to all its powers; but the superior address of the duke of Marlborough, whose abilities as a statesman and negotiator were equal to those which he possessed as a general, caused the force of Sweden to be directed against the Russians, which might otherwise have turned the fortune of the war then waging against France. The czar Peter the Great, improving by his former miscarriages, at length formed his troops to conquest: Charles was defeated at Pultowa, in June 1709; his whole army, consisting of 30,000 men, entirely cut off, or made prisoners, except three or four hundred horse, with whom the king escaped to Bender, in Turkey. He there gave signal proofs of a desperate intrepidity as incapable of fear as void of discretion, having with a handful of men performed prodigies of personal valour against the whole force of the Turks; but he was at length made prisoner.

The numerous enemies of Sweden availed themselves of this reverse of fortune. Frederick IV., then king of Denmark, declared war, but could not obtain the object for which he contended. Augustus, the deposed king of Poland, was more successful. The Russians overran the most valuable territories held by the Swedes on the eastern shores of the Baltic, whilst those in Germany were divided among the confederates: Swedish Pomerania was annexed to Prussia, and Bremen and Verden fell into the hands of the Danes, whose king disposed of them to the elector of Hanover, afterwards king George the First of England. Thus were the accessions of territory, which had been made by the princes of the house of Vasa, severed from that kingdom. A peace being ratified in 1714, Charles regained his liberty; but his passion for war hurrying him into fresh broils, he met his death by a cannon-ball at the siege of Frederickshall, when he had invaded Norway, in 1718.

Two more extraordinary characters never appeared on the stage of human life at one time than Peter the Great of Russia, and Charles the Twelfth of Sweden. Of the former we shall speak more at large anon; of the latter it may be safely asserted, that no dangers, however sudden or imminent, ever occasioned in him the least dismay, even when they shook the constancy of the firmest among his followers; he seems, in short, to have been a man divested of the smallest particle of fear; and the manner in which he is related to have endured cold and hunger shows him to have been a prodigy of strength as well as of courage. His rapid successes against the combined force of Denmark, Poland, and Russia, prove him to have been an able general; but although his successes astonished all Europe, yet in their consequences they were fatal to the kingdom which he governed. A strong resentment against the unprovoked attacks made upon him led him to meditate enterprises against his enemies, extravagant and impracticable in their nature; and the cool and undismayed perseverance of his great adversary, the czar Peter, at length prevailed over his ill-directed ardour.

Upon the death of Charles, his sister Ulrica Eleanor ascended the throne, by the free election of the states; but first gave up all pretensions to arbitrary power; and in 1720, by consent of the diet, transferred the government to her husband Frederick, hereditary prince of Hesse Cassel. Frederick having no issue, the states, in 1743, nominated Adolphus Frederick, duke of Holstein and bishop of Lubec, his successor, by a majority of only two votes. Adolphus, on the decease of Frederick, in 1751, assumed the reins of government. He married Louisa Ulrica, sister to the king of Prussia, who lived to the year 1782.

The new form of government established at this juncture, consisted of fifty-one articles, all tending to abridge the powers of the crown, and to render the Swedish sovereign the most limited monarch in Europe. It was settled, that the supreme legislative authority should reside absolutely and solely in the states of the realm assembled in diet, which, whether convened by the king or not, must regularly assemble once in three years, and could only be dissolved by their own consent. During the recess of the diet, the executive power resided in the king and senate; but, as the king was bound in all affairs to abide by the opinion of the majority, and as he possessed only two votes, and the casting voice in case of equal suffrages, he was almost entirely subordinate to that body, and could be considered in no higher view than as its president. At the same time, the senate itself ultimately depended upon the states, as its members, though nominally appointed for life, yet were in a great measure under the control of the states, being amenable to that assembly, and liable to be removed from their office in case of real or pretended malversation. Thus the supreme authority resided in a tumultuous assembly composed of the four orders, into which many nobles without property, the meanest tradesmen, and the lowest peasants, were admitted. Although all the statutes were signed by the king, and the ordinances of the senate issued in his name, yet in neither case did he possess a negative; and, in order to obviate the possibility of his attempting to exercise that power, it was enacted in the diet of 1756, that 'in all affairs, without exception, which had hitherto required the sign manual, his majesty's name might be affixed by a stamp,

whenever he should have declined his signature at the first or second request of the senate.' In consequence of this resolution, the royal signature was actually engraved, and applied to the ordinary despatches of government, under the direction of the senate. In a word, the king enjoyed little more than the mere name of royalty; he was only the ostensible instrument in the hands of one of the two great parties which at that time divided and governed the kingdom, as either obtained the superior influence in the diet. Fully determined to wrest from the senate their assumed power, and to recover that participation of authority which the constitution had assigned to the crown, the king proceeded to a measure both bold and decisive. On the 13th of December 1768, he signed a declaration, by which he formally abdicated the crown of Sweden; and, by giving public notice throughout his dominions of this step, at once suspended all the functions of government. The senate felt their authority insufficient to counteract such a measure, for their orders were disputed by all the colleges of state, who had ceased to transact the business of their several departments. The magistrates of Stockholm, agreeably with the form of government, were proceeding to convoke the order of 'burghers,' which compelled the senate to consent to the desired assembly of the diet; and the king's concurrence was requested to confirm the proclamation for that purpose, which being given, he resumed the reins of government. The meeting of the diet, which took place on the 19th of April 1769, though it coincided in some particulars with the king's views, yet was far from effecting everything which he aimed at.

Adolphus Frederick died February 12th 1771, and was succeeded by Gustavus III., his eldest son, then twenty-five years of age. The accession of this young prince to the throne, with the prepossessions of the people strongly on his side, was a favourable period for extending the power of the crown by the reduction of that of the senate. An aristocracy naturally and rapidly degenerates into despotism; the yoke of which is rendered more intolerable to a people in proportion as the oppressions of a number of tyrants are more grievous than those of a single one. The new king found his people divided into two great political parties, distinguished by the names of 'hats' and 'caps;' the former espoused the interest of the court, the latter the country or patriotic party. The most masterly strokes of policy, as well as the most profound dissimulation, were used by this monarch to circumvent and destroy the influence of the senate. The people were grievously oppressed; for besides the rigorous exactions made on them by their rulers, they suffered every calamity which a year of great scarcity necessarily occasions. The army was devoted to his interest; and his two brothers, prince Charles and prince Frederick Augustus, each commanded a body of troops. The next year, whilst the king was amusing the senate at Stockholm with the warmest professions of disinterestedness, and of his wishes to be thought only the first citizen of a free country, an insurrection of the military happened at Christianstadt, in the province of Scano; which was set on foot by one Hellichius, who commanded there. The plea made use of to justify it was, the tyranny and oppression of the governing powers. Prince Charles, who was purposely in those parts, made this a pretence to assemble the troops under his command, whilst the king, his brother, who was at Ostrogothia, put himself at the same time at the head of the troops there. The senate was much alarmed at these proceedings, whilst the king, with the most consummate dissimulation, expressed his resentment against the insurgents, and his zeal to suppress them; at the same time, by stationing the military force in Stockholm so as to surround the senate-house, he effectually controlled the deliberations carried on there. In this exigency the senate found themselves totally abandoned by the soldiery, whilst the king, being thus supported, was enabled to accomplish a great and almost unparalleled revolution, and to deprive an extensive nation of its liberties in a single morning, without bloodshed, without noise, without tumult, and without opposition; while the people flocked together with as much indifference and tranquillity as if it had been merely some holiday sport.

It is said, only five persons in the kingdom were intrusted with the design. Very few were imprisoned, and that only for a short time; nor did any one experience, in the smallest degree, a diminution of the royal favour on account of their opposition. The senate took a new oath of allegiance to the prince, and tranquillity was restored throughout the kingdom.

Six years after this revolution took place, the king convened the senate; but finding the house of nobles very much disposed to oppose the views of royalty, he suddenly dissolved that assembly.

On the 16th of March 1792, the king being at a masked ball, an assassin, named Ankerstroem, discharged a pistol behind him, the contents of which lodged between the hip and the backbone. The king languished until the 29th, and then expired. The day after he received it, he sanctioned an edict, by which his brother, the duke of Sudermania, was appointed regent of the kingdom, and guardian of his only son, then a minor, being fourteen years of age. This prince, upon the death of his father, succeeded to the crown, under the title of Gustavus IV.

Gustavus IV. accordingly assumed the government under the guardianship of the duke of Sudermania. No sooner, however, had he attained his majority than he embroiled himself in hostilities with France. He next engaged in an unequal contest with Russia: the consequence of which was that the latter overran Finland, and threatened an attack on Stockholm. As Sweden was at the time in alliance with England, a British army, under sir John Moore, was sent over to the assistance of Gustavus; but that general, refusing to submit to the dictates

of the eccentric, if not insane, king, soon returned home. Though the Swedes fought with great courage, they were unable to resist the overwhelming force of the Russians, especially as the limited resources of Sweden were wasted by Gustavus in senseless and impracticable enterprises. At length the Swedes grew weary of a sovereign whose conduct threatened the ruin of their country; he was arrested by some of his officers, deposed, and the crown transferred to the duke of Sudermania, who took the title of Charles XIII. (A.D. 1809); prince Christian of Holstein-Augustenburg (who adopted the name of Charles Augustus) being at the same time declared crown-prince and successor. The new monarch was forced to purchase peace from Russia by the cession of Finland, and the exclusion of British vessels from the ports of Sweden. The crown-prince, however, dying suddenly, marshal Bernadotte, prince of Ponte Corvo, was elected successor to the crown by a diet held at Orebro in 1810; and having accepted the honour, and been adopted by the king under the name of Charles John, he soon after arrived in Sweden, of which he became king on the death of Charles XIII. in 1818.

Sweden now declared war against Great Britain; but the pressure of the war, and the increasing encroachments of France, produced a change of policy in 1812, and she joined the allies against Napoleon. By the peace with Denmark, concluded at Kiel, Jan. 14, 1814, Sweden received Norway as an independent, free, indivisible, and inalienable kingdom, in return for her possessions in Pomerania and the island of Ruger..

Some intrigues and conspiracies for the restoration of the family of Vasa occurred in Sweden; but the estates took the opportunity to give the king the strongest assurances of fidelity. The king and Swedish estates, in order to interrupt all communication with the exiled family, determined to transfer to it all its property remaining in the kingdom, and to extinguish its pension by the payment of a certain sum, mutually agreed upon by the two parties, which was done in 1824.

Since the union of Norway and Sweden, this double kingdom has combined, under one king and two very different constitutions, two proud and free-spirited nations, each jealous of its peculiar privileges. The political condition of Sweden and Norway forms a permanent partition between them: there, a jealous aristocracy is perpetually watching over its ancient privileges; here, the democracy struggles to defend its rights. In both kingdoms the peasantry and the citizens hold a higher rank than in most European states. The nobility of Sweden are subdivided into three classes—the lords, including counts and barons; the knights, or those whose ancestors have held the place of royal councillors; and the simple noblemen. The clergy are represented by the bishop of each diocese, and the citizens and peasants, the latter comprising only the free peasants of the crown, by deputies. The diet or representative assembly of Sweden is composed of four separate chambers, consisting respectively of deputies from the nobility, clergy, burghers, and peasants. The four chambers deliberate and vote separately; but all questions must, previously to their decision in the chamber, be referred to standing committees chosen at the commencement of the diet, consisting of an equal number of members from each order. In most cases, the decrees of the diet must be submitted to the king, who has an absolute veto; but the king has frequently refused his sanction to the resolutions of the diet, and the diet has negatived the proposals of the king, without occasioning a change of ministry, or exciting any feeling of animosity on either side This anomaly is increased by the absolute legislative power which the constitution confers on the king in all matters of internal administration and police, in regard to which the diet merely presents addresses and petitions expressive of their views and wishes.

The sovereign disposes of the higher civil and military offices, from which foreigners are excluded by law. Without the consent of the states, the king cannot enact new laws or abolish old ones; and the constitution requires the king to assemble the states once in five years.

The legislative power in Norway is lodged in the 'storthing,' which meets every three years *suo jure*, and not by any writ from the king or the executive. This 'storthing' enjoys a right possessed by no other legislative assembly in the world. If a bill pass through three successive 'storthings,' it becomes the law of the land without the royal assent; and this right was exerted when the Norwegians abolished their hereditary nobility in 1821. A viceroy, or governor-general, resides at Christiania. The revenue and troops of the kingdoms are kept distinct; and the fortifications of Norway are only in part occupied by Sweden. For the levying of taxes, the consent of the states is necessary; and all the troops and officers are required to take the oath of allegiance to them, as well as to the king. The sovereign has the right to make war and peace, to regulate the judiciary, and to conduct the general administration without restraint. The succession to the throne is hereditary in the male line, according to the law of primogeniture: on the extinction of the male line the states have full power to elect a king. Before his coronation, the king is required to take the inaugural oaths, and to subscribe an engagement to maintain inviolate the evangelical Lutheran religion.

In marshal Bernadotte Sweden and Norway found a king in every respect worthy of their allegiance. Looking steadily to the future, he met present difficulties with firmness and wisdom; and his personal character and his constitutional principles secured him the love and fidelity of his people.

In 1844, Charles XIV. died in his eightieth year, and was succeeded by his son Oscar. On his death in 1859, Oscar was succeeded by his son, Charles XV., who died at Malmo in 1872, to the sincere regret of the people, who thoroughly appreciated his good qualities as a ruler and as a man. Charles XV. was succeeded by his brother, Oscar II

DENMARK.

THE aborigines of Denmark are supposed to have come from Germany, and to have gained their support from the sea. The Cimbri, who derived their origin from them, dwelt in the peninsula of Jutland, the Chersonesus Cimbrica of the Romans. They first struck terror into the Romans by their incursion, with the Teutones, into the rich provinces of Gaul. After this, led by the mysterious Odin, the Goths broke into Scandinavia, and appointed chiefs from their own nation over Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. But the early history of this country is involved in fable, and presents nothing that is interesting to a stranger. All that is known with certainty is, that, at the period of which we are speaking, Denmark was divided into many small states, that the inhabitants gained their subsistence by piracy, and spread terror through every sea, and aloug every coast, wherever they came.

In the eighth century the Danes became formidable to their neighbours by their piratical depredations on the coasts of England, Flanders, Normandy, and Germany. This desultory warfare was maintained for more than two centuries, till at length, their rude and savage manners being somewhat meliorated, they became cultivators of their native soil instead of adventurers at sea. Other causes likewise concurred to put an end to these outrages; that redundant population, which had been the means of pouring forth such swarms of plunderers, no longer continued; many had fallen by the sword in those invasions; conquests had been made, and emigrants had settled on the acquired territories in vast numbers; the introduction of Christianity, in the tenth century, served likewise to abate their ferocity, while the increased strength of the neighbouring states, and the force they had acquired at sea, became too formidable to be contended with.

Canute, or Knut, commonly called the Great, who died in England in the year 1036, advanced the dignity of this kingdom to its highest pitch; but the sovereigns who succeeded him were little distinguished until towards the close of the fourteenth century; when Margaret obtained the regal power on the death of her son Olaus, or Olaf III., who had united the kingdom of Norway to that of Denmark. In the year 1388 (three years after her accession), having defeated and taken prisoner Albert, king of Sweden, she was enabled to urge her pretensions to that crown; of which she obtained possession by the consent of the states, at the assembly of the representatives of the three kingdoms held at Calmar, in the year 1397, at which time a confederated constitution was formed of the greatest consequence to the northern states and called 'the union of Calmar.' This wise and heroic princess, to whom historians have given the distinguishing appellation of 'the Semiramis of the north,' reigned over Denmark and Norway twenty-six, and over Sweden sixteen years. After this, a century elapsed without anything highly important occurring in the history of this country.

Christian I., count of Oldenburg, who came to the throne in 1448, was the founder of the Danish royal family, which has ever since kept possession of the throne, and from which, in modern times, Russia, Sweden, and Oldenburg have received their rulers. He connected Norway, Schleswig, and Holstein with the crown of Denmark, but was so fettered by his capitulations, that he seemed to be rather the head of a royal council than a sovereign king.

In the year 1523, Frederick, duke of Holstein, was raised to the throne by the voice of the people, who, for his cruelty and tyranny, had deposed their king Christian II., in whose reign the crown of Sweden had been dismembered from that of Denmark, and placed on the patriotic brow of Gustavus Vasa. Frederick I. having embraced the doctrines of Luther, the tenets of that reformer spread with great rapidity through the kingdom.

The event which chiefly distinguishes the history of this kingdom since the reign of Frederick I. is the unprecedented revolution which took place in the 17th century, and which merits particular notice here.

Denmark was then governed by a king chosen by a delegation from people of all ranks, assembled in a diet, who in their choice paid a due regard to the family of the preceding prince; and if they found one of his line properly qualified to discharge the duties of that high station, they thought it just to prefer him before any other, and the eldest son before the younger, if his merits warranted the adoption; but if those of the royal family were either deficient in abilities, or had rendered themselves unworthy by their vices, they chose some other person, and sometimes raised a private man to that high dignity. To the king thus elected, and a senate consisting of the principal nobility, the executive powers of government were intrusted.

One of the most fundamental parts of the

constitution was the frequent meetings of the states, in order to regulate everything relating to the government. In these meetings new laws were enacted, and all affairs relating to peace and war, the disposal of great offices, and contracts of marriage for the royal family, were debated. The imposing of taxes was merely accidental, no money being levied on the people, except to maintain what was esteemed a necessary war, with the advice and consent of the nation, or now and then by way of free gift, to add to a daughter's portion. The king's ordinary revenue consisted only in the rents of lands and demesnes, in his herds of cattle, his forests, services of tenants in cultivating his ground, &c., for customs on merchandise were not then known in that part of the world: so that he lived like a modern nobleman, upon the revenues of his estate.

But in the year 1660, the three states, consisting of the nobility, clergy, and commonalty, being assembled in a diet, for the purpose of finding means for discharging the debts incurred by a war with Charles X., king of Sweden, the nobility endeavoured to lay the whole burden on the commons; while the latter, who had defended their country, and particularly their capital, with the utmost bravery, insisted that the nobles, who enjoyed all the lands, should at least pay their share of the taxes, since they had suffered less in the common calamity, and done less to prevent its progress.

At this the nobility were enraged, and many bitter replies passed on both sides. At length a principal senator, standing up, told the president of the city, that the commons neither understood the privileges of the nobility, nor considered that they themselves were no better than slaves. The word slaves was followed by a loud murmur from the clergy and burghers; when Nanson, the president of the city of Copenhagen and speaker of the house of commons, observing the general indignation it occasioned, instantly arose, and swearing that the commons were no slaves, which the nobility should find to their cost, walked out, and was followed by the clergy and burghers, who, proceeding to the brewers'-hall, in the city, debated there on the most effectual means of humbling the arrogance of the nobility. Then it was that the first idea of rendering the crown of Denmark hereditary was started by the bishop of Zealand, but nothing like investing the king with absolute power was at that time thought of, although it was soon after adopted. The assembly afterwards adjourned to the bishop's palace, where the plan of an hereditary succession received the unanimous concurrence of the whole assembly.

Frederick III., who then possessed the crown of Denmark, has been represented as a prince naturally supine and unambitious, of engaging manners and a benevolent heart, yet his habits of life were as little likely to render him highly popular as generally odious; but what the common course of events would not have brought about, the exigencies of the times effected. Charles X. of Sweden having broken the treaty he had entered into at Roskild in the year 1658, and invaded Denmark, for the avowed purpose of subduing both that kingdom and Norway, to annex them to the crown of Sweden, Frederick beheld the impending storm with the firmness of a king; he renounced his beloved ease, led on his troops in person, and by his activity, conduct, and bravery, delivered his capital, repelled the invaders, and forced them disgracefully to evacuate his territories. These achievements deservedly endeared him to the people, and before the fervour of their gratitude had subsided, the dissensions between the nobles and commons broke forth. Had the smallest spark of ambition existed in the king's breast, such an event would have kindled it into a flame; but this prince is represented, by some historians who have related this memorable revolution, as having relapsed into his former habits of inactivity. The intrigues of two principal men in his court brought about an event which he himself showed no solicitude to procure.

The revolution being thus accomplished, a new constitution was established by an edict consisting of forty articles, and entitled 'the royal law of Denmark,' by which the succession was settled on the king's eldest son, and, on failure of male issue, in the female line. The kings of Denmark and Norway were therein declared to be above all human laws, acknowledging in all ecclesiastical and civil affairs no higher power than God alone. They may make, interpret, abrogate, and dispense with laws, except the royal law, which must remain irrevocable, and be considered as the fundamental law of the state. The kings of Denmark have likewise the power of declaring war, making peace, imposing taxes, and levying contributions of all kinds. The kings who have reigned since this revolution have been Christian V (1670); Frederick IV. (1699); Christian VI. (1730); Frederick V. (1746); Christian VII. (1766); Frederick VI. (1808); Christian VIII. (1840); Frederick VII. (1848); and Christian IX. (1863).

In 1792, when the allied powers wished Denmark to take part in the war against France, she maintained her neutrality. But, by her accession to the northern confederacy in 1800, she was involved in a war with Great Britain, in which the Danish fleet was defeated at Copenhagen, April 2, 1801.

The courage of the Danes very deservedly obtained for them a truce; upon which Denmark acceded to the treaty of Russia with England, evacuated Hamburg and Lubeck, of which she then had possession, and received back her own colonies. At length, in 1807, this state was included in Napoleon's continental policy. A French army stood on the borders of Denmark; Russia had adopted the continental system at the peace of Tilsit; and England thought it her duty to prevent the accession of Denmark to this alliance. To carry that object, an English fleet, conveying a large army, was sent up the Sound; and as the Danish government refused to join in a

defensive alliance with Great Britain, as demanded, or to surrender the fleet as a pledge of its neutrality, the capital was bombarded for three days, and the whole fleet, consisting of eighteen ships of the line, fifteen frigates, &c., was delivered up to the British, and carried off in triumph. Great Britain now offered the crown-prince neutrality or an alliance. If he accepted the first, the Danish fleet was to be restored in three years after the general peace, and the island of Heligoland was to be ceded to the British crown. The crown-prince, however, rejected all proposals, declared war against Great Britain in October 1807, and entered into a treaty with Napoleon.

This alliance with France was no sooner concluded than Bernadotte occupied the Danish islands with 30,000 men, in order to land in Sweden, against which power Denmark declared war in April 1808; but this plan was defeated by the war with Austria in 1809. The demand made by the court of Stockholm, in 1813, of a transfer of Norway to Sweden, was followed by a new war with this crown, and a new alliance with France. On this account, after the battle of Leipsic, the northern powers who were united against France, occupied Holstein and Schleswig. Gluckstadt and other fortifications were captured, and the Danish troops driven beyond Flensburg.

The court of Denmark, seeing the unfavourable position in which the country was placed by the declining fortunes of Napoleon, not only concluded a peace with England and Sweden, but entered into an alliance against France, and contributed a body of troops to the allied forces. Denmark was also obliged to cede Heligoland to Great Britain (receiving in exchange several West India islands), and Norway to Sweden (for which she was compensated by Swedish Pomerania and Rugen, which were afterwards exchanged for Lauenburg with Prussia). A peace was concluded with Russia in February 1814.

Since that period the Danish government has steadily exerted itself to draw forth the resources of the country, and to improve the condition of the people. In 1834, provincial states were established; and great improvements were otherwise made in the government and administration of the country. But, useful and valuable as are the reforms of late introduced into the organisation of Denmark, the most brilliant feature in her contemporary history, and that which gives the best proof of her activity and her strength, is the struggle against Germany for the retention of her rights over Schleswig and Holstein. (In the *History of Germany* will be found an account of the origin and consequences of this fierce struggle; and we shall here content ourselves with subjoining for purposes of reference a summary of the leading events by which it was marked.) Frederick VII., who succeeded to the throne, Jan. 20, 1848, commenced his reign with the grant of a constitution to his subjects. Immediately afterwards his ministry introduced measures which, it was supposed, had a tendency to incorporate Schleswig with the crown of Denmark, in violation of ancient stipulations which declared that the German duchy of Holstein and Schleswig should be inseparable. To this severance the German inhabitants of the duchies were adverse. Availing themselves of the *contre-coup* which the French revolution of 1848 produced throughout Europe, they at once formed a provisional government, and appealed to the German people for assistance, which was promptly granted, both in word and deed. Volunteers hastened to the scene of action from all sides; and the Prussian government marched its troops into the country. Meanwhile Copenhagen was put in a state of defence, the navy was refitted, the soldiers were gathered under their colours, and sent towards the heart of the insurrection. On the 9th of April, the Danish army defeated the insurgents, at Bau, near Flensburg in Schleswig. But the Prussians having by this time come to their assistance, on the 23rd of April, the Danes were obliged to leave their position at Denvirk. On the 1st of May, the German army occupied Jutland, under the command of general Wrangel. On the 28th of May and the 5th of June, the Danes fought most gallantly at Duppel and at Nybel, while Wrangel abandoned Jutland on the demand of England, Russia, and France. The armistice of Malmo was concluded the 26th of August; but on the 3rd of April 1849, the war recommenced with a catastrophe for the Danish fleet at Eckernforde. The man-of-war, the Christian VIII., which had sailed into the bay to destroy the batteries of the enemy, was detained there with the Gefion by contrary wind. After an heroic resistance, the Christian VIII. was blown up, and the Gefion surrendered to avoid the destruction of her whole crew.

On the 6th of April a battle was fought at Ulderup; on the 23rd of April and the 7th of May, at Kolding, when the Danish general Rye effected a retreat in Jutland, remarkable for the skill and energy with which it was accomplished. On the 16th of May a Holstein army of 16,000 men commenced the bombardment of Fredericia; on the 6th of July the Danish army made a victorious attack, took the redoubts of the enemy, and threw him into complete disorder. The Prussian army then retired from Jutland. On the 10th of June new armistices and preliminaries of peace were made, and signed on the 2nd of July 1850. But Holstein recommenced the war on its own account, under the command of the Prussian general Willisen. On the 25th of July, the Holsteiners sustained a severe defeat at Idstedt; but skirmishes continued on land and sea till the 5th of October, when general Willisen was again driven back at Frederickstadt. It was not till the beginning of 1851 that the Danish army could return to their homes, after three campaigns which will be remembered in history, and in which members of all classes of society, animated by a common spirit, took part, either as

conscripts or as volunteers. In 1852 a definitive treaty was ratified in London, between England, Russia, Sweden, France, and Prussia on the one hand, and Denmark on the other, recognising the transmission of the Danish crown (in default of male issue in the direct line of King Frederick III. of Denmark) to the issue of Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein, and his consort Louisa, princess of Hesse, in order of primogeniture from male to male, and providing for the continued union of all the states now united under the sceptre of the king of Denmark.

That treaty, however, failed to settle a question which became still more complicated from the relation of the Prussian and Austrian governments to the German Federation. The death of king Frederick VII. and the accession of Christian IX. in November 1863, was followed by a claim on the part of prince Frederick of Augustenburg to the dukedom of Schleswig; and the resistance of Denmark led to an invasion of Prussian and Austrian troops.

It was now abundantly evident that the dispute could be settled only by the arbitrament of the sword. At the close of 1863 the Danish troops evacuated Rendsburg on the Eider, and a body of Saxon troops under general Hake immediately occupied the town. In Holstein popular feeling was almost unanimous in favour of Germany, and declared the duke of Augustenburg the heir of the Schleswig-Holstein crown. The Danes, on the other hand, denied that there was any such crown or any such state: and bishop Monrad, the president of the council, was loudly cheered when he declared that they were going to war to expel from Schleswig all who should dare to intrude into it. But, compared with that of the German confederacy, their military strength was as nothing. They trusted, it seems, to the aid of the western powers, and certain expressions of lord Palmerston were adduced as justifying this hope. They also relied on the strength of the Dannewerke, or the line of fortifications on the north side of the Eider. But this rampart was exceedingly weak on the west side, and here the Germans at once effected a passage. To the demand that he should quit the town of Schleswig, the Danish general de Meza replied that he had orders to defend it. But it was found impossible to resist the Germans. The Danes evacuated Schleswig, and the Austrians occupied Flensburg. But although the Danish general had only abandoned an untenable position, the indignation at Copenhagen was great, and more than one change of commanders took place. On the 7th of February general Wrangel announced that Austrian and Prussian commissioners would administer the civil government of Schleswig, and that the German would henceforth be the official language. But the conquerors were now beginning to quarrel among themselves. Altona was occupied by Prussian troops, and the federal commissioners protested that the continuous occupation of the Holstein territory was reserved for the federal troops alone. The Danish army was now massed at Fredericia, Düppel, and the opposite island of Alsen. Düppel was besieged by the Prussians, and held out until the middle of April, when the last bastions were stormed by the enemy. Fredericia also was abandoned, and the troops crossed over into the island of Fünen. The Prussian general, having entered Jutland, imposed on the province a contribution of 96,000*l.* in compensation of damage alleged to be done to German property, by the capture of ships and cargo by the Danes. The most exorbitant demand was made on Viborg and other towns. A naval victory off Heligoland, achieved by the Danes in the month of May, could have no material effect on the issue of the struggle.

Meanwhile the British government continued its efforts to bring the war to an end. After much difficulty it was agreed that hostilities should be suspended for one month from May 12, and that for this time Denmark should raise her blockades. But when the conference in London entered on its work, it was found that the plenipotentiaries differed widely as to the obligations laid upon them by the treaty of London. Lord Russell proposed to settle the matter by separating Holstein, Lauenburg, and southern Schleswig from the Danish monarchy, on condition that certain compensations were made to Denmark for this loss of territory. To give further time for deliberation, the armistice was extended to the 26th of June; and when this period had nearly expired, the British government proposed to submit the question of frontier, then remaining to be settled, to the arbitration of some friendly power; but to this both the belligerents demurred, and the conference abruptly ended.

In Denmark the Monrad ministry had given place to that of count Moltke. On the 29th of June the Prussians crossed over to Alsen, and the Danes were compelled to retreat after a loss of nearly 3,000 in killed and wounded. This victory caused great exultation at Berlin; but it was followed also by serious squabbles between Hanoverian and Prussian troops at Rendsburg, and the Saxon chambers protested against the occupation of that town by Prussians as a violation of the rights of the German confederation and an outrage upon the honour of the German federal troops.

Denmark was now compelled to accept a peace, the terms of which were, that she give up the duchies of Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg, with all the islands belonging to the first-named duchy, the details of the demarcation of the frontiers to be settled by the definitive treaty of peace. The Prussian minister M. Bismark having called the attention of the British government to the singular moderation and placability shown by the German federation, lord Russell replied that, bein

thus appealed to, he could not deny what that government really felt, viz. that the war and its results were alike unjust, and that as some two or three hundred thousand Danes had been transferred in Schleswig to German rule, the complaints formerly made of tyranny over Germans would now be transferred to the other side. The Danes could indeed say fairly, that they had been overwhelmed by numbers, and the victors lay on no bed of roses. In fact, the victory of the Germans had sown the seeds of another war to be fought out between Prussia and Austria. The Prussian minister no longer affected to conceal his contempt for any resolutions of the federal diet which might be opposed to the alleged rights and interests of Prussia. In December the Schleswigers took leave of the Danish king, in terms which at least deserved as much sympathy as the complaints of the Holsteiners before the war.

For later events connected with the Schleswig-Holstein duchies, the reader is referred to the *History of Prussia*.

NORWAY.

THE observations that have been made respecting the early history of Sweden and Denmark apply also to Norway. Up to the ninth century it was governed by a number of petty princes; until one, more bold and powerful than the rest, named Harold Harfaagre, who had renounced the idols of Scandinavian worship for the doctrines of Christianity, conquered them, and became sole and absolute monarch of the country.

Like the other Christian princes of Europe, Harold Harfaagre was anxious to introduce the feudal system; and having wrested the various petty principalities from those who before possessed them, he reduced the people to a state of vassalage, and placed a governor over each province, to collect the revenues and hold courts of justice. But among so brave and stubborn a race as these Northmen, many there were who, rather than submit to Harold's despotism, emigrated to other countries, Ireland being among the number. They, however, chiefly settled in Iceland, an uninhabited and uninviting spot, yet in time it became not only very populous, but was the favourite resort of their scalds, or poets, and their historians, whom they treated with every mark of honourable regard.

Norway having become a regular and independent kingdom under Harold Harfaagre, during a reign which lasted more than half a century, many customs were introduced which tended to raise the character of the Norwegians as a nation desirous of cultivating the arts of civilised life, but which still would not abate one iota of its warlike pretensions. He had bestowed fiefs on many of the nobles, amongst whom was Rognvald, father of the famous Rollo, duke of Normandy; so that, in fact, it may be said that the usurpation of Harold in Norway led to the settlement of the Normans in France. Harold died in 934, and was succeeded by his son Eric, but as he proved a tyrant, some of the principal chiefs made propositions to his brother Haco, who had been educated in England, and was then residing at the court of king Athelstan. He accordingly went over to Norway, and having pledged himself to abolish the feudal laws, and restore the allodial tenure, he was proclaimed king. Eric, seeing that there was no chance of recovering the throne, collected a fleet, and sailed to the Orkney islands, from which point he could readily assail the coasts of Scotland and Northumbria.

In 1028, Canute the Great, king of Denmark, conquered Norway, but did not long retain possession of it, and the country had its own monarchs again from 1034 to 1380. On the death of Olaf IV., his mother, Margaret, daughter of Waldemar III., king of Denmark, inherited both thrones; from which time Denmark and Norway remained united, till 1814, when its cession to Sweden took place

THE HISTORY OF RUSSIA.

THE original inhabitants of this gigantic empire (which embraces nearly half of Europe, and the whole of northern Asia—reaching from the frontiers of China to the confines of Poland, Sweden, and Turkey—besides having vast possessions on the north-western coast of North America) were doubtless a multitude of nomadic tribes, classed under the common appellation of Sarmatians and Scythians. These northern hordes, at a very early period, began to menace the Roman frontiers, and even before the time of Cyrus had invaded what was then called the civilised world, particularly southern Asia. They inhabited the countries described by Herodotus between the Don and the Dnieper; and Strabo and Tacitus mention the Roxolani, afterwards called Ros, as highly distinguished among the Sarmatian tribes dwelling in that district. The Greeks early established colonies here; and in the second century the Goths came from the Baltic, and, locating in the neighbourhood of the Don, extended themselves to the Danube.

In the fifth century, the country in the neighbourhood of these rivers was overrun by numerous migratory hordes of Alans, Huns, Avarians, and Bulgarians, who were followed by the Slavi, or Sclavonians, a Sarmatian people, who took a more northerly direction than their predecessors had done. In the next century, the Khozari, pressed upon by the Avarians, entered the country between the Wolga and the Don, conquered the Crimea, and thus placed themselves in connection with the Byzantine empire. These and numerous other tribes directed the course of their migrations towards the west, forced the Huns into Pannonia, and occupied the country between the Don and the Alanta; while the Tchoudes, or Ishudi, a tribe of the Finnic race, inhabited the northern parts of Russia. All these tribes maintained themselves by pasture and the chase, and exhibited the usual barbarism of wandering nomades.

The Sclavonians, coming from the northern Danube, and spreading themselves along the Dnieper, in the fifth and sixth centuries, early acquired, from a commerce with their southern neighbours, habits of civilised life, and embraced the Christian religion. They founded in the country afterwards called Russia the two cities of Novgorod and Kiev, which early attained a commercial importance. Their wealth, however, soon excited the avidity of the Khozari, with whom they were compelled to maintain a perpetual struggle; but Novgorod found another and more formidable enemy in the Varangians, a race of bold pirates who infested the coasts of the Baltic and who had previously subdued the Courlanders, Livonians, and Esthonians. To these bold invaders the name of Russes or Russians, is thought by the most eminent authors to owe its origin. Be that, however, as it may, it appears certain that in these dark ages the country was divided among a great number of petty princes, who made war upon each other with great ferocity and cruelty, so that the people were reduced to the utmost misery; and the Sclavonians, seeing that the warlike rovers threatened their rising state with devastation, were prompted by the necessity of self-preservation to offer the government of their country to them. In consequence of this, a celebrated Varangian chief, named Ruric, arrived, in 862, with a body of his countrymen, in the neighbourhood of the lake Ladoga, and laid the foundation of the present empire of Russia by uniting his people with those who already occupied the soil.

Ruric has the credit of being zealous for the strict administration of justice, and enforcing its exercise on all the boyars who possessed territories under him. He died in 879, and was succeeded by his son Ighor, who conquered Kiev, and removed the seat of government from Novgorod to that place. Ighor's widow and successor, Olga, publicly embraced Christianity at Constantinople in 955, and attempted, but without success, to introduce the Greek ritual among the people. Her son Sviatoslaf, after conquering Bulgaria, and even threatening Constantinople itself, fell in battle against the Pesshenegri, near the cascades of the Dnieper, in 972.

The Russian empire continued to flourish till the end of the reign of Vladimir (or Wolodomir), who ascended the throne in 976. Having settled the affairs of his empire, he demanded in marriage the princess Anne, sister to the Greek emperor Basilius Porphyrogenitus. His suit was granted, on condition that he should embrace Christianity. With this the Russian monarch complied; and that empire was thenceforward considered as belonging to the patriarchate of Constantinople. Vladimir received the name of Basilius on the day he was baptised; and, according to the Russian annals, 20,000 of his subjects were baptised on the same day.

The idols of paganism were now thrown down, churches and monasteries were erected, towns built, and the arts began to flourish. The Sclavonian letters were now first introduced into Russia; and Vladimir sent missionaries to convert the Bulgarians, but without much success. We are told that Vladimir called the arts from Greece, cultivated them in the peaceable periods of his reign, and generously rewarded their professors. His merits, indeed, appear to have been ex-

tolled by the monks as the wisest as well as the most religious of kings; his zealous exertions in promoting the profession of Christianity throughout his dominions acquired for him the title of saint; and succeeding historians, comparing the virtues of his character with the age in which he lived, have united in conferring upon him the appellation of Vladimir the Great. He died in 1008, and, contrary to all rules of sound policy, divided his empire among his twelve sons.

Vladimir was no sooner dead than his sons commenced a civil war. Swatopolk, one of the brothers, having destroyed two others and seized their dominions, was in his turn hurled from his eminence by Jarislaus, another brother, who reigned from 1014 to 1045. But as the fugitive prince had found refuge at the court of Boleslaus, king of Poland, it brought on a dreadful war betwixt the Poles and Russians, in which the former were victorious. During the reign of Jarislaus, the progress of Christianity was considerably promoted by his exertions; and besides conferring many important privileges on the mercantile citizens of Novgorod, for whose use he also enacted a body of equitable laws, he built a number of towns throughout his dominions, and encouraged learning as far as it could be attained under all the disadvantages attendant on its acquisition in that dark age.

Jarislaus fell into the same error that his father had committed, by dividing his dominions among his five sons. This produced a repetition of the bloody scenes which had been acted by the sons of Vladimir: the Poles took advantage of the distracted state of affairs to make continual inroads and invasions; and the empire continued in the most deplorable situation till 1237, when it was totally subdued by the Tartars. Innumerable multitudes of these barbarians, headed by their khan, Batto, after ravaging great part of Poland and Silesia, broke suddenly into Russia, where they committed the greatest cruelties. At this time Vladimir II. was the grand duke, who, though he reached not the fame or authority of his ancestors, was acknowledged as czar by the Byzantine emperor Alexis Comnenus, and was the first whose brow was graced with the imperial crown of Russia.

George Sevolodits succeeded his father, and built Moscow in 1147; but the ceaseless insurrections and calamities which had been weakening the strength of the Russian state since the death of Vladimir the Great, facilitated the enterprises of the Mongols; and after the death of George, who was killed in battle, the whole kingdom, with the exception of Novgorod, which preserved its independence by treaties, fell into the hands of the Mongols.

Hitherto the Russian state had made comparatively little progress in civilisation: a circumstance to be attributed to the variety of nations of which it was composed, and to the military constitution of the Varangians. Commerce remained chiefly in the hands of those German merchants who had followed the Christian missionaries who came into Russia after the commencement of the 13th century; and the principal seats of this commerce were the towns of Novgorod and Kiev. The traffic with the south was mostly under the management of Greek merchants. From the time Christianity had been introduced there had been monasteries in Russia; and in these establishments the scanty literature of the age was preserved.

Though reduced to the most degrading servitude by their Asiatic conquerors, the Russians successfully resisted the attempts of new enemies, which appeared in the Livonians, the Teutonic knights, and the Swedes. Jarislaus conquered Finland, but perished by poison among the Tartars. His son Alexander defeated the Danes and Swedes in 1241, in a great battle upon the Neva, and received for this action the appellation of Alexander Nevsky. His youngest son Daniel mounted the throne in 1247. He removed his residence to Moscow, and in 1296 assumed the title of grand duke of Moscow. This prince founded the celebrated palace of the Kremlin in that city, in 1300. Daniel was succeeded by his son George, who successfully resisted the Swedes, and built the town of Orshek, now Schlussenburg.

During several succeeding reigns the Russians had to contend, first with the Tartars, and subsequently with the Livonians and Poles; the miseries of a foreign yoke being also aggravated by all the calamities of intestine discord. The Livonians took Pleskow; and the Poles made themselves masters of Black Russia, the Ukraine, Podolia, and the city of Kiev. Casimir the Great, one of their kings, carried his conquests still farther. He claimed a part of Russia, in right of his relation to Boleslaus, duke of Halitz, who took the duchies of Perzemyslia, Halitz, and Luckow, and the districts of Sanock, Lubackzow, and Trebowla; all which countries he made a province of Poland.

The newly conquered Russians were ill disposed to brook the government of the Poles, whose laws and customs were more contrary to their own than those of the Tartars had been. They joined the latter to rid themselves of the yoke, and assembled an army numerous enough to overwhelm all Poland, but destitute of valour and discipline. Casimir, undaunted by this deluge of barbarians, presented himself at the head of a few troops on the borders of the Vistula, and obliged his enemies to retire. Demetrius, who commanded in Moscow, made frequent efforts to rid himself of the galling yoke. He defeated in several battles Maymay, khan of the Tartars; and, when conqueror, refused to pay them any tribute, and assumed the title of grand duke of Muscovy. But the oppressors of the north appeared in greater numbers than before; and Demetrius, at length overpowered, after a struggle of three years, perished with his whole army, amounting to 240,000 men.

Basilius (or Basilowitz), the son of Demetrius, revenged his father's death. He

attacked his enemies, drove them out of his dominions, and conquered Bulgaria. He made an alliance with the Poles, whom he could not subdue; and even ceded to them a part of his country, on condition that they should help him to defend the rest against any new incursions of the Tartars. But this treaty was a weak barrier against ambition. The Russians found new enemies in their allies, and the Tartars soon returned. Basilius had a son of the same name, to whom the crown ought to have descended; but the father, suspecting his legitimacy, left it to his own brother Gregory, a man of a severe and tyrannical disposition, and therefore hated by the people, who asserted the son's right, and proclaimed him their sovereign. The Tartars took cognisance of the dispute, and determined it in favour of Basilius; upon which Gregory had recourse to arms, drove his nephew from Moscow to the principality of Uglitz, and usurped his throne. Upon the death of Gregory, Basilius returned to Moscow; but Andrew and Demetrius, sons of the late usurper, laid siege to that city, and obliged him to retire to the monastery of Troitz, where they took him prisoner, with his wife and son, and put out his eyes. The subjects of the unfortunate prince, incensed at the cruel treatment he received, forced the perpetrators of it to fly to Novgorod, and reinstated their lawful sovereign at Moscow, where he died. In the midst of this general confusion, John I., the son of Basilius (or, as he is called in the Russian tongue, Ivan Basilowitz), by his invincible spirit and refined policy, became both the conqueror and deliverer of his country, and laid the first foundation of its future grandeur.

In this period the Cossacks arose. The Poles and Lithuanians had conquered the whole of Western Russia to Kiev, and subjected the vanquished people to religious persecution, as well as political oppression; and on the east, the Tartars of the Crimea endeavoured to subdue the Russians. The discontented, therefore, retired into the fertile but uninhabited Ukraine, and adopted a military organisation, under the control of a superior officer styled a *hetman*.

In the promotion of civilisation, Ivan II. surpassed all his predecessors. German artists and learned men were welcomed and liberally rewarded by the czar; printing offices were established; and commerce was promoted by a treaty with Elizabeth of England in 1553. He established a standing army, conquered Kasan in 1552, the kingdom of Astrachan in 1554, and endeavoured to drive the Teutonic knights from Livonia; but Denmark, Poland, and Sweden attacked him, and a conspiracy in the interior broke out. In this embarrassment he implored the emperor Rodolph II. and pope Gregory XIII. to interfere; and the nuncio of the latter brought about the peace of Zapolia between Ivan II. and Stephen Bathory, king of Poland, in 1582, by which Livonia was ceded to Poland. Ivan died in 1584.

Towards the end of Ivan's reign, Yermack, a Cossack, discovered Siberia. Feodor, his successor, conquered Siberia entirely in 1587, and surrendered Esthonia to Sweden in 1595. Feodor, the last of Ruric's descendants, died in 1598; and Russia was shaken by internal convulsions and external wars, which greatly retarded her progress in civilisation. The war of the Polish party with the party of the pseudo-Demetrius was not ended until Michael Feodorowitz (of the family of Romanoff) ascended the throne in 1613; after which a treaty of peace was concluded with Sweden and Poland.

The young Michael was proclaimed, and signed a compact with his new subjects, by which he promised to protect the established religion; to make no new laws, nor change the old; not to raise imposts; and to make neither war nor peace, without the consent of the senate. The Russians, or rather the senators, seized this opportunity to have a part of the government. Michael remained faithful to his promise; and died in 1654, leaving his throne to his son Alexis. So long as the Swedes maintained the ascendancy over the Russians, their principal view was directed to exclude that power from the possession of any port on the Baltic: being well aware that the natural advantages which their rival possessed, would, whenever that powerful empire should avail itself of them, raise the commercial consequence of Russia on the ruin of that of Sweden.

Alexis, the father of his country, was only sixteen years of age at his accession to the throne. The despotism and insolence of his ministers drew upon him the hatred of the people during his minority; but when he took upon himself the government, he was both loved and respected. He encouraged an intercourse with foreign nations, and induced educated and laborious strangers to people his desert provinces; and Russia, under him, began to be known to the principal powers of Europe and Asia. Ambassadors from China and Persia visited Moscow; and Alexis sent, for the first time, his ambassadors to France and Spain. More generous, or less politic, than the other monarchs, he refused to receive the ambassador of Cromwell, declaring that he never would acknowledge the pretended protector of England. He died in 1676.

Manufactures, arts, and military discipline were introduced in this active reign; and although an unsuccessful war was waged with Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, yet the boundaries of the empire were extended. Theodor, or Feodor, his son, succeeded, on the death of his father, in 1677; and after a beneficial reign which continued seven years, on his death-bed he nominated his half-brother Peter, to the exclusion of his elder brother Ivan or John, whose imbecile mind disqualified him for the arduous task of government. Notwithstanding this, the intrigues of their sister Sophia, a restless and ambitious woman, stirred up civil commotions, which only subsided on the death of John in 1696, when Peter became sole sovereign of all the Russias.

The private character of the czar was by no means so irreproachable as to lead his

subjects to form any exalted notions of his future course; but, in spite of all disadvantages, he applied himself to the moral and political regeneration of his country. During the administration of the princess Sophia, he had formed a design of establishing a maritime power in Russia; and at the very commencement of his reign he defeated the Turks, from whom he wrested the port of Azof, which opened to his subjects the commerce of the Black Sea. The first object of his ambition being thus attained, he resolved to carry out his design of making Russia the centre of trade between Europe and Asia—to connect the Volga, the Dwina, and the Don, by canals, thus opening a water communication between the northern seas and the Black and the Caspian seas. To complete this magnificent plan, he determined to build a city on the Baltic sea, which should be the emporium of northern commerce and the capital of his dominions. He did not, however, rely simply on this stupendous undertaking for carrying out his maritime and commercial plans. He felt that it was necessary for some of the young nobility to travel into foreign countries for improvement, not according to our notions of foreign travel, but for the express purpose of learning whatever was likely to be most useful to the country of their birth, either in cultivating the arts of peace, or in maintaining the discipline of war. He accordingly sent sixty young Russians into Italy; most of them to Venice, and the rest to Leghorn in order to learn the art of constructing their galleys. Forty more were sent out by his direction into Holland, with the intention of instructing themselves in the art of building and working large ships; some were sent to Germany to serve in the land-forces, and to learn the military discipline of that nation; while others were elsewhere despatched in pursuit of whatever knowledge was likely to be rendered advantageous at home.

Nor did the patriotic emperor stop even there. Having established a regency to direct the government during his absence, he himself left his dominions, and travelled *incognito* through various European states. Having arrived at Amsterdam, he inscribed his name as Peter Michaeloff in the list of carpenters of the India Company. Here he performed all the duties of his situation; and, at the intervals from labour, studied mathematics, fortification, navigation, and drawing plans. From Holland he came to England, where he completed his studies in ship-building, and examined the principal naval arsenals. King William permitted him to engage several ingenious English artificers, and he returned, by way of Holland and Germany, to Moscow, after an absence of nearly two years, having acquired a fund of knowledge which afterwards so much contributed to his country's glory.

He had no sooner arrived than he was followed by crowds of every species of artisans, to whom he held out the greatest encouragement; and for the first time were seen large Russian vessels on the Baltic, on the Black sea, and on the ocean. Architectural building began to rise among the Russian huts; colleges, academies, printing-houses, and libraries, sprang up under his fostering hand. Habits and customs were changed by degrees, although with difficulty, and the Muscovites began to know something of civil society.

At the same time commerce had its birth in Russia. Laws, military and marine discipline, and manufactures, the sciences and fine arts, and all that appeared to him desirable in nature, were introduced. [The leading events of his war with Charles XII. being related in the *History of Sweden*, are here omitted.] Peter died, regretted by his subjects, in 1725; and was succeeded by his wife, the empress Catherine I., who supported the splendour of the empire, and held the sovereignty of Russia with a firm rule till her death, which happened two years after her elevation.

Peter II., grandson of Peter the Great, being only twelve years of age, then became czar. The reins of government, during his minority, were held by prince Menzikoff, whom the first Peter had advanced to the highest offices in the state, and who was no less the favourite of the czarina, Catherine. The young czar dying in 1730, Anne, duchess of Courland, niece to Peter the Great, and daughter of Ivan, ascended the throne, which she filled ten years. This empress rendered herself memorable by the decisive turn she gave to the contests which arose in Europe; she assisted the emperor Charles VI., frustrated the schemes of the French ministry for placing Stanislaus on the throne of Poland, and actually procured the crown for his competitor Augustus, at the same time that she triumphed over the Turks and Tartars, the natural competitors with Russia.

Ivan, or John III., great-nephew to Anne, became her successor, when only two years of age. This infant, the son of the princess Anne of Mecklenburg, was deposed by the general concurrence of all ranks in the empire; and the princess Elizabeth Petrowna, daughter to Peter the Great by the empress Catherine, was raised to the imperial dignity in December 1741. Her reign, which continued twenty years, was prosperous. In the war which broke out on the continent in 1756, she took a decided part in favour of the house of Austria; and was on the point of crushing the Prussian monarch, and possessing herself of his most valuable territories, when death suddenly closed her career, in 1762.

Her nephew, Charles Peter Ulric, duke of Holstein, grand duke of Russia, now became czar, by the title of Peter III. The friendship which this prince bore to the king of Prussia saved that hero from his impending fate, and converted a formidable enemy into a powerful ally. An intemperate zeal, which led Peter to attempt cutting off the venerable beards of his clergy, and to abolish some established and favourite military fashions, joined to an unbounded fondness for a mistress, and a strong antipathy to his wife and son, terminated his reign in a few months.

The general odium which Peter III. had drawn upon himself, united all orders of his subjects against him; he was seized and deposed, and his wife raised to the imperial dignity, by the title of Catherine II., in July 1762. The captive prince was soon after cruelly deprived of life. Some letters written by the king of Prussia to this weak prince, found after his decease, which strongly recommended to him a change of conduct, and particularly pleaded in behalf of his repudiated consort, fixed that princess in the interests of Frederick.

Catherine II. was notoriously licentious, yet her reign may be regarded as one of the most prosperous in the annals of Russia. As soon as she had relieved the country from an exhausting war, she invited artisans and workmen of all kinds to settle in her empire, and collected around her distinguished foreigners to assist her in improving the laws, and infusing a healthy vigour into the commerce of Russia. She was victorious by land and sea against the Porte, with whom she concluded a peace in 1774, whereby Russia gained a considerable accession of territory.

In 1776, Catherine divided her empire into separate governments. In 1780, she instituted the armed neutrality between Russia, the emperor of Germany, Prussia, and Portugal, against the naval power of the English; and, three years afterwards, she planned the expulsion of the Turks from Europe, and the reestablishment of the Byzantine empire: but some political considerations caused the execution of this project to be abandoned at the time, and when it was resumed, ten years later, it by no means succeeded to the extent that had been anticipated.

At the conclusion of the Turkish war in 1792, the Dniester became the frontier of Russia towards Moldavia and Bessarabia; and as the war with Sweden was now converted into an alliance with that power, the ambitious empress again turned her eyes upon Poland, whither her army marched with the certainty of conquest; and on the occasion of the second partition, in 1793, a territory of 86,000 square miles was added to the Russian empire. On the remaining part of Poland she imposed the most oppressive restrictions, which produced a formidable rebellion in 1794. The gallant Kosciusko strove hard to effect the independence of his country, but he was overwhelmed by numbers and taken prisoner, while Suwarrof stormed and devastated with more than barbarian fury the suburbs of Warsaw. The dissolution of the kingdom was now at hand; and in the third partition of Poland, in 1795, Russia extended her power towards the west as far as the Vistula. It now extended itself from the shores of the Baltic to the western end of North America and the Japan islands. Yet, in the midst of her military operations, the empress protected and encouraged the arts and sciences, and gave a new code of laws to the subjects of her vast empire. She died November 17, 1796, and was succeeded by her son Paul I., who, capricious as he was, began his reign by a noble act of justice, namely, the liberation of the brave Kosciusko.

The late empress had engaged early in the confederacy against France; but, from some unexplained cause, did not come into action against that power. The emperor Paul likewise remained almost in a neutral state, until the beginning of the year 1799, when he sent a powerful army to the assistance of the allies into Italy, under the command of Suwarrof, a general well known before by his conquests and cruelties in Poland. The successes of this man were extraordinary during several months after his arrival in Italy; but towards the end of the campaign, his good fortune seemed to desert him; and it was not without great difficulty and loss that he reached Germany across the Grisons country, harassed by the French armies under Moreau and Massena.

The ill success of the Russian arms against the French, augmented by the bad understanding which subsisted between his generals and those of Austria, appeared to have an extraordinary effect on the mind of the emperor Paul, who, from having been the uncompromising enemy of Buonaparte, now entered into amicable correspondence with him, and became one of his most ardent admirers. He laid an embargo on all the English vessels in his ports, and induced Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia to join him in the northern armed confederacy. But on the night of the 23rd of March 1801, just at the time the British fleet was sailing through the Sound to the attack on Copenhagen, Paul was assassinated by some of the Russian nobility whom he had treated with harshness and contumely. How far his sons were cognisant of what was going on, it is impossible to tell; but it was generally believed that they were in the secret, and connived at it from a conviction that their father intended to immure them in a fortress. And such an event was very probable, for there is little doubt of his being insane at the time.

On Alexander, the late emperor's eldest son, succeeding to the throne, a degree of energy and consistency was soon seen in every department of the government. Separating himself from the northern league, he concluded a treaty with Great Britain (June 7, 1801), and at the same time renounced the grand-mastership of Malta, which had been conferred on his father. In June 1802, he appeared, for the first time, personally among the potentates of Europe, and had an interview with the king of Prussia at Memel. France, under the guidance of Napoleon, was at this period making rapid conquests in the south of Europe; Buonaparte having been, in the preceding month, crowned king of Italy at Milan; shortly after which he annexed Genoa to France. But the cabinet of St. Petersburg seems wisely to have thought that its distance from the scene of action might well excuse the emperor from any active interference with belligerent states. He, however, confirmed the incorporation of the government of Georgia with the Russian empire, concluded treaties of peace

with France and Spain; and offered, in 1803, to interpose his good offices in restoring the newly ruptured peace between England and France and Spain. But after the execution of the duke d'Enghien all intercourse between Russia and France ceased; and in April 1805, Alexander joined the third coalition against France: but the loss of the battle of Austerlitz clouded the prospects of the allies, and the Russian emperor returned to Petersburg.

The battle of Eylau was fought on the 8th of February 1807; that of Friedland, on the 4th of June following. The Russians then retired, and after an interview between the two emperors, which took place on the river Niemen, in a handsome pavilion erected on a raft for the occasion, peace was concluded on the 8th of July 1807. At this memorable interview the outward forms of friendship were displayed between these rival monarchs, and an abundance of courtly dissimulation used to testify the sincerity of their professions.

Alexander, by this compact, acknowledged the brothers of Buonaparte as kings respectively of Naples, Holland, and Westphalia; he formally recognised also the confederation of the Rhine, and promised to acknowledge all the sovereigns who might hereafter become members of that confederation. He engaged that hostilities on the part of Russia should instantly cease with the Ottoman Porte. He undertook also to mediate for a peace between England and France; and if he should prove unsuccessful, he was to close the ports of Russia against all British ships; which, in fact, was soon after done. In 1808, Alexander had an interview with Napoleon at Erfurth, and afterwards took part, as the ally of France, in the war with Austria; but his want of zeal in the cause was too evident to escape the penetration of the French emperor, and a growing coldness between the imperial allies began to appear.

Great injury had been done to Russian commerce, and heavy complaints made by merchants, in consequence of their ports having been shut against the English; they were therefore again opened to them, provided they hoisted American colours, while French goods were very strictly prohibited. This induced Napoleon to make himself master of the principal northern ports of Germany, and to incorporate the possessions of the duke of Oldenburg, a near relation of Alexander, with France. Against this proceeding Russia made a very energetic protest; and, as early as 1811, five Russian divisions assumed a position opposite Warsaw. On the other hand, Napoleon caused the fortresses on the Vistula and Oder to be declared in a state of siege, sent thither large masses of troops, and occupied Swedish Pomerania, because Charles XIII. of Sweden declined a closer connection with France.

The contest in Spain was at this time daily growing more obstinate, and the large amount of men and money it consumed might well have appeared to Napoleon a sufficient obstacle to a struggle with Russia; but he calculated that his army, amounting to nearly a million of effective men, would be sufficient for the conflict in both quarters: and he also relied upon a great mass of auxiliary forces, chiefly promised by the confederation of the Rhine; besides his alliance with Prussia and Austria, which covered him on both flanks, and secured his retreat. He, however, made peaceable offers, through the count de Narbonne, his ambassador; but the object of his mission being unattained, half a million of soldiers, consisting of French, Germans, Italians, Poles, Swiss, Spaniards, and Portuguese, with more than 1,200 cannon, were put in motion, about the end of July, to attack the Russians on the other side of the Niemen and the Vistula. The Russians, in three divisions, occupied a line including Kiev and Smolensk to Riga. The first western army of 127,000 men, in Lithuania and Courland, was commanded by Barclay de Tolly, who had till then been minister of war; the other western army, of 48,000 men, was commanded by prince Bagration. A third body of forces served to keep up the communication between the other two.

All the disposable property and records had long before been generally conveyed into the interior. The first western Russian army was stationed along the Niemen as far as Grodno, and comprised six corps of infantry and two of cavalry. The second western army was in the vicinity of Honim, consisting of four battalions of infantry and one of cavalry. The communication was kept between them by the hetman Platoff, with 10,000 Cossacks, at Bialystock. The army of Volhynia, under Tormasoff, at Lutzk, was composed of two divisions of infantry and one of cavalry, containing together about 20,000 men; and there were other corps stationed elsewhere, amounting to about 40,000 men more.

The Russian plan of the campaign was—by retreating, to avoid a decisive battle, until the enemy should be remote from all his resources, and weakened by marches through a desolate region, and the Russian army should be so considerably strengthened by the accession of all the forces that might be meanwhile raised, as to have a decided superiority. Napoleon's scheme, on the contrary, was—to use every effort to compel the Russians to battle, to destroy them after the defeat, and, pressing forward with haste to the capital, to proffer peace. But he not only entirely mistook the character of his enemy, but he overlooked the important fact, that though the Russians might retreat, they would still be in possession of their resources.

On the 6th of June, Napoleon passed the Vistula, and, shortly after, the Niemen. 'Russia,' said he, in one of his favourite harangues, 'is dragged along by a fatality! Her destinies must be accomplished.—Are we no longer to be regarded as the soldiers of Austerlitz? Let us carry the war into her territory: a second war in Poland will be as glorious to the French arms as the first.' After several severe battles, and the loss of many men on each side, the victory

generally inclining in favour of the French, the main body of the Russian army retired to Smolensk. Fatigue, and want of all kinds, had meanwhile operated so detrimentally on the French army, that it was obliged to halt at this point for ten days, during which the two Russian armies finally formed a junction under the walls of Smolensk. They then immediately began to act on the offensive. With 12,000 cavalry they attacked general Sebastiani, and drove him back with considerable loss. On the 17th of August the main body put itself in motion to encounter the French army, which had advanced in order, if possible, to compel a general battle. When Napoleon saw his attempts to surround the right wing of the Russians defeated, he ordered his right wing, under Poniatowski, to hasten by way of Ortza, by rapid marches, to cut off the Russians from Moscow. On the other hand, Bagration hastened to defend this road, and Barclay de Tolly sought to retard the enemy as much as possible. Smolensk, an old place, formerly strongly fortified, and the whole position on the Dnieper, greatly favoured his plan; and not till the midnight of the 17th, after a loss of many thousands, did the French succeed in taking this bulwark, reduced for the most part to a ruin.

The Russian army retired in haste, burning all the towns through which it passed, while Napoleon followed, his troops suffering more and more from want and the climate. Meanwhile, Barclay de Tolly had to resign the chief command to Kutusoff, who had reaped new laurels in the Turkish war just ended. Reinforced by militia and reserves, he resolved to await the enemy seventy miles from Moscow, in a strong entrenched position. The French came up, and a terrible battle ensued, in which the Russians lost 25,000 men The French estimated their own loss at 10,000: it was, however, supposed to be nearer double that number. The Russians remained masters of the field of battle; and, without any great loss of artillery, and still less of prisoners, they were able to retire to Moscow. Napoleon, after two days' repose, followed them; and Kutusoff, instead of awaiting his enemy at the gates of Moscow, marched through.

The news of Kutusoff's defeat had spread the greatest consternation at Moscow. Hastily collecting their money and valuables, the nobles fled, abandoning their palaces and furniture to the mercy of the invaders. Merchants and tradesmen closed their warehouses and shops, seeking refuge from the enemy wherever they could find shelter; the sick and wounded were conveyed away from the hospitals in waggons; and the prisons were cleared of their inmates, who were sent under an escort to Novgorod. And now the flames burst forth from the house of count Rostopchin —sure and awful evidence that the patriotic governor, by setting fire to his own residence, intended that the venerable city should not harbour the enemies of his country. The conflagration of the governor's house was the signal for the rest; and suddenly were seen, issuing from various quarters of Moscow, vivid columns of fire and dense masses of smoke. Doomed, as it were, to pass their winter amid the inhospitable snows of Russia unless they could extinguish the flames, the French soldiery exerted themselves to the utmost to stay the devouring element; but though they partially succeeded, so little remained of Moscow, that it was incapable of affording them protection. It must be remembered, also, that the French troops having had permission to plunder the city, such a scene of confusion and drunkenness followed, that numbers of them perished in the burning ruins.

All the hopes which Napoleon had built on the possession of Moscow were now disappointed; famine and desolation stared him in the face; and as the Russians gathered round on all sides, it was evident that nothing could save his army but a speedy retreat or peace. Every day heightened their sufferings, the provisions having been wasted, and foraging becoming continually more dangerous, from the conflux of Russian peasants and Cossacks. At length, on the 19th of October, the French evacuated Moscow, and commenced their retrograde march. The country was a desert; and the privations felt by the army had dissolved all bonds of obedience, while the severity of the winter now covered the roads with ice and snow, destroying men and horses by thousands. By the 12th of November they reached Smolensk. But in vain had the remnants of the army hoped to find there repose and nourishment. The increasing numbers of the Russians, who hovered round and harassed the retreating enemy, prevented them from repairing any of their vast losses, or of reinvigorating themselves by rest. At the passage of the Beresina they lost 20,000 men, and a great part of their baggage and artillery; and the cold, which increased every day, together with the most horrible want, carried disorder, misery, and despair to the highest pitch. At length Napoleon intrusted the command of his shattered army to Murat, and hastened himself, under the strictest incognito, by way of Warsaw and Dresden, to Paris. Marshals, officers of high and low rank—all who could—followed the example of their emperor. No company kept long together. The sole object of all was to save life.

The emperor Alexander, who had hitherto only fought for independence, now resolved in his turn to become the aggressor; and, joining his army in Poland, published, in February 1813, the celebrated manifesto, which served as a basis for the coalition of the other powers of Europe against the rapacity of the French. The king of Prussia at the same time summoned all capable of bearing arms to battle for their country; and though he did not then designate his object, his people, who for five years had been humbled and degraded, understood him, and, with unparalleled enthusiasm, thousands poured forth from the places of rendezvous from every section of the country. In vain had the French, with the aid

of their last reserves and of troops drawn together in haste, made efforts to remain on the Pregel, on the Vistula, and on the Oder. The Russians advanced slowly indeed, but everywhere with overwhelming power; and all that the French could do was to retire behind the Elbe with the least possible loss. Prussia now declared war against France, and concluded an alliance with Russia; the confederation of the Rhine was dissolved; and, though Austria remained neutral, the popular insurrection was almost universal in northern Germany. Happily for Napoleon, the Prussians and Russians were not in a state to derive the full advantage from this situation of things. The forces of the Russians were almost exhausted, those of the Prussians had first to be formed; much time was lost in negotiations with the king of Saxony, and Kutusoff fell sick and died at Buntzlaw. These circumstances were promptly taken advantage of by Napoleon; but though this prolonged the contest, it proved but of little avail in the sequel.

In August the war was resumed with great vigour, Austria participating in it as an ally of Russia and Prussia. Napoleon had been joined by a corps of chosen men, chiefly cavalry, which had come from Spain; and the chances of victory, for a time, once more appeared to be in his favour. But after the battle of Dresden, where Moreau was mortally wounded, his progress was arrested by the defeat of Vandamme, at Culm; by the simultaneous overthrow of his army in Silesia, under Macdonald; by the hard-fought battles at Gross-Beerea; at Belzig; and by the defeat which Ney suffered at Deunewitz. In addition to these misfortunes, want of all kinds prevailed in exhausted Saxony, and lamentations in the hospitals, where thousands died of dysenteries and fevers. At last, by some rapid, well-covered marches, Blucher formed a junction on the Elbe with the crown-prince of Sweden, while he surprised a French corps under count Bertrand, and took up a position between the Muldan and the Elbe. As soon as he was advised of this, Napoleon started from Dresden, in the hope of overpowering them both separately: but they had already crossed the Muldan to the Saale. The great Bohemian army had also advanced on his right flank. These and Blucher's flying corps met in his rear; and general Thielemann, who had exchanged the Saxon service for the Russian, took whole troops of French fugitives, and fought several battles between the Elster and the Saale, almost all of which resulted to the disadvantage of the French.

Napoleon now proceeded with his main army to the plains of Leipsic, where he arrived October 13. Here Schwartzenberg had already commenced a reconnoissance against the king of Naples; meanwhile Augerau's division had been greatly reinforced; and, as he had probably thought he had deceived the crown-prince and Blucher by movements made on the other side of Wittenberg, and that he had gained so much time that he could meet the great Bohemian army alone in a decisive engagement, he did not delay to encounter it in the spacious plain near Leipsic. The engagement commenced about nine o'clock in the morning of October 16. After severely destructive attacks on both sides, Napoleon had gained some ground in the centre and on the left wing. But the duke of Ragusa, who occupied a wide line to the north of Leipsic, was unexpectedly attacked by Blucher with the greatest impetuosity, totally defeated after an obstinate resistance, and driven back in disorder.

On the 17th Napoleon negotiated through count Meerveldt, who had been taken prisoner, for liberty to retire undisturbed, and for an armistice; both of which proposals were the less listened to, because the allies could now conduct their operations with a mutual understanding, the crown-prince of Sweden having joined Blucher with upwards of 60,000 men, and general Bennigsen, with almost as many, being hourly expected from Grimma. On the 18th of October, therefore, a fearful conflict took place at Leipsic. The French fought with desperation, to save their honour and secure their retreat, which had been commenced at daybreak: but on the following day their retreat was converted into a flight, and a general overthrow. This battle emancipated Germany. Bavaria had already renounced the confederation of the Rhine, and united with Austria. All the German princes followed this example, with the exception of the king of Saxony, Jerome of Westphalia, and the prince-primate. After the loss of many thousands, in prisoners and wounded, Napoleon, assailed or harassed in every quarter, was obliged, in order to gain the Rhine, to sustain a desperate conflict with the Bavarians and Austrians stationed at Hanau. The allies made a halt on the Rhine, in order to unite the forces of liberated Germany with those furnished by England and Holland. Even the Danes, who had been forced to form the closest union with Napoleon, in consequence of the hard terms proffered them by England and Sweden in the spring of 1813, were obliged to concede all that they had formerly refused.

French affairs in Spain had also taken a most unfavourable turn. Marshal Jourdain had been totally defeated by Wellington at Vittoria, had been forced back to the Pyrenees, with the loss of his artillery; and, subsequently, Soult and Suchet had with difficulty kept the English from the soil of France itself, and it was consequently necessary to send thither new forces. The French senate, always before obsequious enough, now ventured to remonstrate, when repeated decrees of the emperor had already ordered the levy of nearly half a million of conscripts, the organisation of cohorts of national guards, and the formation of four armies of reserve. Still stronger terms of dissatisfaction were used by some of the deputies; and, in consequence of the general indignation at the enormous expenditure of human life, great difficulties now presented themselves in the formation of a new French army.

Beyond the Rhine from Switzerland to

Holland, the allies found but little resistance. They made themselves masters of all the passes to Italy, of the cities of Geneva, of the roads over the Simplon and St. Bernard, and early in January they occupied a new line, covered on the left by the Seine, on the right by the Meuse, in Alsace, Lorrainé, Deux-Ponts, &c., with the exception of the invested fortresses. Napoleon had issued a proclamation for a kind of general rising of the people: but measures of this kind, which worked wonders in the revolution, were now almost wholly disregarded. Meanwhile the allied troops steadily advanced, and though several engagements took place, in no instance had a French general strength enough to maintain the most important points against the overwhelming force of the invaders.

On the 1st of February was fought the sanguinary battle of Brienne, in which Napoleon lost 12,000 prisoners and seventy-three cannon. He had 70,000 men in the field, and no blame can attach to either them or their commander for the loss of the day; the most desperate resistance on the part of the troops, and the most active superintendence on the part of Napoleon, being everywhere apparent. Eager to improve their first victory on French ground, the allies pushed forward, and divided their forces, of which Napoleon, with great boldness and address, took advantage. But, though he had received considerable reinforcements from the army in Spain, he was too much enfeebled to prevent the Russian, Austrian and Prussian commanders from proceeding towards Paris in two large columns, one on the Seine, the other on the Marne.

The operations of the allied troops from this period, and the important consequences which followed, having already been detailed in previous portions of this volume, we deem it unnecessary to pursue the subject farther. In all the transactions which took place relative to the abdication of Buonaparte, the occupation of Paris, &c., the emperor Alexander took the lead; and with a noble magnanimity, as if oblivious of the wrongs his own country had received, he endeavoured to allay those feelings of vengeance in some of his allies which, without such humane consideration, might have laid the French capital in ashes, and have given rise to a new war far more dreadful than the one which he had been so instrumental in bringing to a glorious termination.

As it was considered necessary, after all the violent changes on the continent of Europe, that the boundaries of each sovereign should be permanently fixed, a congress of the sovereigns and ministers of the principal powers was held at Vienna. This being a favourite idea of the emperor Alexander, and principally emanating from him, he took the most prominent part in it. But in the interval between the abdication of Napoleon and the meeting of congress, Alexander, accompanied by the king of Prussia and several distinguished foreigners in their respective suites, paid a visit to the prince regent of England, by whom as well as by the people at large they were received with every token of respect and hearty welcoming.

But before any final arrangements were made by the allied powers, the congress was suddenly broken up, in consequence of the return of Buonaparte from Elba to France. The allied armies of Russia, Prussia, and Austria once more prepared to take the field; but the English, Belgians, and Prussians, at the battle of Waterloo, decided the fate of Europe, and for ever sealed the fate of him who had so long been its tyrant and disturber.

It is now necessary to revert to the affairs of Russia, in connection with the Ottoman empire, as they existed previous to the French invasion. It had been a favourite scheme of ambition with Catherine II. to expel the Turks from Europe; with that view she had sought every opportunity, however frivolous the pretence, of engaging them in hostilities; and as the Turks were generally worsted, Russia gradually acquired some new territory, and a greater influence over the Sublime Porte. The Russians had also been at war with Persia. By the peace of Bucharest, signed in May, 1812, the former power ceded Moldavia as far as the Pruth, Bessarabia and the chief mouths of the Danube; the peace of Tiflis, in 1813, with the latter, gained for Prussia all the territory west of the Caspian sea, between the Kur and the Araxes, Georgia having been united before; and on the east coast as far as the Gulf of Balkan, with the exclusive navigation of the Caspian sea. The Russian empire having become so extensive and formidable, Alexander took every means, by founding and supporting the holy alliance, to maintain his high position. After the conquest of Aix-la-Chapelle, Russia appears to have discovered that her influence over Europe would be best promoted by the continuance of peace, which would enable her to develope those resources which make a country formidable in war; and to that end Alexander reorganised almost the whole interior of his empire.

Among other matters that were settled at the congress of Vienna, it was determined that Poland should be annexed to the Russian empire, with a separate government; and Alexander was accordingly crowned king of Poland. The remainder of his reign was spent in the most laudable exertions for the benefit of his people. The abuses which were practised in all departments, civil, military, and judicial, required great resolution and perseverance to correct; and the emperor set about this work of reformation with all the honesty and zeal of a patriot prince. He made frequent tours through his provinces, in order to be an eye-witness of the local administration of the laws; and he neglected no opportunity of improving the general condition of his subjects, and of abolishing vassalage; but the resistance made to his benevolent exertions in this latter measure prevented him from carrying out his intentions to any great extent. He, however, encouraged the arts and literature, and effected many salu-

tary changes in the condition of the people, while he patronised commerce, encouraged manufactures, and promoted the diffusion of knowledge, by means of the press, which was protected by a careful censorship from the pestilent effects of licentiousness in morals and of sedition in politics.

The emperor Alexander died Dec. 1, 1825, at Taganrog, a town, founded by Peter the Great, on the sea of Azof. He was succeeded by Nicholas,—the grand duke Constantine, afterwards viceroy of Poland, having renounced his right to the throne of Russia, according to a previous arrangement. A conspiracy soon after broke out, when the regiments of the guard, who had taken the oath to Constantine immediately after Alexander's death, refused to take the oath to Nicholas, and a tumult ensued, which was suppressed at last by the mingled firmness and moderation of the emperor. On the matter being afterwards investigated, it appeared that it was the result of a conspiracy which had existed for years; and different punishments were assigned, according to the degrees of guilt of the parties implicated; some being executed, some banished to Siberia, and others imprisoned; but the far greater number were pardoned.

Soon after Alexander's death, a war with Persia broke out, in consequence of disputes arising from the non-settlement of certain boundaries between Russia and that power. Abbas Mirza, who had just then succeeded to the throne of Persia, thinking the moment propitious for attacking Russia, at once marched over the frontier, and advanced as far as Elizabethpol; but the Persians were defeated, and driven back. War was now immediately declared against them, and general Paskiewitch, being appointed commander-in-chief, passed the Araxes, took several strong fortresses, entered ancient Media with no opposition, and forced the shah to sue for peace, compelling him to give up an extensive territory on the south-western shore of the Caspian sea, with some provinces on the Caucasus, besides making them pay the expenses of the war, and the losses by the invasion.

The Caucasus consists of two parallel chains of mountains in western Asia, covering the country between the Black and the Caspian seas. They extend nearly seven hundred miles, and are rendered almost impassable by rushing torrents, steep precipices, and frightful avalanches. The summits of these mountains are covered with perpetual snows, and are mostly barren, but the lower parts are clothed with thick forests, and the plains abound in orchards, vineyards, corn-fields, and pastures. It comprises the provinces of Georgia, Circassia, Melitenia, Great and Little Kabarda, Daghestan, which is the mountain-land bordering on the Caspian sea, and Schirvan, called the Paradise of Roses, from the abundance of beautiful flowers which grow there spontaneously. The tribes who dwell in the higher regions of the Caucasus, especially the Lesghians, who inhabit the most eastern parts, live by plundering their neighbours, and are held in such terror, that several tribes purchase immunity from their depredations by paying them tribute.

The war with Persia was scarcely ended when Turkey engaged the attention of the Russian government, and the Russian minister, Nesselrode, declared to France and Great Britain, that his sovereign must have satisfaction for the violation of the treaty of Ackermann, and for the hatti-sheriff of December, 1820, which the Porte had addressed to all the pachas, and which contained many offensive charges against Russia. A declaration of war was accordingly issued by the emperor, and on the 7th of May, 1828, the Russian forces passed the Pruth, to the number of 15,000 men, including persons of all descriptions attached to the camp. Count Wittgenstein was commander-in-chief. In a fortnight the Russians had possession of several towns and fortresses, and the Turks retired into the fortified mountain position of Choumla, which was the centre of their operations.

The Russians at length took Prawodi, the key of the Balkan; and their next aim was to gain possession of Varna. To carry on a siege in a vast and almost uninhabitable country like Bulgaria, under the fatal influence of the climate, was difficult, but in proportion as the difficulties were great, so were the exertions of the besiegers, and after it had been invested both on the land and sea sides, breaches were made, and a body of troops forced their way into the city. Terrified by this, the enemy gave up all further resistance.

The campaign in Asia proved successful. The predatory population on the Caucasian mountains submitted to Russia. The Russian army under count Paskiewitch forced its way from Caucasus and Ararat into Asiatic Turkey, and took by storm the strong fortress of Kars, the central point of Turkish Armenia, together with the enemy's camp. After this, several other fortresses fell into their hands, so that besides obtaining possession of Mingrelia and Imeritia, the whole pachalic of Bajazid, as far as the banks of the Euphrates, was conquered. In Europe the success of the Russians was more equivocal: the results of the whole, however, were important. In Europe and in Asia, Russia had gained two Turkish principalities and three pachalics, fourteen fortresses, and three castles.

The Russian emperor had repeated, during and after the campaign, as well as before it, to the British ambassador extraordinary, lord Heytesbury, his inclination for peace with the Porte, on the terms of indemnification for the expenses of the war, and security against future injuries and violations of treaties; but the Porte had rejected all mediation on the basis of the London treaty, and refused to send envoys to negotiate with the ambassadors of the three powers, and the commissioners of the Greeks. On the contrary, Mahmoud had announced a new campaign, with the words, 'Honour and independence are worth more than life.' Hitherto the negotiations had been carried on in Constantinople, with the reis effendi by the minister of the Netherlands. He had delivered to the reis

effendi the manifesto of France, Great Britain, and Russia (of August 11, 1828), which made known to the Porte the motive and object of the French expedition against the Morea. The Prussian ambassador likewise advised the Porte to yield; but no representations would induce the sultan to yield; and preparations for another campaign were made with unusual vigour.

In the beginning of 1829 general Diebitsch was appointed commander-in-chief of the Russian forces; and although the Turkish army was greatly reinforced, and under the command of officers of high renown and unquestionable bravery, the Russian generals Diebitsch and Paskiewitch proved too much for them. The latter took possession of Erzerum, the centre of the Turkish power in Asia. The seraskier, commander-in-chief of the whole Turkish army, and governor of all Asiatic Turkey, was taken prisoner, together with four principal pachas, and 150 pieces of cannon. But the sharpest contest of the Asiatic campaign was occasioned by the pacha of Van to retake the fortress of Bajazid. The attack was made with 7,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry, aided by the fire from a battery, on a range of rocks, which swept the Russian troops on the flank and rear, and the fire of musketry from the inhabitants of the Tartar quarter of the place. After thirty-two hours of incessant fighting, the Turks retreated. The career of Paskiewitch in this campaign had been one of continual success; and such had been his preceding campaign in Persia.

The campaign in the European provinces was still more successful. Several battles were fought in the spring, in which the Russians, under Diebitsch, generally had the advantage, European tactics giving him a decided superiority. At length Silistria surrendered, and the garrison of 10,000 men became prisoners of war; 220 pieces of cannon, eighty standards, and the whole of the Turkish flotilla, falling into the hands of the Russians. Diebitsch now hastened to cross the Balkan, and continued his march without any serious obstacles, except such as the excessive heat of the weather, &c. presented, till he reached Adrianople, which he took on the 20th of July.

Foiled at every point, the Porte was now ready to commence negotiations; and accordingly a treaty of peace was signed, the principal points of which were the cessation of hostilities; the restoration by Russia of the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, and of all the towns occupied by the Russians in Bulgaria and Roumelia; the settlement of the boundaries between the two powers in Europe and Asia; the provisions for the religious liberty, independent administration, and free trade of the people of Moldavia and Wallachia; freedom of commerce to Russian subjects throughout the Ottoman empire, as secured by former treaties; free commerce and navigation of the Black Sea to all nations at peace with the Porte; the stipulation of the Porte to pay 1,500,000 ducats of Holland to Russia within eighteen months, as an indemnification for losses of Russian subjects, and a further sum, such as should be agreed on, as an indemnity for the expenses of the war; with the accession of the Porte to the arrangements of Russia, Great Britain, and France, respecting Greece. Thus the emperor Nicholas, according to the pledge which he had given to his allies at the commencement of the war, stopped short in the career of conquest, when he had obtained the objects for which the war was professedly undertaken.

For many years subsequently the Russian government was fully occupied in consolidating its power internally, and extending its influence in the East. A fortress of immense strength grew up at Sebastopol; an immense navy commanded the Black Sea, and the Russian emperor proceeded at length to carry out the designs which he had long proposed to execute on the dissolution of the Turkish empire. The great war between England and France against Russia, which broke out in 1854, was the result. For the causes which led to that struggle we refer the reader to the histories of England, France, and Turkey. Before the summer of 1854 was well advanced the governments of Great Britain and France had determined that the quarrel which had arisen out of the eastern question should be fought out on Russian ground. It was resolved to strike a blow at the great fortress of Sebastopol. The order for the embarkation of the troops at Varna was given on the 8th of September; and it seemed to infuse fresh health and strength among the forces, which were wasted by disease and mental prostration. The voyage up the Black Sea was favourable, and no serious attempt was made by the Russians to obstruct the landing. The point chosen for disembarking was a spot called Old Fort, about twenty miles to the south of Eupatoria: and on the 13th of September the armies, numbering 40,000, were successfully and rapidly landed, and took up their position on Russian ground. By the 18th they were ready to march upon Sebastopol. On the 19th the order was given to move. The country appeared to be deserted until an advanced guard of Russians was seen to issue from the village on the banks of the Alma. After some skirmishing they retired in good order, their object being merely to effect a reconnoissance. The allies spent the night on some rising ground to the south of the Bulganac, the English lying without cover, as the tents had been placed on board ship on the ground that they were too heavy to carry. The hardships which were to press them so fearfully during the ensuing winter were making themselves felt already, and giving tokens of the harvest of sickness and death which they were destined to produce. At daybreak on the following day the 'Agamemnon' with the inshore squadron took up a position off the mouth of the Alma. Beyond that river the slopes bristled with Russian artillery, their guns were far stronger than those of the allies, and their position seemed impregnable. Yet in a

battle of less than three hours that position was carried by the allies; but the victory was won by a heavy loss of 619 killed and 2,860 wounded, the Russian loss being stated at little less than 8,000 men. On the 23rd the allies began their march towards the northern face of Sebastopol, it being their intention to attack the forts which protect the city on that side. But this was found to be impracticable. Troops encamped on the Belbeck would be swept off by the fire of the Russian batteries which commanded that river, and the fleet could find no shelter near its mouth, whereas on the southern side there was a comparatively good harbour and safe anchoring ground in the inlet of Balaklava; and on this side it was thought that the Russians might be unprepared for defence, and that the town might be carried by a sudden assault. The determination to attack it on this side had its disadvantages. It left the Russians free to pour in their supplies and reinforcements by way of Perekop at the base of the peninsula, while it also showed that the allies felt the hopelessness of investing Sebastopol with the troops at their command, and that there was no army to cover the attack of the besiegers. It was at this time that marshal St. Arnaud, being completely prostrated by severe illness, resigned his command of the French army to general Canrobert, and died a few days afterwards on his passage to Constantinople. On the 26th of September the allied army reached the entrance of the valley of Balaklava. A part of the fleet was already in the harbour, with the siege train and provisions for the soldiers. On the 27th they took up their positions in the valley to the north of Balaklava. As they appeared on the heights it was observed that Sebastopol was in great commotion, and some thought that it could then have been readily taken by a *coup-de-main*; but it was thought barbarous to assault it while full of women and children, and the tenability of the southern part under the fire of the Russian fleet was strongly questioned. In three weeks the English batteries were completed; but during that time the Russians had been busy strengthening the fortifications to the utmost, the women and children bringing earth, gabions and fascines, and working by night as well as by day. On the 17th of October the bombardment began, but it was anticipated by a furious fire from the Russian guns. While the allied batteries thus poured in their deadly missiles by land, the 'Agamemnon' with other vessels of the fleet approached close under the forts and kept up a tremendous fire during the whole of the day—those ships only being seriously injured which could not approach near enough under the batteries. At the close of the day the loss of the English was 44 killed and 266 wounded, of the French 30 killed, 164 wounded; the Russian loss being about 500, among whom were the two admirals Korniloff and Nachimoff, who had planned and executed the surprise of the Turkisk fleet at Sinope. It turned out that the fire of the fleet had done but little damage to the fortifications, and the walls seemed to be in no way weakened, although the stones were riddled with shot.

But while the allies were thus busy on the southern side, the Russians were preparing to surprise them by an attack on the field, and by placing them between two fires to expose them to almost certain destruction. The 25th was chosen as the day for this attempt; and it was on this day that by a too literal adherence to an order of lord Raglan the cavalry under lord Lucan made that memorable charge, from which the marvel was that any should return alive. The circumstances of the field had changed between the moment when the order was given, and that in which it was received by lord Lucan. The cavalry, some 600 strong, were now facing the whole body of Liprandi's force, which had just arrived from Bessarabia; yet this scanty troop forced their way through this army, and with numbers fearfully diminished even fought their way back again to the spot from which they had set out. When the muster-roll was called in the evening, nearly two-thirds were missing: yet, in spite of the losses which they had undergone, the resistance of the Russians was kept up with as great resolution as ever. The very next morning several columns of infantry, which had not suffered in previous battles, issued out of Sebastopol, but their success was not greater than on the day before. Still reinforcements and provisions were constantly pouring in, and before any notice was received of their approach, 50,000 Russians were gathered on the heights of Inkerman. On the 5th of November was fought the terrible battle which is known by that name, and in which, after a fearful struggle and many serious losses, the victory remained with the allies. Among the British officers who fell was sir George Catheart, who suffered himself to be drawn too far in pursuit of the enemy, and found his party surrounded by an overwhelming force. The cooperation of the allied forces was admirably sustained, and to this was probably owing the defeat of a plan which seemed almost to ensure success to the Russians. The battle was decided simply by hard fighting; for manœuvring there was little room or none, and the smoke was so great that to see the operations which might be going on became an impossibility. The loss of the French in killed and wounded was 1,726, that of the English was 2,612, of whom 462 were killed. That of the Russians was much greater. Nine days afterwards a loss almost heavier was sustained by a terrific storm which burst over Balaklava, wrecking eleven transports, and dismasting and rendering useless six more. A magnificent new steamship, the 'Prince,' with a cargo valued at half a million, was utterly destroyed, and with her was lost almost everything which was necessary for the health and comfort of the troops during the coming winter. The French lost a three-decker, 'Henri IV.,' and a favourite war-steamer. For four days the storm raged furiously: but, frightful as its effects were, they were tolerable indeed to what they might have

been had the tempest come while the 600 vessels of the fleet were on their way to Eupatoria.

From this time, the Russians attempted scarcely any active operations against Balaklava. Both sides wished to wait for reinforcements, and the allies had to struggle with the stern difficulties of a Crimean winter, aggravated a thousand fold by wretched mismanagement and miserable want. The troops were worn down with cholera, dysentery, and fever; the commissariat was in a hopeless state of confusion, officers and men were without baggage, clothing and food, while traders at Constantinople were openly boasting of the enormous gains which they had made at their expense. The sufferings of the French were also great: but French soldiers are always more capable of helping themselves, while the English always needed some one to cook for them, and, as it was said, almost to put the food into their mouths. Again the latter paid exorbitant prices at the will of the peasants whose goods they bought: the former took what was to be had, laying down a price which, after fair consideration, was judged to be sufficient. In addition to this, the roads about Balaklava were in a hopeless and impracticable condition, while the French had been enabled, from having men to spare, to construct good roads over the whole ground which they occupied. The medical department was scarcely more satisfactory; the surgeons were indefatigable, but they were without the most necessary resources and appliances, and the disorder was almost greater at Constantinople than it was at Balaklava. This horrible state of things was remedied by the self-sacrificing devotion of English ladies who, under Miss Florence Nightingale, went out for the purpose of tending the sick and wounded in the hospitals at Scutari; and by their aid, as well as by that of the Committee of the Patriotic Fund, and a large number of additional chaplains, a very great improvement was immediately effected in the condition of the troops.

But although the siege of Sebastopol was practically suspended, the Russians were not idle: they scarped the ground in front of their batteries, threw up earthworks wherever they were needed, and enormously strengthened the whole fortifications of the city. When the siege began, it was comparatively defenceless; before the year had ended, it was almost impregnable: and this strength was owing mainly to the fact that these new works were not of stone but of earth, mounted with batteries of tremendous power. Perhaps the Russians were right in saying that history furnished few instances, in which defences run up in a few months were maintained for nearly a year against all the appliances of the most skilful warfare of modern times.

During the summer of 1854, the allied fleets of France and England sailed into the Baltic, the former under the command of admiral Deschênes, the latter under sir Charles Napier. After a reconnoissance it was found that an attack on Cronstadt without gunboats which could approach nearer than the ships would be imprudent, if not worse; but the forts on the island of Bomarsund were taken with large quantities of stores and ammunitions. The forts were destroyed by mining, and the prisoners carried to England; but the general result of the expedition was to detain in the north for the protection of St. Petersburg an enormous force which would otherwise have been despatched to the aid of the besieged in Sebastopol. Another squadron proceeded to the White Sea, blockaded Archangel, made an ineffectual attempt on Solovetskoi, stormed and burnt Novitska, and destroyed Kola the capital of Russian Lapland. A third squadron under admiral Price appeared off Petropaulowski in Kamschatka, at the end of August; but admiral Price shot himself during the day preceding the attack, and the expedition merely destroyed some batteries, and did some damage to the enemy's ships.

Early in March 1855, an effort was again made to put an end to the war by a conference at Vienna: the failure of that attempt, with the causes which led to it, has been already recorded in the *History of England* for that year. But before that conference opened, the emperor of Russia had ceased to live. On the 2nd of March a severe influenza ended in his death, and his son Alexander II. at once issued a manifesto in which he expressed his resolution to carry out thoroughly the wishes and plans of his father. In April the allied fleets of France and England again entered the Baltic, but the results of the expedition were not great. Some very angry and painful feeling was roused by the violation of a flag of truce by Russian soldiers at Hango. A boat belonging to the 'Cossack' was sent on shore to land some prisoners who were set free; it was alleged on the side of the English that the flag of truce was carried conspicuously in the bow of the boat; while the Russians declared that the flag was never seen, and in fact that it never existed. The evidence against them was, however, too strong to leave room for any other supposition than that the Russian account was in part made up of wilful falsehood. The fleet advanced to the Tolboukin lighthouse, off Cronstadt, and within sight of the spires of St. Petersburg, and then sailed to Sweaborg. For two or three days the fortifications of this place were assailed with a tremendous cannonade, the English alone having poured in 1,000 tons of shot and shell; but as the guns could not reach a great part of the fortress, the English and French commanders thought it advisable to withdraw from the attack; and the approach of winter compelled the fleets soon afterwards to return home.

The results of the bombardment of Sebastopol were more serious. On the 17th of February the Russians made that unsuccessful attempt to recover Eupatoria, which formed the last piece of Crimean news received by the emperor Nicholas before his death. On the 9th of March they

were more successful in seizing and fortifying a knoll or hillock in front of the Malakhoff. On this they raised a redoubt from which the French were unable to dislodge them, and sank a number of pits from which their riflemen did great execution upon the enemy. On the 22nd, the garrison of Sebastopol made a desperate but ineffectual sortie, which was followed a fortnight after by a general bombardment from the allied batteries. The cannonading was continued for several days without producing any sensible effect on the fortifications. On the 16th of May, general Pelissier was at the expressed wish of general Canrobert appointed to the command of the French army, and a few days afterwards the French got possession of the counter-approaches of the enemy in front of the central bastion. An immense amount of damage was done by expeditions to fortified towns in the neighbourhood, where the Russians had laid up large military stores as well as magazines of provisions for the use of their army. A force was sent under sir George Brown and general D'Autemarre, which reached the Straits of Kertch on the 24th of May. They found Kertch itself evacuated; the Russians having blown up all the works along the coast, and destroyed more than four million pounds of corn, and half a million pounds of flour. Yenikalé was taken on the same day in the same condition. Captain Lyons was then sent to Genitchi on the neck of land which separates the Putrid Sea from the Sea of Azoff: a demand for the surrender of the place was met by a refusal, and the English at once set fire to the merchant vessels and corn stores, and then returned to Yenikalé. It was supposed that in this expedition four months' rations for 100,000 men had been destroyed. In June the Russian garrison, knowing that their want of water would lead to a surrender if the place were attacked, voluntarily abandoned the fortress of Anapa, on the Straits of Kertch, having blown it up and left their cannon in a useless condition.

On the 7th of June general Pelissier ordered attacks to be made on the Mamelon and two other redoubts near Careening Bay. As these attempts, together with one made by the English on the quarries, were successful, it was resolved to make a general assault on the city. A tremendous fire was opened by the allies on the 17th of June; but on the following day the attempt ended in the complete repulse of both the English and the French, and prince Gortschakoff issued an exulting order of the day, congratulating his troops on their signal success. This temporary defeat added to the cares and the sickness which already pressed heavily on lord Raglan, and on the 28th of June he died, and general Simpson was appointed to succeed him in the command. In the middle of August the covering army of the Russians under Liprandi was again defeated in an attempt to raise the siege, after a long and disastrous engagement: and as the French lines had now been advanced within a few yards of the Malakhoff, and the loss of life in the trenches was increasing in proportion, it was resolved that another assault should be made on the 8th of September at midday, because at that hour the Russian garrison always took their meal and their midday sleep, and it was thought that they would thus be taken by surprise. The French were to storm the Malakhoff, and the English were to seize the Redan, when, and not before, the former had been taken. The attack of the French was completely successful; that of the English on the Redan failed, and general Simpson was much blamed for defective arrangements, which resulted at the time of action in an inextricable confusion. But it now became clear to the Russians that they could not hope to hold the city any longer. During the coming night, several loud explosions were heard, and it was surmised that the enemy were evacuating Sebastopol. In good order and with excellent arrangement, this great work was accomplished; and the allied armies on the next day found themselves possessed of a heap of ruins. It was indeed time to give up the struggle when the fire of the besiegers was costing the garrison, now for nearly thirty days, a loss from 100 to 1,000 men each day; and prince Gortschakoff was fully justified in the strong language of satisfaction which he held to his troops for their determined courage and resolution throughout the siege. The sufferings of the besieged must latterly have become very dreadful, and a fearful account was given of a number of dead and wounded men whom the Russians had been compelled to leave behind them, and who were found in dungeon-like buildings in a most appalling condition.

On dividing the town the English took possession of the western part, the French of the eastern, and a mixed commission was appointed to apportion the spoil taken in the city. On the 10th of November general Simpson resigned the command of the army, and was succeeded by sir William Codrington. Before this time, the emperor had journeyed from Moscow to Odessa, and thence went to visit the great shipbuilding port of Nicholaieff. On the 12th of November he issued an address to his army from Simpheropol, in which he thanked his troops for a defence which they had carried out to the uttermost. The next step of the allies was to destroy the defences of Kinburn: in order to do this with the greater ease, the fleet left Kamiesch bay, and casting anchor before Odessa on the 8th of October, kept its position for a week, during which time the inhabitants momentarily expected a bombardment. It then weighed anchor and sailed to Kinburn, where the Bug and Dnieper flow into a lake and thence pass by one channel into the sea, separating Oczakoff on the north from Kinburn on the south. After a short bombardment, the garrison of the latter place capitulated, giving up the stores as they were, and being allowed to depart with the honours of war. The fort of Oczakoff was blown up and abandoned by the Russians. Towards the end of October,

another squadron went against Taman and Fanagoria, situated on the eastern side of the straits of Kertch: both were abandoned by the Russians, and the English found only useless guns, and empty magazines which had held powder and corn. The ships then returned to Genitchi, and thence to Sebastopol.

The campaign of the year was over; it had, practically, ended the war. The emperor of Russia felt that peace ought to be made, if possible. It seemed less and less likely that Prussia would abandon her strict neutrality, and Austria seemed to be daily assuming a more hostile attitude. In December 1855, count Esterhazy was sent from Vienna to negotiate on the four bases, which had already been accepted by Russia,—these being the complete abolition of the Russian protectorate of the Danubian principalities,—the setting free the mouths of the Danube for the commerce of all nations,—the neutralisation of the Black Sea, and the preservation of the rights of the sultan's Christian subjects. On the acceptance of these proposals by Russia, it was arranged that a conference should meet at Paris on the 26th of February, when an armistice was agreed on, to last till the end of March. Before that time had expired, the treaty of peace had been signed; among its chief provisions was the stipulation that neither the Russian emperor nor the sultan should establish or maintain any military-maritime arsenal on the coasts of the Black Sea, which should be closed to all war vessels, except the light ships necessary for the service of the coasts. It was agreed that the people of the principalities should continue to enjoy under the sovereignty of the sultan all their former rights and privileges, which were guaranteed by the contracting powers. By another article the sultan agreed to communicate to the contracting parties a firman for improving the condition of his Christian subjects, the said firman having emanated, as he chose to express it, spontaneously from his sovereign will.

The allies evacuated the Crimea on the 12th of July; and the coronation of the emperor took place with great splendour at Moscow on the 7th of September. An *ukase* was issued at the time, remitting not only all military recruiting or conscription for four consecutive years (unless in the event of a new war), but also all pecuniary fines, and all taxes in arrear, amounting to 24 million silver roubles. It was accompanied by a large amnesty for offenders of all kinds, and children born during the military service of their fathers were now left free to choose any occupation which they might prefer, instead of belonging to the army as they had hitherto done. Some disputes occurred in carrying out the terms of the treaty of peace; and an English ship was stationed at Serpent's island, at the mouth of the Danube, to prevent the Russians from mustering there in any force; but neither this dispute nor another which had reference to the Russian frontier near Bolgrad were followed by any serious consequences.

From this time the Russian emperor devoted his attention to internal reforms, and on the 19th of February 1861 appeared a proclamation which was the result of many years of careful thought, and which could not fail to exercise an immense influence on the destinies of Russia. It announced the gradual emancipation of the serfs—a measure in which the emperor Nicholas had found himself thwarted by the obstinate opposition of the nobility.

The outbreak of the Franco-German war in 1870 hastened the achievement of many changes which otherwise might have been long in coming. By Russia the opportunity was seized for declaring that the limitations imposed by the treaty of Paris in 1856 on the Russian navy in the Black Sea must be abolished, and that the czar no longer held himself bound to observe them. This declaration roused vehement feelings of dissatisfaction amongst large bodies of Englishmen. It was argued that, however unfair the restrictions might be, yet no one party to an agreement was justified in repudiating that agreement without the consent of the other. After much controversy the obnoxious phrases were silently withdrawn, and Russia was left to act much as she had determined on acting.

The year 1873 was marked by a decided advancement of Russian power in the East. In the region east of the Caspian where the Oxus creates some fertility in an otherwise barren desert, the three khanates of Samarkand, Bokhara, and Khiva occupy the territory enriched by its waters. Against the last of these the Russians now sent an expedition to inflict punishment for their maltreatment of a Russian force in the preceding year. The struggle was soon over; and although by the treaty the khanate was to remain independent, the khan soon afterwards declared himself the "obedient servant of the emperor of all the Russias."

For Russia the year 1874 was marked by the marriage of the duke of Edinburgh with the only daughter of the czar; by an imperial decree ordering universal conscription, without the power of providing substitutes; and by the proposals for a conference on the usages of war. This conference was held at Brussels. It was joined by Great Britain only under the express proviso that it should not interfere in any way with belligerent rights at sea, or with the established laws of war. It was, however, found impossible to discuss with temper the question of reprisals; nor can it be said that anything more has been done than to show a desire on the part of the powers to abridge the duration and to lessen the horrors of war; and even this is a positive gain.

THE HISTORY OF POLAND.

MOST countries have some positive origin attributed to them, and handed down to present times by tradition, although no trace of a written history may be found; it is not so, however, with Poland. In the time of the Romans it is likely to have been an unexplored part of the great Hercynian forest; and such inhabitants as it contained probably belonged to the Sarmatians, a nation of barbarians more fierce and savage than any of the other hordes with whom the civilised conquerors of Europe had to contend in their work of universal subjugation. But, be that as it may, it seems clear that Poland either afforded no materials for the historian, or produced no writer to record her history, for a considerable time after the other nations of Europe emerged from obscurity. It appears, indeed, that an army of Sclavonians, under the command of Lesko, took possession of the country, A.D. 550, and that this leader became the first of a race of kings, who held the sovereign power for a century.

The next dynasty of kings is distinguished by the name of its first sovereign, and called the dynasty of Piast; but nothing worthy of notice is preserved, until Jagellon, grand duke of Lithuania, obtained the sovereignty of Poland in the year 1385. On his being elected king, he renounced Paganism, to which he had before adhered, and embraced Christianity; from which time it spread rapidly among the Poles. This prince united the whole of his hereditary dominions to those of Poland: in return for which the Poles rendered the crown hereditary in his family; but his male line terminated in the person of Sigismund Augustus, in 1572. Two competitors then started for the vacant crown; Henry, duke of Anjou, brother to Charles IX. of France, and Maximilian of Austria. After a long conflict, the former of these obtained the prize; but on the death of his brother, he succeeded to the crown of France, and abandoned that of Poland.

From this reign we may date the correspondence between the French and the Poles, which subsisted until the increasing power of its northern neighbours entirely counteracted the politics of the court of Versailles. On this second vacancy, Maximilian was still rejected; and Stephen Bathory, prince of Transylvania, chosen, on account of the high renown which he had acquired. He married Anne, the sister of Sigismund Augustus, of the royal house of Jagellon, which rendered him highly popular. He waged war with the Muscovites, and recovered from them all that they had formerly taken from the Poles; after which he settled the Ukraine, which, in the Polish language, signifies the frontier, and which was at that time a wild and unprofitable desert. He it was that introduced military tenure into Poland, by which he formed the best cavalry in the world. He likewise established a militia, composed of Cossacks, which soon became a respectable body of infantry. These Cossacks he settled in the Ukraine. Having performed these essential services to the kingdom which he governed, he died in 1586.

Theodore, czar of Russia; Maximilian, archduke of Austria; and Sigismund, prince of Sweden, now severally put forth claims and contended for the crown. The year after, Sigismund, having defeated and taken prisoner his rival Maximilian, became too formidable for Theodore, and established himself on the throne by the name of Sigismund III. He was a zealous papist, and waged a long and unsuccessful war with his native country, Sweden; but in his wars with the Turks he was more fortunate. He reigned forty-four years, and was succeeded by his eldest son Uladislaus VII., who was chosen the 13th of November 1632. He was successful against the Turks, the Russians, and the Swedes, and died in 1648. In his reign, the interests of the Polish nobility clashing with the grants which had been made to the Cossacks in the Ukraine, a fierce contention arose. His brother, John Casimir, succeeded him, although a cardinal. The elector of Brandenburg, in this reign, found means to obtain from the Poles a renunciation of their sovereignty over Ducal Prussia, which he held as a vassal of the crown of Poland. This renunciation was ratified by the treaty of Oliva in 1660. Casimir, then attempting to gain an uncontrollable and absolute sovereignty in Poland, excited a civil war; and in the issue his army was defeated by prince Lubomirski. He afterwards found means, however, to drain the country of its current specie, which he remitted to France; and being no longer able to maintain his footing in Poland, he precipitately quitted the kingdom, and followed his wealth. In this state of voluntary exile he made a formal renunciation of the crown, and died two years after.

On the resignation of Casimir, four candidates appeared; namely, the great prince of Russia; the duke of Neubourg, who was supported by the interests of France; the duke of Lorraine, who was backed by the German power; and the son of the prince of Condé: but it was soon found that the contest lay between the dukes of Neubourg and Lorraine. The palatine Opalenski, however, by popular harangues, had the address to set them both aside, and procure the election of prince Michael Wiesnowiski

in 1670, who reckoned his descent from a brother of Jagellon. He was chosen to the royal dignity as being a Piast, a title highly respected in Poland, and signifying a nobleman who can trace his descent through a long line of Polish ancestors; but as he was a weak prince, the Turks took advantage of his incapacity, invaded Poland, and took Kaminieck, the capital of Podolia. Michael did not long enjoy his dignity; he died three years after his elevation, at the very time when Sobieski, the Polish general, had gained a great and decisive victory over the Turks. Another contention then arose about a successor; but at length the diet unanimously chose John Sobieski for their king, who maintained a war against the Turks, although ill seconded by the nobility; and in 1675, at the head of no more than 5,000 men, he defeated 60,000 Turks and Tartars: after which, receiving a reinforcement of 10,000 troops, he drove 100,000 of the enemy out of Podolia, and was crowned at Cracow, in February 1676.

The Turks by these defeats were brought to acquiesce in terms of peace, which were observed during seven years; but in 1683 the Ottomans invaded Hungary, and laid siege to Vienna. The neighbouring princes, being roused to action by the impending danger, put their forces under the command of Sobieski, whose army mustered 40,000 strong; with which force he attacked and defeated the infidels, whose numbers were little short of 200,000. This decisive stroke restored peace; but the great military talents of the king, joined to his extreme parsimony, created jealousies among the Polish nobility, who thought that he had formed designs of changing the constitution of the kingdom, and rendering himself an absolute monarch. These apprehensions, which were never supported by any direct proofs, embittered his latter days. He died in 1696, in the sixty-sixth year of his age, and the twenty-second of his reign. He left a son, prince James Sobieski, whom, however, the Poles did not nominate for their king.

An interregnum of a twelvemonth followed: at length Frederick Augustus, elector of Saxony, was chosen, in preference to the prince of Conti, whose pretensions were backed by the interests of France: but in 1705, the Poles, being tampered with by Charles XII. of Sweden, declared the crown vacant, and chose Stanislaus Leczinski, palatine of Posnania; to establish whom on the throne, Charles of Sweden entered Saxony with a powerful army, and compelled Augustus to save his electorate by abandoning his pretensions to the crown of Poland. The reverse of fortune which Charles experienced in 1708, gave Augustus the ascendency; and his competitor found it necessary, in his turn, to quit the kingdom. Disputes and ill-will, however, prevailed between Augustus and the nobility, from this time until his death, which happened in January 1732-3.

The question, whether the house of Austria, or that of Bourbon, should fix the succession to the throne of Poland, then plunged Europe into war. The former supported the pretensions of Augustus, the son of the deceased king; in which nomination the court of St. Petersburg also concurred: the latter aimed at restoring the abdicated Stanislaus, whose daughter, the princess Mary, was married to Louis XV. Notwithstanding this alliance, his interest was not vigorously supported by the court of Versailles; and he was finally driven out of Poland, possessed of nothing more than the empty title of king; he, however, gained the duchy of Lorraine and Bar, which he enjoyed during the remainder of his life. Stanislaus died in January 1766, having attained to the great age of eighty-nine years. He was distinguished for his talents and virtues; his humanity was active, and displayed itself in many noble instances of kindness and generosity. Though deprived of the crown of Poland, he expressed his strong attachment to that country, and his thorough knowledge of its interests, in a work which he wrote and published in the year 1759, entitled, *La Voix Libre du Citoyen; ou Observations sur le Gouvernement du Pologne.*

Frederick Augustus, elector of Saxony, was chosen king of Poland in September 1733, in the forty-sixth year of his age. He was the third king of that name. He married Maria Josepha, daughter of the emperor Joseph I. In the winter of 1745, the king of Prussia attacked him in his hereditary dominions, made himself master of Dresden, and forced the elector to accept such conditions of peace as were proffered. In 1756, the king of Poland having secretly become a party in a confederacy formed by the empress queen and the king of France, to strip the king of Prussia of the province of Silesia, the unfortunate Augustus suddenly fell a victim to the resentments of that monarch, who took possession of Dresden, his capital, and compelled his whole army, consisting of 13,000 men, to surrender prisoners of war; after which he experienced the most bitter calamities. His queen, whose every motion was narrowly watched by the emissaries of the Prussian monarch, died of a broken heart; whilst the designs which the king had formed for the advancement of his family, by procuring for one of his sons the dukedom of Courland, and for another the bishopric of Liege, were entirely frustrated. Worn down with years as well as with sorrows, he resigned his breath on the 5th of October 1763, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and the thirtieth year from his election to the crown of Poland.

The son of Augustus declared himself a candidate for the vacant crown; but he died of the small-pox in less than two months after. Count Poniatowski, on account of his eminent merit, was unanimously elected king, on the 7th of September 1764, without any commotion or disturbance. The powers of Russia, Prussia, and Turkey supported his pretensions. The ambassadors of France, Spain, and the empire, who opposed his election, retired from Warsaw, when the diet assembled. He took the name of Stanislaus Augustus. The new king had not long sat upon the

throne, before some Russian troops entered his kingdom on the plea of procuring a toleration and other privileges for the oppressed and persecuted 'dissidents,' who were of the Greek church, and also for the Lutheran and other reformed Christians. The bitter enmity which subsisted between the Roman catholics and the dissidents, kindled the flame of a fierce, bloody, and desolating civil war, which raged during the years 1769, 1770, and 1771; in the midst of which, the miserable Poles were visited with the pestilence, which swept off 250,000 of the population. The part which the king of Poland took against the dissidents, caused a conspiracy to be formed to assassinate him, in November 1771; from which attempt upon his life he escaped almost by a miracle. Many of the conspirators lost their lives by the hands of the executioner.

Amongst the Poles the love of freedom had long prevailed, without the spirit of union. A kingdom fertile and extensive as that of Poland, torn by intestine commotions, and unprovided with the means of self-defence, presented a most alluring prospect to its powerful neighbours. The censures which have been passed on the great southern kingdoms of Europe, for the tameness and unconcern with which they looked on and saw a noble kingdom mutilated, are in reality unmeaning charges. Had the states of the empire, France, and the maritime powers, joined in a heterogeneous league with the courts of Stockholm and Copenhagen; had they even engaged the Ottomans in the alliance, what could their fullest exertions have availed towards securing Poland from the depredations of three powers capable of bringing five or six hundred thousand men into the field? Fleets would have been ineffectual in a contest carried on in the centre of Europe. These confederating powers could have brought no force equal to that possessed by the partitioning princes. In fact, the latter, by their union, had effectually prevented all attempts to form an opposition capable of thwarting their designs.

It is needless to mention the frivolous and obscure claims which were set up by the three partitioning powers to the territories which they designed to appropriate: it is sufficient to describe the countries which were thus forcibly wrested. The claims of Austria comprehended the southern parts of Little Poland, and the whole of Red Russia, with Procutia. The royal salt mines at Wieluska, Bochnia, and other places in Little Poland, were comprehended in the territory thus seized. The produce of these mines supplied the king with a part of his private revenue. The whole of the territory wrested by Austria contains about three hundred miles from east to west, and two hundred from north to south. The district seized upon by the empress of Russia, was the whole of Polish Livonia, and that part of Lithuania which borders on the Russian empire, and extends over that duchy even beyond the river Beresina; the whole lying under more than four degrees of latitude, but much less considerable in width. The king of Prussia took possession of all the western parts of Pomerania, bounded on the southward by the river Netz, together with the whole of Polish Prussia; the cities of Dantzig and Thorn only excepted. To this territory he gave the name of New Prussia. As these countries form the southern shores of the Baltic, and give the command of the Vistula, they were highly important to a monarch whose dominions, before this acquisition, could not furnish a deep, convenient, and capacious harbour for shipping. The political views of the king of Prussia thereby became much enlarged, being directed to commercial and maritime objects.

The inhabitants of the countries thus dismembered were required, by the manifestos, to take oaths of allegiance and fidelity to their new sovereigns, within a very short space of time, on pain of forfeiting their estates. The independent spirit of the Polish nobility could ill brook such mandates: many chose rather to abandon their country and estates and submit to voluntary exile, carrying with them such parts of their property as the short time allotted them would enable them to collect. The confiscation of these estates was an object of great consequence to each sovereign; it being a cruel policy constantly practised by invaders and usurpers, to oppress and ruin the native nobility, in order to provide for their own adherents. The empress of Russia, however, conducted these proscriptions with less severity than her two confederates. This memorable event took place in September 1772.

The king of Poland, unable to make any effectual opposition to these violent acts of power, was at length induced to give his sanction to the partition, by being put into possession of a rich territory, which was rendered hereditary in his family, and which was guaranteed by the three courts; besides which, a large sum of money, to enable him to pay off his heavy debts, was presented to him as the further price for this his sacrifice of duty to tyranny. Still, however, to add insult to injury, a diet was called, the members of which, by the most undisguised violence, were compelled to give their votes to ratify the alienation of so great a part of the kingdom. It was thought, however, that this change of government, though brought about without any colour of justice, or plausible claim of right, might, after the convulsions caused by its first establishment had subsided, tend to enlarge the sum of human happiness in those districts, as well as to render the country more wealthy and flourishing, as the oppressions of the nobility were likely to be greatly restrained, and the condition of the peasantry to be considerably amended.

That the three great northern powers should concur in the design of dismembering Poland, by mutually acknowledging and supporting each other's claims, appeared so essentially necessary to the accomplishment of the purpose, that each became disposed to lay aside those jealousies and bickerings which subsisted against

the others, and, for the sake of furthering its own particular interest, to assist in strengthening its rivals. To the empress of Russia, indeed, the claims of Austria and Prussia must have been particularly unwelcome; for she gave up that unbounded influence and authority which she had acquired in the distracted kingdom, for a territory little adequate to the loss of such power; but this concession was made to purchase a continuance of the good understanding that subsisted between her and the court of Vienna, and to check those designs which were forming by the latter court to reduce the ascendant fortunes of Russia: so that mutual jealousies, in fact, cemented the great northern confederacy, which may be considered as the forerunner of a very important revolution in the political system of Europe.

By the exertions and abilities of the king of Poland, which the general sense of misery and degradation, occasioned by intestine anarchy and sovereign interference, contributed very essentially to render effectual, a new constitution was settled for Poland on the 3rd of May 1791, by which the catholic faith was declared to be the established religion of the country, but a toleration was extended to all religious persuasions. The peasants and villagers were relieved from that slavish dependence on their lords which caused them to be considered as no other than appendages to the soil, and a perfect and entire liberty was declared to all people.

For a few years Poland appeared to flourish; and that part of it which was left to Stanislaus was greatly benefited by his judicious introduction of artisans from France and other countries, under whose superintendence the manufactures of the country were carried on to considerable advantage. But though the Poles were attached to their king, they saw, with indignation and distrust, the prospect of being still further humbled and reduced by the three self-elected arbiters of a nation's fate. Nor was it long before their apprehensions were sadly verified.

The French revolution had just broken out; and the Russian empress, fearing, perhaps, the effect of such an example upon a warlike people, agreed with the king of Prussia to make such new division of the Polish territories as should render all attempts fruitless which they might make to recover their independence.

The Polish nation, aware of its impending fate, resolved to oppose this design by a general, vigorous, and unanimous effort. For this purpose, being convinced that their ancient elective and monarchical form of government was defective in its principle, and injurious to the state in its effects, the Poles, under the sanction of the king of Prussia, framed a new constitution, in which, among other changes, the crown was rendered hereditary. Whilst almost every sovereign in Europe approved of this revolution, the empress of Russia alone expressed her disapprobation, and tendered her powerful aid to a few discontented nobles who had entered into a confederacy to oppose the new constitution at Targovitz.

Relying upon the protection of the king of Prussia, who had engaged to prevent the interference of any foreign power with the internal concerns of Poland, the Poles were not intimidated at the hostile preparationsof Russia. But their hopes were miserably disappointed. Frederick William, when appealed to, refused to espouse their cause; and they were left to engage single-handed with the whole forces of the Russian empire. Catherine immediately marched an army into Poland; and Stanislaus raised a considerable force, which was placed under the command of his nephew, prince Joseph Poniatowski: but the Polish monarch, desirous of averting the miseries of war, acceded to the terms of Russia, annulled the new constitution, and allowed the Russians to take possession of his capital. This occurred in 1793.

Having proved so far fortunate, Catherine resolved to secure her domination over Poland by still more weakening its power; and, in consequence, agreed upon a further partition of this despoiled kingdom, in conjunction with the king of Prussia, who seized as his share the cities of Thorn and Dantzic. Amazed, but irritated, at this act of aggressive duplicity, and deluded by the ambiguous answers of the Russian ambassador, the confederates of Targovitz invited the nation to rise in defence of the integrity of the kingdom; and this call was obeyed with singular alacrity. The Russian forces were, however, now ordered to act in concert with those of Prussia; and the courts of Petersburg and Berlin, openly avowing their intention of effecting a further dismemberment of Poland, forcibly obtained the silent assent of the diet of Grodno to this iniquitous measure.

The indignation of the Polish patriots was now raised to the highest pitch, and they instantly resolved to make one more desperate and final effort to restore the freedom of their country. With amazing rapidity a general insurrection was organised, and as the king had lost the confidence of the nation by his weakness, the troops unanimously placed at their head the celebrated count Thaddeus Kosciusko, a young man of high birth but small fortune, who had been educated in the military school at Warsaw, and had served as aide-de-camp to general Washington in the American war of independence. Madalinska, a Polish general, raised the standard of revolt, and, in conjunction with Kosciusko, took Cracow, from which city they issued an address to the nation, and signed an act declaratory of their motives and intentions. Kosciusko was then placed at the head of the army and of the republic, with unlimited power.

The first operation of the severe contest that immediately ensued proved favourable to the patriots, who routed a Russian army of superior force near Cracow, and expelled them from Wilna. Meanwhile, the Russian ambassador compelled Stanislaus to declare the insurgents rebels, and demanded the surrender of the arsenals. This demand

drove the inhabitants to desperation; they flew to arms, and after a sanguinary contest of forty-eight hours, the Russians were driven out of Warsaw with immense slaughter; and preparations were immediately made, under the directions of Kosciusko, who repaired to the capital, to repel any future attack.

If the contest had hitherto been unequal, it was now rendered much more so. Austria had entered into the views of Russia and Prussia: and powerful armies advanced on every side. After an obstinate battle the king of Prussia defeated Kosciusko, took possession of Cracow, and marched towards Warsaw, where the enraged populace had committed great excesses. His offers of accommodation having been rejected, he laid siege to the capital, but being repulsed in a fierce attack upon the entrenched camp of the confederates, he was eventually compelled to abandon this enterprise, after a fruitless siege of two months.

During the time these events took place at Warsaw, the Russians under Suwarrof had defeated the Poles, at Brezesk, and general Fersen was endeavouring to unite his forces with the grand Russian army. Kosciusko hastened to prevent this junction; but in an obstinate battle against the superior forces of general Fersen, the Poles were routed, and their gallant chief having been wounded and taken prisoner, was hurried as an exile to the dreary regions of Siberia. As far, however, as loss of liberty and expatriation could be rendered endurable, it was, under all circumstances, so rendered in the present instance, more than ordinary attention having been paid in providing him not only with suitable apartments, but with books, drawing materials, &c. for his recreation and amusement: an indulgence rarely granted to Russian captives.

Deeply was the loss of their beloved Thaddeus deplored by the Poles; and though it did not utterly break the spirit of the patriots, it nevertheless proved fatal to their cause. Suwarrof advanced without opposition under the very walls of Warsaw; and the Polish generals took post in the suburbs of Praga, on the opposite bank of the Vistula. On the 4th of November 1795, they were vigorously assaulted by Suwarrof, at the head of 50,000 men. The contest raged more than eight hours; but it terminated in the utter destruction of the Polish army, whose shattered remains retired into the city of Warsaw. The citizens of the capital surrendered to the conquerors, who pillaged the city, and put to the sword nearly 30,000 individuals, sparing neither age nor sex. The troops endeavoured to force their way through the enemy's lines; but nearly the whole of them were cut to pieces.

Poland, now laid prostrate, witnessed the departure of its last king, who, summoned to St. Petersburg, was compelled to abdicate his throne. The final partition of the kingdom, by the sovereigns of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, was not long delayed. A pension was settled on the ex-king, who retired first to Grodno, but on the death of Catherine, in 1796, he went to St. Petersburg, where he was treated with much respect and attention by the emperor Paul, at whose court he resided till his death. Fortunately for Kosciusko, and the Polish patriots in general, the new emperor looked on them with more than a pitying eye: he not only restored the former to liberty, but made him the most liberal offers to remain in his service; they were, however, respectfully declined: and the heroic chief, after spending some little time in England, went to America, where he remained a few years, and on his return to Europe, chose France as his residence, and settled near Fontainebleau. All the Polish patriots in the Russian prisons were released by the emperor Paul and those who had been sent to Siberia, of whom there were not less than 12,000, were recalled. But many of the bravest Poles, who had fought with Kosciusko, made their escape, entered the French service, and were formed into separate battalions, distinguished by Buonaparte as his Polish legions.

When the emperor Alexander succeeded to the throne, in 1801, his conduct towards the Poles was not less liberal than that of Paul, his father, had been. Contrary to the plan pursued by the other two powers, he scrupled not to bestow high offices on natives of the country, and preserved to them their ancient laws and privileges. Lithuania (the Russian portion) was divided into eight districts, with a governor over each, but all these governors were Lithuanian nobles; and the members of the diet were elected by the people. The peasants were still held in feudal bondage, but encouragement was given to many plans which tended to their improvement, both morally and intellectually.

Not long after Buonaparte reached the imperial dignity, one of his favourite schemes was that of freeing the Poles from the subjection of the three great northern powers, and availing himself of the services of that hardy and warlike race, of whose valour and physical capabilities he had had ample proofs in his late campaigns. He accordingly visited Kosciusko, who was still residing near Fontainebleau; and endeavoured to persuade him to take up arms, once more, for the land of his birth; but the gallant hero doubted the sincerity of the Gallic emperor's professions, suspecting that he only desired to rescue Poland from its present masters, in order to add it to his own empire; he, therefore, declined his overtures: but though Kosciusko refused, there were thousands of others who flocked to his standard, and Buonaparte pursued his plan of conquest. The event of the battle of Jena, fought with the Prussians in 1806, put him in possession of Warsaw, and all that part of Poland which had been annexed to Prussia: this territory he formed into a separate state, which he called the grand duchy of Warsaw; and, uniting it to Saxony, he gave to the king of that country the additional title of grand duke of Warsaw.

The dismembered country, which now

first received internal order from foreign hands, continued in this condition till November 1806, when Napoleon's victories led the emigrant Poles, under Dombrowski, to Posen and Warsaw. By the terms of the peace of Tilsit, July 9, 1807, the greater part of the Prussian Polish provinces was formed into the duchy of Warsaw, which received a German ruler in the king of Saxony, and, at the same time with the French code, a constitution similar to the French, by which bondage was abolished. Dantzic was to have been a republic under the protection of Prussia and Saxony, but remained a French place of arms. The grants bestowed on the French officers, and still more the continental system which destroyed all trade, exhausted the public revenues, so that Poland, amid all its natural wealth, experienced the fate of Tantalus. The necessity of furnishing troops for the French service was also a check on the prosperity of the new state, and annihilated all that Prussia had effected at great sacrifices. Yet the woollen and cotton manufactures, that had grown up in Posen and Bromberg, sustained themselves. The government of the duchy did everything practicable under such unfavourable circumstances.

The war between France and Austria, in 1809, augmented, indeed, the sufferings of the country, but developed, to an extraordinary degree, the military energies of the people. Under the command of Poniatowski and French officers, the Polish troops rivalled the best troops of France in valour. They advanced to Cracow, and the peace of Vienna (Oct. 14, 1809) annexed Western Gallcia to the duchy of Warsaw, which had hitherto contained 39,000 square miles, with 2,200,000 inhabitants; so that it now comprised 60,000 square miles, with 3,780,000 inhabitants, and furnished a well-equipped army of 60,000 men, which fought in Spain with great bravery.

Under these circumstances, the old national pride revived; their former boundaries, a native king, and the restoration of the name of Poland, were the unanimous wish of the nation. On this wish, which he artfully encouraged, Napoleon founded his plan of attack upon Russia, in 1812, which he styled the second Polish war. He contrived that a general Polish confederation, in Warsaw (June 28, 1812), should solemnly proclaim the restoration of Poland; but the ardour was not universal. The exertions of the duchy, which raised upwards of 80,000 men, were for the most part rendered useless by Napoleon's method of waging war. Tormassoff kept the Lithuanians in check, and, instead of the myriads of whom Napoleon boasted that he should find on horseback at his command, only a few battalions of volunteers assembled.

Meanwhile Russia assumed the administration of the whole duchy. Dantzic, with its territory, reverted to Russia, and the congress at Vienna (in May 1815) decided the fate of the country.—1. The city of Cracow, with its territory, was to be governed by its own laws, as a free and independent republic;—2. The country on the right bank of the Vistula, with the circle of Tamapola, which had been ceded to Russia by the peace of Vienna, was restored to Austria;—3. The circles of Culm and Michelan, the city of Thorn and its territory, the department of Posen, with the exception of the circles of Poritz and Peysern, and part of the department of Kalisch, as far as the Prozna, excluding the city and circle of that name, were ceded to the king of Prussia, who united Dantzic, Thorn, Culm, and Michelan with West Russia, and from the remainder (11,400 square miles, with 874,000 inhabitants) formed the grand duchy of Posen, and appointed prince Radziwill governor. All the rest was united with the Russian empire, under the name of the 'kingdom of Poland,' but with a separate administration, and such a territorial extent as the Russian emperor should see fit. The emperor Alexander, therefore, assumed the title of czar and king of Poland, and received homage in Warsaw.

Poland, though thus divided, preserved its name and language, as the treaties of Vienna secured to all Poles who were subjects of either of the three powers, such an organisation as tended to maintain their national existence. A polish charter was accordingly promulgated (Nov. 27, 1815). The government of the country was to be vested in a native Pole, as lieutenant of the kingdom, unless one of the imperial princes should be appointed viceroy. This was rendered nugatory by the presence of the tyrannical Constantine, as commander-in-chief. Equality of religious sects, personal security, liberty of the press, the entire possession of all employments, civil and military, in the country, by Poles, were among the promises of the charter; and these rights were to be secured by a national diet, composed of two chambers.

But these promises were kept only to the ear: restrictions on the press, arbitrary imprisonment, and punishments; insults added to injuries; a solemn mockery of a diet, which was not allowed to exercise any real authority; the violation of every article of the charter by a Russian barbarian; peculation and extortion practised by the inferior officers;—these were some of the features of the Russian government of Poland.

On the death of Alexander (December 1825) and the accession of Nicholas, a conspiracy broke out in Russia, and, on pretence that it extended to Warsaw, several hundred persons were arrested in Poland, and a commission constituted, contrary to the provisions of the charter, to enquire into the affair. The only discovery of this inquisitorial tribunal was, that secret societies had existed in Poland since 1821. In May 1829, Nicholas was crowned at Warsaw. In 1828, however, a secret society had been instituted, for the purpose of gaining over the officers of the army to the cause of independence; and to their agency is the insurrection of 1830 to be attributed. It appears, nevertheless, that it was immediately occasioned by a sham conspiracy got up by the Russian police, who had thus induced a number of young men to betray

themselves, and crowded the prisons with their victims. Not only the Polish officers, the youth of the military school, and the students, had been gained over to the cause of the patriots; but the greater part of the citizens, and the chief nobles, were ready to encourage an effort to save themselves from what they now foresaw—the occupation of Poland by a Russian army, and the marching of the Polish troops to the south of Europe.

Such was the state of things when the insurrection of Warsaw broke out, Nov. 19, 1830. A young officer entered the military school, on the evening of that day, and called the youth to arms. They immediately proceeded to Belvidere, the residence of Constantine, about two miles from the city, for the purpose of seizing his person. They were joined, on the way, by the students of the university, and forced their way into the palace; but the prince was concealed in a clothes-press, by a servant, until he could make his escape by a secret door. Another party of cadets and students paraded the streets, calling the citizens to arms, and they were joined by the Polish troops. The arsenal was seized, with 40,000 stand of arms, and the insurrection now became general. On the next morning 40,000 troops and citizens were in arms, and the Russians were expelled from Warsaw.

The administrative council was summoned to preserve order; and, to give more influence to its measures, several of the most distinguished Poles were invited to sit with it. Measures were taken for the organisation of a national guard, and of a new police and municipal government. On the 3rd of December, the prince was allowed to leave the neighbourhood of Warsaw, with three regiments of Russian cavalry, and two regiments of infantry, without opposition. On the 5th, general Clopicki was proclaimed dictator till the meeting of the diet, which was convoked for the 18th. Meanwhile Nicholas issued a proclamation, in which he declared that no concessions could be made to the rebels, and, on the 24th, another, addressed to the Russians, telling them that the Poles had dared to propose conditions to their *legitimate* master: 'God,' he adds, 'is with us, and in a single battle we shall be able to reduce to submission these disturbers of the peace.' January 24 the Polish diet, which had been opened on the 18th of December, declared the absolute independence of Poland, and the termination of the Russian dominion, and on the 25th, that the Polish throne was vacant.

Although the immediate cause of this revolution was the severe punishment inflicted on the pupils of the military academy, as before stated, there is no doubt that the Poles were encouraged to make the attempt by the success that had attended the Parisians in the preceding July, to secure to them a constitutional government. The object of the Polish revolutionists, however, was not to withdraw themselves entirely from the authority of the Russian emperor, but only to maintain the privileges that were guaranteed to them at the congress of Vienna, and to get rid of the tyrannous viceroyship of the grand-duke Constantine. They had now, however, drawn the sword; and although two commissioners were sent to St. Petersburg, to endeavour to effect an arrangement, the emperor refused to listen to them, and denounced the revolted Poles as traitors to whom no lenity would be shown.

Marshal Diebitsch, who had so successfully conducted the war with the Turks, entered Poland at the head of a large army. He advanced as far as Warsaw, and was victorious over the Poles near the walls of their capital, February 25, 1831 (the loss of the Poles is stated to have been 5,500, that of their enemies 4,500); but when prince Radzivil resigned the command on the 28th, and Skrzynecki, then only a colonel, was appointed in his place, the Polish cause gained strength. This brave officer, though finally unsuccessful, like the heroic Kosciusko, proved that he deserved a better fate. March 31, he was victorious over the Russians in a night attack. He advanced cautiously, and, favoured by the darkness of the night, reached their cantonments without being perceived. The advanced guard of general Geismar, consisting of 8,000 or 10,000 men, was first attacked, and almost wholly destroyed. Immediately afterwards, he attacked general Rosen, who was posted with 20,000 men at Dembe Wielski, and obliged him to retreat, with the loss of 2,000 prisoners and nine pieces of cannon.

Another important victory was afterwards gained near Zelechow, when 12,000 Russians were killed, wounded, or taken, with twelve pieces of cannon. During this action, the Lithuanians and Volhynians, who served in the Russian army, turned their arms against the Russians, and materially contributed to the success of the Poles. The peasants in various quarters of Poland, now took an active part in the war, and hastened, with whatever weapons they could obtain, to the army. Insurrections broke out in Lithuania, Volhynia, Kowno, Ukraine, Wilna, and even in ancient Poland, as far as Smolensk. On the other hand, general Dwernicki, who had been sent to make a demonstration in the rear of the Russians, and who had been victorious over them, was at last compelled to pass into the Austrian dominions, where he surrendered to the authorities of that country April 27th, with 5,000 Poles. The ardour of the people, however, still continued, and hopes were entertained in every country that the manly resistance of the Poles would induce the powerful cabinets to interfere; but, unfortunately, Prussia and Austria, being themselves in possession of a part of the spoils of Poland, did all in their power to prevent interference, while Britain and France were too much occupied at home to render essential aid. The military operations were now prosecuted with new vigour, and the emperor, who, in a manifesto addressed to the Russians, had called them the legitimate masters of the Poles, was ready to make every sacrifice to regain the Polish throne.

Their fate was soon afterwards decided. After two days' fighting, Warsaw was taken by the Russians (September 1831): the confiscation of their property, and exile to Siberia, followed as a matter of course. Poland was soon afterwards incorporated with Russia; and although it had its separate diet and code of laws, Russian troops were stationed in all the principal towns, and it was in all other respects like a conquered country.

Thirty years later Poland still proved unmistakably that her national life was not crushed, and that the tyranny of the Russian government was not easier or more free of anxiety than it was during the days of the emperor Nicholas. The patriotism of the Poles showed itself at first not in acts of violent insurrection, but in peaceful commemorations of its great national heroes: and to its utter disgrace, the Russian government made use of the opportunity furnished by these religious services to massacre an unarmed population. Every movement on the part of the emperor and his government betrayed fear and uncertainty; while the action of the people was a calm adherence to a resistance which is purely passive. This period of passive resistance was followed by an open revolt, which was provoked by a conscription (set on foot, it is said, by the marquis Wielopolski), by which it was designed to carry off all suspicious or dangerous persons. In the words of lord Napier, the British ambassador at St. Petersburg, this conscription 'was a design to make a clean sweep of the revolutionary youth of Poland, a plan to kidnap the opposition, and carry it off to Siberia or the Caucasus.' On the evening of the 14th of January, 1863, the grand duke Constantine, then viceroy of Poland, signed the order for commencing the conscription. At midnight the houses in Warsaw, noted on the lists, were surrounded, and the men seized, or their parents carried off as guarantees of their appearance. More than 2,000 were thus carried off, and many more took to flight. These were commanded by the central committee to form themselves into armed bands. Russian troops were sent in pursuit, and the people, thus maddened, broke into open revolt. By a decree published to induce the peasantry to make common cause with them, the committee ordained that land held under any title by small farmers should become henceforth the freehold property of the tenant without any obligations beyond those of paying taxes and serving the country, the former proprietors being compensated from the national funds by means of government stock.

An officer named Langlewicz, formerly belonging to the army of Garibaldi, took the command of the main body of the insurgents early in February near the town of Wachock, in the district of Radom. Other divisions were posted in the districts of Warsaw and Lublin. Soon after this the central committee, having appointed Langlewicz dictator, resigned for a time its own functions of secret government. On the 18th of March he fought a desperate battle with the Russians; and immediately afterwards he disappeared without bidding his troops a personal farewell. He left behind him a written proclamation, urging his companions to fight to the death; and the next news heard of him was that he had surrendered himself to the Austrians, who conveyed him to the citadel of Cracow. After his departure a guerilla warfare was kept up by Mieroslawski and some other leaders; but the provinces of Posen and Galicia remained throughout undisturbed.

To the first remonstrance made by Great Britain, France, and Austria, the emperor of Russia replied by expressing his willingness to grant an amnesty to the Poles if by the 1st (13th) of May they had laid down their arms. This offer was summarily rejected by the central committee, who declared that they had taken arms, not to obtain more or less liberal institutions, but to get rid of the hateful yoke of a foreign government. This, according to prince Gortschakoff, meant the acquisition of dominion over provinces where the immense majority are Russian by race or by religion—a project which would assuredly bring about a claim to the Polish provinces belonging to other powers as well as to those of Russia. Lord Russell replied, the 17th of June, by proposing six points as the bases for negotiation: (1) a general amnesty; (2) national representation; (3) the appointment of Poles to national offices; (4) full liberty of conscience, repeal of the restrictions imposed on catholic worship; (5) the use of the Polish as the official language; (6) a regular and legal system of recruiting. To allow time for the discussion, lord Russell proposed a provisional suspension of arms, to be proclaimed by the emperor of Russia. The ready reply to this was the technical difficulty of determining who the parties might be to this suspension, or what the *status quo* which it would guarantee. The proposal was, in short, declined, and the governments of Great Britain, France, and Austria thereupon laid on Russia the full responsibility for the consequences which the prolongation of the troubles of Poland might produce. For this, as confessedly the advice was not to be backed by stronger arguments, the Russian government cared nothing. General Berg was appointed military commander of Warsaw, and an attempt to assassinate him was requited by the complete demolition of the Zamoyski palace, with all its costly furniture and its still more precious manuscripts relating to the early history of Poland. The grand-duke Constantine withdrew from his post of viceroy, and the most stringent orders were issued for the suppression of the rebellion during the approaching winter season.

The insurgents never made head again; and the result was the extinction of the name of Poland, which now became part of Russia, the official use of the Polish language being suppressed, and everything being done to destroy the force of old national recollections and associations.

THE HISTORY OF SWITZERLAND.

The northern and southern nations of Europe have been singularly intermingled in the history of Helvetia, whose Alpine walls seem like a barrier, separating them from each other. The Roman legions, indeed, conquered the Gauls, Rhætians and Alemanni, in the forests and marshes; but they could not destroy the northern spirit of freedom. The traces of its ancient subjugation to Rome are still visible in the Romanic language of a part of Switzerland.

Helvetia, under the Romans, had a flourishing trade, which covered the land with cities and villages; and Switzerland still forms the connecting link between Northern Germany, the Netherlands, and France on the one side, and Italy on the other.

Before the fall of the Roman empire in the west, the northern and largest part of Switzerland, occupied by the Alemanni, had been conquered by the Franks. On the Jura dwelt the Burgundians, and Rhætia was under the Ostrogoths. Three German nations, therefore, freed the country, about A.D. 450, from the dominion of Rome.

Christianity had already been introduced into Helvetia from Italy, and as early as the fourth century there were Christian churches at Geneva, Coire, and other places. The Alemanni and Burgundians gave their laws and their habits to the Helvetians; and the Alemanni occupied the greater part of the country. Each soldier received a farm; a judge, or centgrave, was set over one hundred of these farms (forming a cent, or hundred): and the place of judgement where he settled all questions between the free citizens, was called *Malluo*. Several cents formed a *Gau* (hence Thurgau, Aargau, &c.), the judge of which was styled *count* (graf); and the counts were under a duke.

The great irruption of barbarians swept through the peaceful valleys of the Alps, and Roman civilisation disappeared. Ostrogoths, Lombards, and even Huns, settled in different parts of the country. At last, the Franks, who had taken possession of the lands of the conquered Alemanni, drove the Ostrogoths over the Rhætian mountains.

In 534, they likewise subjected the Burgundians; and all Switzerland became a portion of the Frankish empire. The country, however, retained its ancient constitution; the Romans and the old inhabitants were governed by Roman, the Alemanni by Alemannic laws; and each of the other nations by its peculiar code. The Christian religion was restored anew, and the desolated fields were again brought under cultivation.

On the partition of the empire of the Franks among the Merovingians, Switzerland was divided between two sovereigns; one reigned over Alemannian, and the other over Burgundian Switzerland, or Little Burgundy. Pepin reunited the whole country, and Charlemagne encouraged the arts and sciences in Helvetia. Under his feeble successors, the counts became more and more independent of the royal authority, and finally made the possession of their *gaus* hereditary. One of them (Rodolph) established, in 888, the new kingdom of Burgundy, between the Reuss and the Jura. Nine years previously, Boso had established the kingdom of Arles, in the territory between the Jura and the Rhone. Thirty years afterwards the two Burgundian kingdoms were united. The counts in the other part of Switzerland were still nominally subject to the German kings; but they conducted themselves as princes, assumed the names of their castles, and compelled the free inhabitants of their *gaus* to acknowledge them as their lords. Hence arose a multitude of independent and complicated governments, whose chiefs were engaged in continual feuds with each other. War was the business of the nobles, and misery the fate of the people in the distracted land. The emperor Conrad, therefore, set a duke over the counts in Alemannia in 911. But the emperors of the Saxon house were the first who compelled the dukes, counts and bishops, in Switzerland, to respect their authority.

After the death of Rodolph III., the fifth and last king of Burgundy (1032), the emperor Conrad II. reunited Burgundian Switzerland with Alemannia, which belonged to the German empire. But under Henry IV., grandson of Conrad II., the royal authority in Switzerland was again overthrown. The country people became more secure; the feuds among the nobility flourished; Geneva and Lausanne, among the Romanic, and Zurich and Basle among the German cities, became thriving towns. The families of Savoy, Kyburg, and Hapsburg were the most powerful among the noble families. Many nobles went, about this time, to Palestine; and thus the country was delivered from their oppression. After the death of Berthold V., last duke of Zähringen, in 1218, Alemannia again came into the possession of the emperor. His hereditary estates in the Uchtland and in Little Burgundy passed by his sister Agnes to the house of Kyburg.

From this time, the Hapsburgs in northern Helvetia, and the counts of Savoy in the south-west, grew more and more powerful. The emperor appointed some nobleman as governor of each city, or community, which was not under a count, to

collect the public revenue, and to punish violations of the public peace. The German kings were no longer able to afford protection: might gave right, and the boldest became the mightiest. Several inferior lords, and several places, therefore, sought the protection of Hapsburg or Savoy. Zurich, Berne, Basle and Soleure, the districts of Uri, Schweitz, and Underwalden, gradually acquired the seigneurial rights from the emperors, by purchase or by grant, and assumed the name of imperial cities, or imperial districts. They were more prosperous and powerful than the nobility, who lived in their solitary castles at enmity with each other.

Even the crusades, by promoting commerce, improved the already flourishing condition of the cities, as a part of the troops, arms, provisions, &c. were transmitted to Italy, through the passes of the Alps. The crusaders brought back new inventions in the arts, new kinds of fruits, &c. The gold and silk manufacturers of the Italians and eastern nations were imitated in Switzerland; refinement took the place of rudeness, and poetry became the favourite amusement of the nobles. The cities now formed alliances for their mutual protection against the rapacity of the nobles, and demolished many castles from which they exercised their oppression upon the peaceful merchants.

At the end of the thirteenth century, Rodolph of Hapsburg, who, in 1264, had inherited the estates of his uncle Hartmann, count of Kyburg, became more powerful than the old lords of the soil. As king and emperor of Germany, he held a court at Helvetia; but he did not abuse his power to reduce the freemen to vassalage. His ambitious sons, however, Rodolph and Albert, encroached upon the rights of the Swiss. Albert, in particular, who succeeded to the imperial dignity in 1298, by his tyranny and obstinacy, gave rise to the first confederacy of the Swiss cantons. On the night of November 7, 1307, thirty-three brave countrymen met at Grutlin, a solitary spot on the lake of Lucerne. Fürst of Uri, Stauffacher of Schweitz, and Melchthal of Unterwalden, were the leaders on this occasion. All swore to maintain their ancient independence. The three Waldstadte, or forest towns, (as these cantons were called), accordingly rose, deposed the Austrian governors, and destroyed the castles built to overawe the country.

Henry VII., the successor of Albert on the German throne, confirmed to the forest towns the rights of which Albert had endeavoured to rob them. The house of Austria still contended obstinately for its lost privileges. But the warlike spirit of the people fostered a love of conquest and plunder; mutual hatred kindled civil wars between neighbouring cantons; foreign powers sought the aid of the confederates in their contests. In 1424, the people of the Grey League established their independence, and were soon after joined by those of the other two leagues.

The emperor Frederick III. then called a French army into Switzerland to protect his family estates. The Swiss made a second Thermopylæ of the churchyard of St. Jacob at Basle, where 1,600 of them withstood 20,000 French under the dauphin Louis (August 26, 1444). They next provoked Charles the Bold of Burgundy, who marched into their country, but was defeated at Granson, Murten or Morat, and Nancy, in 1477. The confederates themselves aspired to conquest, the people being fired by the desire of plunder, and the nobles by warlike ambition. In 1460, they wrested Thurgau from Austria; and from 1436 to 1450, Zurich, Schweitz, and Glarus contended for Toggenburg, till Berne decided the dispute in favour of Schweitz.

The confederated cantons from this time bore the name of the Swiss confederacy in foreign countries. In 1481, Friburg and Soleure entered the confederacy. The emperor Maximilian I. now determined to force the Swiss to join the Suabian league, and to submit to the court of the imperial chamber. But they suspected Germany on account of Austria, and joined the Grisons. Hence arose the Suabian war, which was concluded, after the Swiss had gained six victories over the Germans, by the peace of Basle, in 1499. Basle, Schaffhausen, and Appenzell were afterwards admitted into the confederacy. But the country and people were disturbed by domestic and foreign wars.

In the Milanese war of 1512, the Swiss conquered the Valteline and Chiavenna, and obtained from Milan the Italian bailliages, which form at present the canton of Tessin. They fought on a foreign soil, now for, now against, Milan; at one time for France, and at another time against her, till after the great battle of Marignano, gained by Francis I., in 1515, they concluded a perpetual peace with France, at Friburg, in 1516, which was followed, in 1521, by the first formal alliance with that kingdom.

About this time the work of reformation began in Switzerland. Zuinglius, in 1518, preached against indulgences, as Luther had done in 1517. Even as early as 1516, he had attacked pilgrimages, and the invocation of the Virgin Mary; and in 1517, with the knowledge of his patron, the abbot of Einsiedeln, several nuns abandoned the monastic life. His removal from Einsiedeln to Zurich, in 1518, gave him courage to speak more openly, as Luther had, meanwhile, appeared in the cause of reform. But when the principles of the reformation were diffused through Zurich, Berne, Schaffhausen, Basle (by the labours of Œcolampadius), St. Gall, and Mühlhausen, religious jealousy separated the reformed and the catholic cantons. In Glarus, Appenzell, and the Grisons, the people were divided between the two confessions. Lucerne, Uri, Schweitz, Unterwalden, Zug, Friburg, Soleure, adhered to the ancient faith; as did likewise the Valais and the Italian balliwicks. Fanaticism kindled a civil war. The Schweitzers burnt a protestant preacher of Zurich. Two Swiss armies, nearly 30,000 strong, awaited the signal for civil war, a better spirit suddenly

prevailed, and the first religious peace was concluded in 1529.

It was agreed that the majority of votes in the communities should decide all questions relating to changes of faith. But the rapid progress of the reformation again provoked the catholic cantons to war; and the troops of Zurich were routed at Cappel (1531), where Zuinglius fell, and at the mountain of Zug. After the second public peace, the catholic religion was restored in Soleure and the common provinces. In the meantime, Savoy, which had long possessed episcopal and seigneurial rights in Geneva, reduced the city to entire submission. But the oppressive manner in which the ducal authority was exercised, led Geneva, in 1525, to join Berne and Friburg. The duke was forced to yield. Berne and Geneva concluded the perpetual league of 1531, and Berne gained possession of the Pays de Vaud. At the same time the reformed doctrines were propagated from Geneva by Calvin. By the peace of Lausanne, in 1564, Savoy first renounced her claims upon the Pays de Vaud, and was thus driven from Helvetia, as Neuburg had been before. About this time (1555), Berne and Friburg divided between themselves the territories of the counts of Gruyere; so that, in all Helvetia, no great family of the ancient nobles retained its patrimonial estates, except that of Henburg.

The Swiss, however, were distracted by religious and political controversies. Aristocracy and democracy struggled for the superiority, and the intrigues of Spain filled the people of the Valteline (1617-21) with a spirit of fanaticism. In foreign, and especially in the French service, the Swiss adopted foreign manners: he sold his blood to foreign masters; and the ancient Swiss purity and simplicity retired to the remote valleys of the higher Alps. At the same time, the connection of the confederacy with the German empire became less and less close, while the cantons obtained the confirmation of their rights from the emperor Maximilian II.

But the influence of France soon became predominant, and Rome swayed the minds of its adherents by means of Jesuit colleges at Lucerne and Friburg; and particularly through the papal nuncio at Lucerne. In the thirty years' war, the confederates maintained a prudent neutrality; and, by the peace of Westphalia (1648), the complete separation of Switzerland from the German empire was at length solemnly acknowledged.

In 1663, France renewed her alliance with the Swiss, and asserted that they had no right to form alliances with other powers. The conquest of the Franche Comté, in 1674, and the siege of Rheinfeld, in 1678, by the French, together with the erection of the fortress of Hüningen, in 1679, excited the apprehensions of the Swiss. They, however, happily maintained their neutrality, even in the war of the Spanish succession. During the persecution of the protestants in France, to whom they readily gave an asylum and pecuniary aid, they paid as little regard to the remonstrances of Louis, who viewed the reformers as rebels, as he did to the intercession of the protestant Swiss cantons in favour of their brethren in the faith.

The Swiss had little influence in foreign politics during the eighteenth century; and, until towards its close, they suffered little from foreign interference. This tranquillity, which, however, was often interrupted by internal dissensions, was alike favourable to the progress of commerce, agriculture, and manufactures, and to the arts and sciences. In almost every department of human knowledge, the Swiss of the eighteenth century, both at home and abroad, acquired distinguished reputation, as the names of Haller, Bonnet, Bernoulli, J. J. Rousseau, Lavater, Bodmer, Breitinger, Gessner, Sulzer, Hirzel, Fusell, Hottinger, John von Muller, Pestalozzi, and many others, bear witness.

The people of the democratic cantons enjoyed an almost unlimited freedom, and took a large share in the affairs of government. Those places which were under the general protection of the whole confederacy, were not burdened by excessive taxes; they enjoyed a high degree of civil freedom, and numerous municipal rights. The larger cantons, as Berne and Zurich, in which the government was administered by the capitals, or by a body of the citizens, who enjoyed many peculiar privileges, were also in a flourishing condition. There were no oppressive taxes; but almost everywhere the government was conscientiously conducted; the administration of justice was cheap and simple, and benevolent institutions were numerous. Notwithstanding all these favourable circumstances, internal dissensions still continued, and new troubles arose in 1790, which shook the political fabric; blood was often spilt, and punishment rendered necessary.

Although the Swiss had at first firmly maintained their neutrality in the wars of the French revolution, French power and intrigue gradually deprived them of their former constitution; and, after incorporating several portions of Switzerland with the French and Cisalpine republics, the French converted the Swiss confederacy into the Helvetic republic, one and indivisible, under an executive directory of five persons. The legislative power was divided between a senate and a great council, to which each of the fourteen cantons elected twelve members. It was in vain that some of the democratic cantons attempted to prevent this revolution. They were speedily overpowered.

But the oppression of the French, the arbitrary manner in which they disposed of the highest offices, and the great number of weak and corrupt men who were raised to power—soon made the new officers contemptible. Aloys Reding, a man of enterprising spirit, whose family was celebrated in the annals of his country, formed the plan of overthrowing the central government. Unterwalden, Schweitz, Zurich, Glarus, Appenzell, and the Grisons wished to restore the federal constitution

and Reding imagined that Buonaparte himself, who had just withdrawn the French troops from Switzerland, would favour his plan. The smaller cantons, in their diet at Schweitz (August 6, 1802), declared that they would not accept the constitution which had been forced upon them, and that they preferred a federal government. The consequence was a civil war. Zurich was besieged to no purpose by the troops of the Helvetic republic, against whom its gates were shut. Rodolph von Erlach and general Auf der Maur, at the head of the insurgents, occupied Berne and Friburg. The Helvetic government retired to Lausanne.

Aloys Reding now summoned a general assembly, which was held at Schweitz, September 27. Three days after, the first consul of France offered to the cantons his mediation; but the small cantons, guided by Aloys Reding and Hirzel of Zurich, persevered in their opposition. Twelve thousand French troops entered Switzerland, under Ney, and the diet separated. Reding and Hirzel were imprisoned. In December, both parties sent deputies of the eighteen cantons to Paris, to whom Buonaparte transmitted by Barthélémy, Fouché, and Röderer, the act of mediation of February 19, 1803, restoring the cantonal system, but granting freedom to the former subjects of the cantons.

The cantons were now nineteen in number:—Aargau, Appenzell, Basle, Berne, Friburg, Glarus, Grisons, Lucerne, St. Gall, Schaffhausen, Schweitz, Soleure, Tessin, Thurgau, Unterwalden, Uri, Pays de Vaud, Zug, and Zurich. The republic of Valais was changed by a degree of Napoleon, in 1810, into a French department; and as early as 1806, he granted Neufchâtel (which had been ceded to him by Prussia, but which was under the protection of Switzerland,) to general Berthier, as a sovereign principality. Napoleon assumed the title of 'mediator of Switzerland;' and the military service required of the Swiss became more and more oppressive. It was only by great firmness and the sacrifice of immense sums of money, that most of the cantonal governments could avert greater oppression; they were obliged to adopt the continental system; and the canton of Tessin was long garrisoned by French troops. In 1813, when the theatre of war approached Switzerland, France permitted the Swiss to maintain their neutrality; but the allies expressed themselves ambiguously, and large armies were soon marched through the country, in various directions, to France. Their arrival excited a fermentation in many quarters. The act of mediation was annulled, December 29, 1813, at Zurich; and several cantons, of which Berne was the first, laboured to revive their old constitutions. Through the influence of the allied monarchs, the cantons were finally prevailed on to assemble a general council; but revolutions and counter-revolutions agitated several of the cantons. A diet was at length assembled at Zurich, and new articles of confederation were agreed upon by nineteen cantons, September 18, 1814. They resembled the old federal pact in many respects. This confederacy was acknowledged by the congress of Vienna. The bishopric of Basle, with Bienne, was given to the canton of Berne, excepting the district of Birseck, which fell to Basle, and a small portion which fell to Neufchâtel. The former relations of the latter place to Prussia were restored, and, with Geneva and the Valais, it joined the confederacy of the Swiss cantons, making their number twenty-two.

August 7, 1815, the compact of Zurich was publicly and solemnly adopted, after the deputies of the confederacy at Vienna had given in their accession to the acts of the congress of Vienna, so far as they related to Switzerland. Soon after, Switzerland became a member of the holy alliance. But the political state of the Swiss cantons, as settled by the congress of Vienna, and jealously watched by the holy alliance, gave rise to much disaffection in the great body of the people. In this state of things the general demand for reform, in the electoral assemblies of Tessin (one of the small cantons), compelled the council, June 1830, to yield to the public voice, and establish a system of direct elections, and of publicity of proceedings in the great council, and to guarantee the liberty of the press, and the inviolability of persons, as parts of the constitution. This event, and the French revolution of July 1830, set the examples for general risings in various parts of the country. In the new cantons the popular demands were generally so readily complied with as to prevent any serious disturbances, and the democratic cantons took hardly any part in the troubles; but in the old aristocratic cantons, the opposition was stronger and more systematic. Still, as many of the townspeople were favourable to more popular institutions, the governments, even in these cantons, generally yielded, with little opposition, to the wishes of the citizens; and in Friburg, Berne, Lucerne, Soleure, Schaffhausen, the revision of the constitution, the abolition of privileges, the extension of the right of election, abolition of censorship of the press, &c., were among the concessions to popular rights.

From that period little occurred to disturb the general tranquillity of the country till 1846, when a civil war broke out, the cause of which was as follows:—In the canton of Aargau, where the population is mixed, a portion of the catholics had risen, in 1840, in insurrection against the government; and as it was found that the convents in that canton had instigated the rising, their suppression was decreed, and the revenues, after providing permanently for their inmates, appropriated to religious and charitable purposes. In the diet, Lucerne, the leading catholic canton, vigorously protested against this act, and the Argovians offered to restore the convents. But the catholic party was not satisfied. In the canton of Valais the clergy went so far as to refuse the sacraments to the members of Young Switzerland, as the liberal party was named,

and even to their relatives, or the readers of their journals. The Jesuits, elated with their triumph in the Valais, now became extremely active in the other catholic cantons, and in 1844 they were formally invited to enter the canton of Lucerne, from which they had hitherto been excluded, to take charge of the cantonal education. This led to civil dissension in the canton: the expulsion of the leaders of the anti-Jesuit party, and the invasion of it by free corps from the adjacent cantons. Matters soon began to assume a more serious aspect. In the diet of 1844 the Argovian deputy had proposed the expulsion of the Jesuits from the confederacy. He then met with no support; but in the diet of 1845 a majority voted for that measure. In 1846 Lucerne and six other catholic cantons formed what was termed the Sonderbund, or Separate League, an armed confederacy, in fact, in support of the cause of the Jesuits. This was voted to be illegal by a majority of the diet; and changes of government which took place immediately after in Berne, Geneva, and other places, having given more strength to the anti Jesuit party, the expulsion of that society, with the dissolution of the Sonderbund, was resolved on by the diet. But as the catholic cantons, relying on Austria and on France for support, refused compliance, it was resolved to have recourse to arms. The troops of the diet, commanded by general Dufour, appeared before Friburg, which opened its gates after a feeble resistance. The federal army then resumed its march, and soon reached the vicinity of Lucerne, where a surrender was made after one vigorous action at the adjacent village of Roth. The leaders of the Sonderbund took to flight, and the Jesuits were ordered to quit the canton within forty-eight hours. The remaining cantons sent in their submission; and thus, through the vigour and rapidity of General Dufour's measures, the civil war was terminated without giving Austria or any other power a pretext for interference. In 1848, while Europe was convulsed by revolution, Switzerland enjoyed comparative tranquillity; save that Neufchâtel, which had hitherto belonged to Prussia, then shook off the foreign yoke, and was annexed to Switzerland.

In the year 1856 it seemed for a time that a war between the federation and the king of Prussia was inevitable. On the 2nd of September a band calling themselves royalists, under the count of Pourtales, seized the castle of Neufchâtel, the seat of the government of the canton, and called on the people to support the authority of the king of Prussia, on whose behalf they had struck the blow. In an engagement with some federal troops who were sent against them, these royalists were defeated. The federal council ordered that the prisoners should be tried for high treason: the king of Prussia demanded that they should be unconditionally liberated, grounding his demand on his seignorial rights over Neufchâtel. It seems that in 1707 the states of Neufchâtel transferred their allegiance to the house of Bradenburg. In 1814 Neufchâtel was admitted into the Swiss confederation, but in 1815 the rights of the king of Prussia were recognised and confirmed by the congress of Vienna. In 1848 the people determined to assimilate themselves wholly to the other members of the confederation, and disputed the Prussian claims, which, however, were again recognised by the five powers in 1852; and so matters continued until this attempt of the royalists in 1856. The federal council, although urged by Austria, Bavaria, and Baden, refused to comply with the Prussian demand. On explaining the state of the case to the French emperor, the latter advised them to release the prisoners, and showed great irritation when his advice was rejected, and warned Switzerland that henceforth she could hardly expect much assistance from France. In April 1857 a treaty of mediation was concluded by which the king of Prussia gave up for ever all rights of sovereignty over Neufchâtel and Valengin for the solid consideration of 1,000,000 francs to be paid by the federation.

Years passed on without bringing about any events of considerable importance, until the mighty struggle between France and Germany brought a large French force within the Swiss borders, where they were "interned" as prisoners of war (France, p. 648*). This struggle was followed in Germany by the scarcely less vehement, though less bloody, conflict between the national and the Vatican forces. It was not likely that Switzerland would remain unaffected by this great contest, which was disturbing the rest of Europe. At Geneva the pope attempted to maintain a bishop (Mermillod) without the consent of the Genevese canton. The bishop was arrested and conveyed beyond the frontier; and at the same time a diocesan conference, held at Basle, deposed bishop Lachat. Whatever might be the results of this struggle, the coffers of the city of Geneva were wonderfully enriched, when in 1873 the duke of Brunswick left to the Genevese his enormous wealth.

The following year was marked by a renewal of the struggle. A scheme of reform was carried, which made Switzerland a united nation, and made effectual provisions for subjecting the ecclesiastical to the civil power. Not only did this measure contain the substance of the Falck laws of Prussia, but it further ordained that the performance of marriage was not to be refused on any ground of morality or religion, and that the marriage of the parents should legitimise all children born before their marriage. Lastly, it made primary secular education compulsory, and abolished capital and corporal punishment.

The ecclesiastical reformation was scarcely less sweeping. The national synod was endowed with the power of depriving delinquent bishops; confession was no longer compulsory; the clergy were freed from the obligation of celibacy; and the vernacular or vulgar tongue was substituted for Latin in the offices of the church.

THE HISTORY OF ITALY.

BEFORE Rome had absorbed all the vital power of Italy, this country was thickly inhabited, and for the most part, by civilised nations. In the north of Italy alone, which offered the longest resistance to the Romans, dwelt the Gauls. Farther south, on the Arno and the Tiber, a number of small tribes, such as the Etrusci, the Samnites, and Latins, endeavoured to find safety by forming confederacies. Less closely united, and often hostile to each other, were the Greek colonies of Lower Italy, called *Magna Grecia*.

Italia did not become the general name of this country until the age of Augustus. It had been early imperfectly known to the Greeks under the name of *Hesperia*. *Ausonia*, *Saturnia*, and *Œnotria*, were also names applied by them to the southern part, with which alone they were at first acquainted. The name *Italia* was at first merely a partial name for the southern extremity, until it was gradually extended to the whole country.

The modern history of Italy begins with the fall of the western empire. Romulus Augustus, its last feeble emperor, was dethroned by his German guards. Odoacer, their leader, assumed the title of *king of Italy*, and thus this country was separated from the Roman empire. But this valiant barbarian could not communicate a spirit of independence and energy to the degenerate Italians; nothing but an amalgamation with a people in a state of nature could effect their regeneration. Such a people already stood on the frontiers of Italy.

Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, instigated by Zeno, emperor of the East, overthrew the kingdom of Odoacer, in 493, and reduced all Italy. His Goths spread from the Alps to Sicily. In the lagoons of the Adriatic alone, some fugitives, who had fled from the devastations of Attila, maintained their freedom.

Theodoric, who combined the vigour of the north with the cultivation of the south, is justly termed the *Great*. But the energy of his people soon yielded to Roman corruption. Totila, for ten years, contested in vain the almost completed conquest with the military skill of Belisarius. He fell in battle in 552; after which Italy was annexed to the eastern empire, under an exarch, who resided at Ravenna. But the first exarch, Narses, sunk under the intrigues of the Byzantine court, and his successor neglected the defence of the passes of the Alps. The country was then invaded by the Lombards, who, under Alboin, their chief or king, conquered the territory which afterwards received its name from them.

The kingdom of the Lombards included Upper Italy, Tuscany, and Umbria. Alboin also created the duchy of Benevento in Lower Italy. The whole of Lombardian Italy was divided into thirty great fiefs, under dukes, counts, &c., which soon became hereditary. Together with the new kingdom, the confederation of the fugitives in the lagoons still subsisted in undisturbed freedom. The islanders, by the election of their first doge Anafesto, in 697, established a central government, and the republic of Venice was founded.

Ravenna, the seat of the exarch, with Romagna, the Pentapolis, or the five maritime cities (Rimini, Pisaro, Fano, Sinigaglia, and Ancona), and almost all the coasts of Lower Italy, where Amalfi and Gaeta had dukes of their own, of the Greek nation, remained unconquered, together with Sicily and the capital, Rome, which was governed by a patrician in the name of the emperor. The slight dependence on the court of Byzantium disappeared almost entirely in the beginning of the eighth century, when Leo, the Isaurian, exasperated the orthodox Italians by his assault of images. The cities expelled his officers, and chose consuls and a senate, as in ancient times. Rome acknowledged, not indeed the power, but a certain paternal authority of its bishops, even in secular affairs, in consequence of the respect which their holiness procured them. The popes, in their efforts to defend the freedom of Rome against the Lombards, forsaken by the court of Byzantium, generally had recourse to the Frankish kings.

In consideration of the aid expected against king Astolphus, pope Stephen III., in 753, not only anointed Pepin, who in the preceding year had been made king of the Franks, with the approbation of pope Zacharias, but with the assent of the municipality of Rome, appointed him patrician, as the imperial governor had hitherto been denominated. Charlemagne made war upon Desiderius, the king of the Lombards, in defence of the Roman church, took him prisoner in his capital, Pavia, united his empire with the Frankish monarchy, and eventually gave Italy a king in his son Pepin. But his attempts against the duchy of Benevento, the independence of which was maintained by duke Arichis, against the republics in Lower Italy, where Naples, Amalfi, and Gaeta, in particular, had become rich by navigation and commerce, were unsuccessful. The exarchate, with the five cities, had already been presented to the pope by Pepin, in 756, and Charlemagne confirmed the gift; but the secular supremacy of the popes was not completed until the pontificate of Innocent III., about the year 1200. Their rank, however, among

the ecclesiastics of the west, and the temporal power now acquired, gave them an ascendancy over the clergy and laity in Europe, which they failed not to improve until they were acknowledged as the infallible heads of the church.

Leo III. bestowed on the king of the Franks, on Christmas-day, A. D. 800, the imperial crown of the west, which needed a Charlemagne to raise it from nothing. But dislike to the Franks, whose conquest was looked upon as a new invasion of barbarians, united the free cities, Rome excepted, more closely to the eastern empire. Even during the lifetime of Charlemagne, Frankish Italy was given to his grandson Bernard; who, however, having attempted to become independent of his uncle, Louis the Debonnaire, was deprived of the crown, and had his eyes torn out.

Italy now remained a constituent part of the Frankish monarchy, till the partition of Verdun, which took place in 843; when it was allotted, with the imperial dignity, and what was afterwards called Lorraine, to Lothaire I., eldest son of Louis. Lothaire left the government to his son Louis II., the most estimable of the Italian princes of the Carlovingian line. After his death, in 875, Italy became the apple of discord to the whole family. Charles the Bald, of France, first took possession of it; and after his death Carloman, king of Bavaria; who was succeeded, in 880, by his brother Charles the Fat, king of Suabia, who united the whole monarchy of the Franks for the last time.

His dethronement, in 887, was the epoch of anarchy and civil war in Italy. Berengarius, duke of Friuli, and Guido, duke of Spoleto (besides the marquis of Ivrea, the only ones remaining of the thirty great vassals), disputed the crown between them. Guido was crowned king and emperor, and after his death (894), his son Lambert. Arnold, the Carlovingian king of the Germans, enforced his claims to the royal and imperial crown of Italy (896), but, like most of his successors, was able to maintain them only during his residence in the country.

After the death of Lambert and Arnold, Louis, king of Lower Burgundy, became the competitor of Berengarius I.; and this bold and noble prince, although crowned king in 894, and emperor in 895, did not enjoy quiet till he had expelled the emperor Louis III. and vanquished another competitor, Rodolph of Upper Burgundy: he was even then unable, on account of the feeble condition of the state, to defend the kingdom effectively against the invasions of the Saracens and the Hungarians.

After the assassination of Berengarius, in 924, Rodolph II. relinquished his claims to Hugh, count of Provence, in exchange for that country. Hugh sought to strengthen the insecure throne of Italy by a bloody tyranny. His nephew, Berengarius, marquis of Ivrea, fled from his snares to Otho the Great, of Germany, assembled an army of fugitives, returned and overthrew Hugh in 945. Hugh was succeeded by his son Lothaire. Berengarius became his first counsellor. But, after the death of Lothaire, in 950, (poisoned, it was said, by Berengarius), the latter wished to compel his widow — the beautiful Adelaide — contrary to her inclination, to marry his son. Escaping from the prison to which he had consigned her, she took refuge in the castle of Canossa, where she was besieged by Berengarius II. She now applied for aid to Otho I., king of Germany, who passed the Alps, liberated her, conquered Pavia, became king of the Franks and Lombards, and married Adelaide.

To a prompt submission, and the cession of Friuli, (the key of Italy), which Otho gave to his brother Henry, Berengarius was indebted for permission to reign as the vassal of Otho. But the nobles of Italy preferring new complaints against him, ten years after, Otho returned in 961, deposed him, and led him prisoner to Bamberg; and, after having been himself crowned king of Italy with the iron crown, in 961, united this kingdom with the German. Otho gave the great imperial fiefs to Germans, and granted to the Italian cities privileges that were the foundation of a free constitution, for which they soon became ripe.

The growing wealth of the papal court, owing to the munificence of the French kings, which had promoted their influence on the government, so beneficial under Leo IV. and popes of a similar character, became, through the corruption of the Roman court in the tenth century, the first cause of its decline. The clergy and the people elected the popes according to the will of the consuls and a few patricians. Alberic of Camerino, and his son Octavian, were absolute masters of Rome, and the last was pope, under the name of John XII., when twenty years of age. Otho the Great, whom he had crowned emperor in Rome, in 962, deposed him, and chose Leo VIII. in his stead; but the people, jealous of its right of election, chose Benedict V.

From this time, the popes, instead of ruling the people of Rome, became dependent on them. In Lower Italy, the republics of Naples, Gaeta, and Amalfi still defended their independence against the Lombard duchy of Benevento, with the more ease, since the duchy had been divided, in 839, between Siconolphus of Salerno and Radelghisius of Benevento, and subsequently among a great number, and since, with the dukes, they had had a common enemy in the Saracens, who had been previously invited over from Sicily by both parties (about 830), as auxiliaries against each other, but who had settled and maintained themselves in Apulia. The emperors Louis II. and Basilius Macedo had, with combined forces, broken the power of the Mussulmans; the former was, nevertheless, unable to maintain himself in Lower Italy, but the Greeks, on the contrary, gained a firmer footing, and formed, of the regions taken from the Saracens, a separate province, called the *Thema of Lombardy*, which continued under their dominion, though without prejudice to the

liberty of the republics, upwards of a hundred years, oeing governed by a catapan (or governor-general) at Bari. Otho the Great himself did not succeed in driving them altogether from Italy. The marriage of his son, Otho II., with the Greek princess Theophania, put an end to his exertions for this purpose, as did the unfortunate battle at Basentello to the similar attempts renewed by Otho II. (980).

In opposition to the designs of the count of Tusculum, who wished to supplant the absent emperor at Rome, a noble Roman, the consul Crescentius, in 980, attempted to govern Rome under the semblance of her ancient liberty. Otho II., king since 973, occupied with his projects of conquest in Lower Italy, did not interfere with this administration, which became formidable to the vicious popes Boniface VII. and John XV. But when Otho III., who had reigned in Germany since 983, raised his kinsman Gregory V. to the popedom, Crescentius caused the latter to be expelled, and John XVI., a Greek, to be elected by the people. He also endeavoured to place Rome again under the nominal supremacy of the Byzantine empire. Otho, however, reinstated Gregory, besieged Crescentius in the castle of St. Angelo, took him prisoner, and caused him to be beheaded, with twelve other noble Romans, A.D. 998. But the Romans again threw off their allegiance to the emperor, and yielded only to force.

On the death of Otho III. (1002), the Italians considered their connection with the German empire as dissolved. Harduin, marquis of Ivrea, was elected king, and crowned at Pavia. This was a sufficient motive for Milan, the enemy of Pavia, to declare for Henry II. of Germany. A civil war ensued, in which every city, relying on its walls, took a greater or less part. Henry was chosen king of Italy by the nobles assembled in Pavia; but disturbances arose, in which a part of the city was destroyed by fire (A.D. 1004). Not till after Harduin's death, which occurred in 1015, was Henry recognised as king by all Lombardy. He was succeeded by Conrad II.

At the diet held at Roncaglia, near Piacenza in 1037, Conrad made the fiefs hereditary by a fundamental law of the empire, and endeavoured to give stability and tranquillity to the state, but without success. The cities (which were daily becoming more powerful) and the bishops were engaged in continual quarrels with the nobility, and the nobility with their vassals, which could not be repressed.

Republican Rome, under the influence of the family of Crescentius, could be reduced to obedience neither by Henry II. and Conrad II., nor by the popes. When Henry III., the son and successor of Conrad, entered Italy in 1040, he found three popes in Rome, all of whom he deposed, appointed in their stead Clement II., and ever after filled the papal chair, by his own authority, with virtuous German ecclesiastics. This reform gave the popes new consequence, which afterwards became fatal to his successor. Henry died in 1056.

During the minority of his son Henry IV the policy of the popes, directed by Hildebrand, (afterwards Gregory VII.) succeeded in creating an opposition, which soon became formidable to the secular power. The Normans also contributed to this result. As early as 1016, warriors from Normandy had established themselves in Calabria and Apulia. Allies sometimes of the Lombards, sometimes of the republics, sometimes of the Greeks against each other and against the Saracens, they constantly became more powerful by petty wars. The great preparation of Leo IX. for their expulsion terminated in his defeat and capture (1053). On the other hand, Nicolas II. united with the Norman princes, and, in 1059, invested Robert Guiscard with all the territories conquered by him in Lower Italy. From that time, the pope, in his conflicts with the imperial power, relied on the support of his faithful vassal, the duke of Apulia and Calabria, to which Sicily was soon added. While the small states of the south were thus united into one large one, the kingdom in the north was dissolving into smaller states. The Lombard cities were laying the foundation of their future importance. Venice, Genoa, and Pisa were already powerful.

In the small republics of the north of Italy, the government was, in most cases, divided between the consuls, the lesser council, the great council, and the popular assembly. Petty feuds developed their youthful energies. Such were those that terminated with the destruction of Lodi by Milan, in 1111, and the ten years' siege of Como, by the forces of all the Lombard cities, which lasted from 1118 to 1128. The subjugation of this city rendered Milan the first power in Lombardy, and most of the neighbouring cities were her allies. Others formed a counter-alliance with her antagonist, Pavia. Disputes between Milan and Cremona were the occasion of the first war between the two unions (1129), to which the contest of Lothaire II. and Conrad of Hohenstaufen for the crown soon gave another direction. This was the origin of the Ghibelines (favourers of the emperor), and the Guelfs (the adherents of the family of the Guelfs, and, in general, the party of the popes).

In Rome, the love of liberty, restrained by Gregory VII., rose in proportion as his successors ruled with less energy. The schisms between Gelasius II. and Gregory VIII., Innocent II., and Anacletus II., renewed the hopes of the Romans. Arnold of Brescia, formerly proscribed for his violent attacks against the luxury of the clergy in that country, was their leader. After eight years, Adrian IV. succeeded in effecting his execution.

Frederick I. of Hohenstaufen (called Barbarossa) crossed the Alps six times, in order to defend his possessions in Italy against the republicanism of the Lombard cities. Embracing the cause of Pavia, as the weaker, he devastated the territory of Milan, and was crowned in Pavia and Rome.

In 1158, he reduced Milan, demolished the fortifications of Piacenza, and held a diet at Roncaglia, where he extended the imperial prerogatives conformably with the Justinian code, gave the cities chief magistrates, and proclaimed a general peace. His rigour having excited a new rebellion, he reduced Cremona to ashes, compelled Milan to submission, and having driven out all the inhabitants, demolished the fortifications.

When the emperor entered Italy in 1163, without an army, the cities concluded a union for maintaining their freedom, which, in 1167, was converted into the Lombard confederacy. The confederates restored Milan, and, to hold in check the Ghibeline city of Pavia, built a new city, called, in honour of the pope, *Alessandria*. Neither Frederick's governor, Christian, archbishop of Mentz, nor he himself, could effect anything against the confederacy; the former failed before Ancona, with all the power of Ghibeline Tuscany; and the latter, before Alessandria. He was also defeated by Milan, at Legnano, in 1176. He then concluded a concordate with Alexander III., and a truce with the cities of Venice, and a peace, which secured their independence, at Constance (1183). The republics retained the *podestà* (foreign noblemen, now elected by themselves) as judges and generals. As formerly, all were to take the oath of fealty and allegiance to the emperor. But, instead of strengthening their league into a permanent confederacy (the only safety for Italy), they were soon split into new factions, when the designs of the Hohenstaufen on the throne of Sicily drew Frederick and Henry VI. from Lombardy.

During the minority of Frederick II., and the disputes for the succession to the German throne, Innocent III., who was Frederick's guardian, succeeded in reestablishing the secular authority of the holy see in Rome and the surrounding country, and in enforcing its claims to the donations of Charlemagne and Matilda. He also brought over almost all Tuscany, except Pisa, to the party of the Guelfs. A blind hereditary hatred, rather than a zeal for the cause, inspired the parties; for when Otho IV. ascended the imperial throne, the Guelfs became his party, and the Ghibelines the pope's; but the reversion of the imperial throne to the house of Hohenstaufen, in the person of Frederick II., soon restored the ancient relations.

In Florence, this party-spirit gave pretence to the disputes of the Buondelmonti and Donati with the Uberti and Amadei, originating in private causes; and most cities were thus internally divided into Guelfs and Ghibelines. The Guelf cities of Lombardy renewed the Lombard confederacy, in 1226. The Dominican, John of Vicenza, attacked these civil wars; but his attempt to obtain secular power in Vicenza occasioned his fall. After the emperor had returned from his crusade, in 1230, he waged war, with varying success, against the cities and against Gregory IX., heedless of the excommunication; while Ezzelin di Romano, under the pretence of favouring the Ghibelines, established, by every kind of violence, his own power in Padua, Verona, Vicenza, and the neighbourhood.

The plan of Gregory IX., to depose Frederick, was successfully executed by Innocent IV., in the council of Lyons (1245). This completely weakened the Ghibeline party, which was already nearly undermined by the intrigues of the mendicant orders. The Bolognese united all the cities of Italy in a Guelf league, and in 1249, took Enzius prisoner, whom they never released. In the Trevisan Mark alone, the Ghibelines possessed the supremacy, by means of Ezzelin, till he fell before a crusade of all the Guelfs against him, in 1255. But these contests were fatal to liberty; the house Della Scala followed that of Romano in the dominion; and Milan itself, with a great part of Lombardy, found masters in the house of Della Torre. Tyrants everywhere arose; the maritime republics and the republic of Tuscany alone remained free.

After Charles I. of Anjou had become, by the favour of the pope, king of Naples, senator of Rome, papal vicar of Tuscany, and had directed his ambition to the throne of Italy (a policy in which his successors persevered), the names of Guelfs and Ghibelines acquired a new signification. The former denoted the friends, the latter the enemies, of the French. To these factions were added in the republics, the parties of the nobility and the people, the latter of which was almost universally victorious. The honest exertions of Gregory X. (who died 1276) to establish peace, were of no avail; those of Nicholas III., who feared the preponderance of Charles, were more efficient; but Martin IV., servilely devoted to Charles, destroyed everything which had been effected, and persecuted the Ghibelines with new animosity.

A different interest—that of trade and navigation—impelled the maritime republics to mutual wars. The Genoese assisted Michael Palæologus, in 1261, to recover Constantinople from the Venetians, and received in return Chios; at Meloria, they annihilated the navy of the Pisans, and completed their dominion of the sea by a victory over the Venetians at Curzola, which took place in 1298. Florence rendered its democracy complete by the punishment of all the nobles, and strengthened the Guelf party by wise measures; but a new schism soon divided the Guelfs in Florence and all Tuscany into two factions—the Neri (Black) and Bianchi (White). The latter were almost all expelled by the intrigues of Boniface VIII., and joined the Ghibelines. In Lombardy, freedom seemed to have expired, when the people, weary of the everlasting feuds of their tyrants, rose in most of the cities, and expelled them.

Henry VII., the first emperor who had appeared in Italy for sixty years (1310), restored the princes to their cities, and found general submission to his requisitions, peace among the parties, and homage to the empire. Florence alone undertook the glorious part which she so nobly sustained for two centuries, as the guardian of Italian freedom; she chose Robert of Naples, the enemy of Henry, her protector for five

years, and remained free while the other parts of the kingdom were divided into factions and destroyed by intestine wars.

In 1330, John, king of Bohemia, suddenly entered Italy. Invited by the inhabitants of Brescia, favoured by the pope, elected lord of Lucca, everywhere acting the part of a mediator and peacemaker, he would have succeeded in establishing the power at which he aimed, had he not been opposed by the Florentines. On his second expedition to Italy in 1333, Azzo Visconti, Martino della Scala, and Robert of Naples, united against him and his ally, the papal legate, Bertrand of Poiet, who aspired to the dominion of Bologna. After the downfall of both in 1334, when the Pepoli began to rule in Bologna, Martino della Scala became master of half Lombardy. Florence led the opposition against him, and excited a war of the league, in which it gained nothing but the security of its liberty.

In Rome, Cola Rienzi, in 1347, sought to restore order and tranquillity; he was appointed tribune of the people, but was forced, after seven months, to yield to the nobility. Having returned, after seven years of banishment, with the legate cardinal Albornoz, he ruled again a short time, and at length was murdered in an insurrection. The Genoese, tired of the perpetual disputes of the Ghibelline Spinolas and Dorias with the Guelf Grimaldi and Fieschi, banished all these families in 1339, and made Simon Boccanegra their first doge.

In 1347 Italy suffered by a terrible famine, and a still more terrible pestilence in the year following, which swept away two thirds of the population. No less terrible was the scourge of the *bande* (banditti), or large companies of soldiers, who, after every peace, continued the war on their own account, ravaging the whole country with fire and sword.

Pope Innocent VI. succeeded in conquering the whole of the states of the church, by means of the cardinal legate, Egidius Albornoz (1354-60); but, reduced to extremities by the oppressions of the legates, and encouraged by Florence, the conquered cities revolted in 1375. The cruelties of cardinal Robert of Geneva (afterwards Clement VII.), and of his band of soldiers from Bretagne, produced only a partial subjugation; and the great schism, the freedom of these cities, or rather the power of their petty tyrants, was fully confirmed.

The Visconti, meanwhile, persisting in their schemes of conquest, arrayed the whole strength of Italy in opposition to them, and caused the old factions of Guelfs and Ghibellines soon to be forgotten in the impending danger. Genoa submitted to John Visconti, who had purchased Bologna from the Pepoli in 1350; but his enterprise against Tuscany failed through the resistance of the confederated Tuscan republics. Another league against him was concluded by the Venetians with the petty tyrants of Lombardy. But the union of the Florentines with the Visconti against the papal legates continued but a short time. In Florence, the Guelfs were divided into the parties of the Ricci and the Albizzi. The sedition of the Ciompi to which this gave rise, was quelled by Michael di Lando, who had been elected gonfaloniere by themselves, in a way no less manly than disinterested.

The Venetians, irritated with Carrara, on account of the assistance he had given the Genoese in the war at Chiozza (1379), looked quietly on while John Galeazzo Visconti deprived the Della Scala and Carrara of all their possessions; and Florence alone assisted the unfortunate princes. Francis Carrara made himself again master of Padua, in 1390, and maintained his advantages, till he sunk under the enmity of the Venetians (1406), who, changing their policy, became henceforth, instead of the opponents, the rivals of the ambitious views of the Visconti.

In 1395, John Galeazzo obtained from the emperor Wenceslaus the investiture of Milan as a duchy, purchased Pisa (which his natural son Gabriel bargained away to Florence, 1405), from the tyrant Gerard of Appiano (who reserved only the principality of Piombino), and subjugated Sienna, Perugia, and Bologna; so that Florence, fearfully menaced, alone stood against him in the cause of liberty. On his death, in 1402, the prospect brightened, and during the minority of his sons, a great portion of his states was lost. When Ladislaus of Naples, taking advantage of the schism, made himself master of all the ecclesiastical states, and threatened to conquer all Italy, Florence again alone dared to resist him. But this danger was transitory; the Visconti soon rose up again in opposition.

Duke Philip Maria reconquered all his states of Lombardy, by means of the great Carmagnola (1416-20). Genoa also, which was sometimes given up, in nominal freedom to stormy factions (of the Fregosi, Adorni, Montalto, Guarco), and at other times was subject to France, or to the marquis of Montferrat, submitted to him (1421). Florence subsequently entered into an alliance against him with the Venetians (1425); and by means of Carmagnola, who had now come over to them, they conquered the whole country as far as the Adda, and retained it in the peace of Ferrara (1428).

After Milan had been enfeebled by the Venetians and Florentines, and while Alphonso of Arragon was constantly disturbed in Naples, by the Anjou party, no dangerous predominance of power existed in Italy, though mutual jealousy still excited frequent wars, in which two parties among the Italian mercenary soldiers, the Bracheschi and the Sforzeschi, continued always hostile to each other, contrary to the custom of those mercenary bands. After the extinction of the Visconti, in 1447, Francis Sforza succeeded in gaining possession of the Milanese state. The Venetians, who aimed at territorial aggrandisement, having formed a connection with some princes against him, he found an ally in Florence, which, with a change of circumstances, wisely altered her policy. About this time, the family of the Medici attained to power in that city by their wealth and talent.

Milan, where the Sforza had established themselves; Venice, which possessed half of Lombardy; Florence, wisely managed by Lorenzo Medici; the states of the church, for the most part restored to the holy see; and Naples, which was incapable of employing its forces in direct attacks on other states, constituted, in the fifteenth century, the political balance of Italy, which, during the manifold feuds of these states, permitted no one to become dangerous to the independence of the rest, till 1494, when Charles VIII. of France entered Italy to conquer Naples, and Louis Moro Sforza played the part first of his ally, then of his enemy, while the pope, Alexander VI., eagerly sought the friendship of the French, to promote the exaltation of his son, Cæsar Borgia.

A long succession of military contests now took place, which were chiefly excited by invasions from Germany, or by the efforts of party leaders at home to usurp power over the free cities; but we must pass by these, and merely observe that the Medici family ultimately succeeded in establishing their sway. The brief tranquillity of Italy, however, was soon destined to be disturbed by the grasping ambition of the warlike pope, Julius II., who completed the subjugation of the states of the church, not, indeed, for a son or nephew, but in the name of the holy see. He concluded with Maximilian I., Ferdinand the Catholic, and Louis XII., the league of Cambray (1508), against the ambitious policy of the Venetians, who succeeded in dissolving the league which threatened them with destruction. The pope then formed a league with the Venetians themselves, Spain, and the Swiss, for the purpose of driving the French from Italy. This holy league did not, however, then attain its object, although Julius was little affected by the French and German council held at Pisa to depose him. Maximilian Sforza, who had reacquired Milan, relinquished it without reserve to Francis I., in 1515; but the emperor Charles V. assumed it as a reverted fief of the empire, and conferred it on Francisco Sforza, brother of Maximilian, in 1520. This was the cause of violent wars, in which the efforts of Francis were always unsuccessful. He was taken prisoner at Pavia, and, with his other claims, was compelled to renounce those on Milan, which remained to Sforza, and, after his death, was granted by Charles V. to his son Philip. The Medicean popes, Leo X. and Clement VII., were bent, for the most part, on the aggrandisement of their family. Charles V., to whom all Italy submitted after the battle of Pavia, frustrated, indeed, the attempts of Clement VII. to weaken his power, and conquered and pillaged Rome in 1527; but, being reconciled with the pope, he raised the Medici to princely authority.

Florence, incensed at the foolish conduct of Pietro towards France, had banished the Medici in 1494, but recalled them in 1512; and was compelled to take a station among the principalities, under duke Alexander I. de Medici. Italian policy, of which Florence had hitherto been the soul, from this period is destitute of a common spirit, and the history of Italy is therefore destitute of a central point.

After the extinction of the male branch of the marquises of Montferrat, Charles V. gave this country to Gonzaga of Mantua. Maximilian II. subsequently raised Montferrat to a duchy. The Florentines failed (1537) in a new attempt to emancipate themselves, after the death of duke Alexander, who fell by the hands of an assassin. Cosmo I. succeeded him in the government, by the influence of Charles V. Parma and Piacenza, which Julius II. had conquered for the papal see, Paul III. erected into a duchy, in 1545, which he gave to his natural son, Peter Alois Farnese, whose son Ottairo obtained the imperial investiture in 1556. Genoa, subject to the French since 1499, found a deliverer in Andrew Doria (1528). He founded the aristocracy, and the conspiracy of Fiesco (1547) failed to subvert him. In 1553, besides Milan, Charles V. conferred Naples on his son Philip II. By the peace of Chateau-Cambresis, in 1559, Philip II. and Henry II. of France renounced all their claims to Piedmont, which was restored to its rightful sovereign, duke Emmanuel Philibert of Savoy, the brave Spanish general.

The legitimate male line of the house of Este became extinct in 1597, when the illegitimate Cæsaro of Este obtained Modena and Reggio from the empire, and Ferrara was confiscated as a reverted fief by the holy see. In the second half of the sixteenth century, the prosperity of Italy was increased by a long peace, as much as the loss of its commerce allowed; Henry IV. of France having, by the treaty of Lyons, ceded Saluzzo, the last French possession in Italy, to Savoy. The tranquillity continued till the contest for the succession of Mantua and Montferrat, after the extinction of the Gonzaga family (1627). Misfortunes in Germany compelled Ferdinand II. to confer both countries, in 1631, as a fief on Charles of Nevers, the protégé of France, whose family remained in possession till the war of the Spanish succession. In the peace of Chierasco (1631), Richelieu's diplomacy acquired also Pignerol and Casale—strong points of support, in case of new invasions of Italy, though he had to relinquish the latter, in 1637. By the extinction of the house Della Rovera, the duchy of Ordino, with which Julius II. had invested it, devolved, in 1631, to the papal see.

In the second half of the seventeenth century, the peace of Italy was not interrupted, excepting by the attempts of Louis XIV. on Savoy and Piedmont, and appeared to be secured for a long time by the treaty of neutrality at Turin (1696), when the war of the Spanish succession broke out. Austria having conquered Milan, Mantua, and Montferrat, retained the two first (for Mantua was forfeited by the felony of the duke), and gave the latter to Savoy. In the peace of Utrecht, Austria obtained Sardinia and Naples; Savoy obtained Sicily, which it exchanged with Austria for Sardinia, from which it assumed the royal title. Mont Genevre was made the boun

dary between France and Italy. The house of Farnese becoming extinct in 1731, the Spanish infant Charles obtained Parma and Piacenza. In the war for the Polish throne, of 1773, Charles Emmanuel of Savoy, in alliance with France and Spain, conquered the Milanese territory, and received therefrom, in the peace of Vienna (1738), Novara and Tortona. Charles, infant of Spain, became king of the Two Sicilies, and ceded Parma and Piacenza to Austria.

The Medici of Florence, entitled, since 1575, grand-dukes of Tuscany, became extinct in 1737. Francis Stephen, duke of Lorraine, now received Tuscany by the preliminaries of Vienna, and becoming emperor in 1745, made it the appanage of the younger line of the Austro-Lorraine house. In 1745, the Spaniards conquered Milan, but were expelled thence by Charles Emmanuel, to whom Maria Theresa ceded, in reward, some Milanese districts. Massa and Carrara fell to Modena, in 1743, by right of inheritance. The Spanish infant, don Philip, conquered Parma and Piacenza in his own name, lost them, obtained them again as a hereditary duchy, by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748.

At the era of the French revolution, Italy was divided between the principality of Savoy, the Ecclesiastical States, the republics of Venice and Genoa, the grand duchy of Tuscany, and the small principalities of Parma and Modena. Naples and Sicily were governed by a king belonging to the house of Bourbon; and Mantua, Milan, and some other places were in the possession of Austria.

In September 1792, the French troops first penetrated into Savoy, and planted the tree of liberty. Though expelled for some time, in 1793, by the Piedmontese and Austrians, they held it at the end of the year. The National Convention had already declared war against Naples, and the French advanced into the Piedmontese and Genoese territories, but were expelled from Italy in July 1795, by the Austrians, Sardinians, and Neapolitans. In 1796, Napoleon Buonaparte received the chief command of the French army in Italy. He forced the king of Sardinia to conclude a treaty of peace, by which the latter was obliged to cede Nice and Savoy to France; conquered Austrian Lombardy, with the exception of Mantua; put the duke of Parma and the pope under contribution; and struck such consternation into the king of Naples, that he begged for peace.

After Mantua had also fallen, in 1797, Buonaparte formed of Milan, Mantua, the portion of Parma north of the Po, and Modena, the Cisalpine republic. France likewise made war on the pope, and annexed Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna to the Cisalpine republic (1797), by the peace of Tolentino. The French then advanced towards Rome, overthrew the ecclesiastical government, and erected a Roman republic (1798). In Genoa, Buonaparte occasioned a revolution, by which a democratic republic was formed after the model of the French under the name of the Ligurian republic. The French had, meanwhile, penetrated into Austria, through the Venetian territory. The Venetians now made common cause with the brave Tyrolese, who gained advantages over the French in the Alps. Buonaparte, therefore, occupied Venice without striking a blow, and gave the republic a democratic constitution; but by the peace of Campo-Formio (17th Oct. 1797), the Venetian territory, as far as the Adige, was relinquished to Austria, and the rest incorporated with the Cisalpine republic. The king of Sardinia concluded a treaty of alliance and subsidy with France, October 25; but, in 1798, the directory, assailed in Rome from Naples, deemed it expedient to compel him to resign his territories on the main land.

Notwithstanding its treaty of amity with France, Naples concluded an alliance, in 1798, with Britain and Russia. The French, therefore, occupied Naples, and erected there the Parthenopean republic. The grand duke of Tuscany had likewise formed an alliance with Naples and Britain, and his country was, in return, compelled by the French to receive, like Piedmont, a military administration. After the congress of Radstadt was broken off, Austria and the German empire, under Russian support, renewed the war against the French, who again left Naples and Rome to the British, Russians, and Turks. The king and the pope returned to their capitals in Lombardy; the French were defeated by the Austrians, under Kray and Melas, and by the Russians, under Suwarrof, and lost all their fortresses, except Genoa, where Massena sustained a vigorous siege, while his countrymen had to evacuate all Italy. But, in the meanwhile, Buonaparte was made first consul after his return from Egypt. He marched with a new army to Italy, defeated the Austrians at the memorable battle of Marengo (1800), and compelled them to capitulation, by which all the Italian fortresses were again evacuated.

By the peace of Luneville, Feb. 9, 1801, the possession of Venice was confirmed to Austria, which was to indemnify the duke of Modena, by the cession of Brisgau. The duke of Parma received Tuscany, and afterwards, from Buonaparte, the title of king of Etruria. Parma was united with France. The Cisalpine and Ligurian republics were guaranteed by Austria and France, and, with the Ligurian territories, were united the imperial fiefs included within their limits. The king of Naples, who had occupied the states of the church, was obliged to conclude peace at Florence. By Russian mediation, he escaped with the cession of Piombino, the Stato degli Presidj, and his half of the island of Elba, together with the promise of closing his harbours against the British. The other half of Elba Tuscany had already relinquished to France. But the whole island was obstinately defended by the British and Corsicans, with the armed inhabitants, and not evacuated till autumn. The Stato degli Presidj France ceded to Etruria, September 19; but strong detachments of French troops remained both in Naples and Tuscany, and their support cost immense sums. To the republics

of Genoa and Lucca the first consul gave new constitutions in 1801. But, in January 1802, the Cisalpine republic was transformed into the Italian republic, in imitation of the new French constitution, and Buonaparte became president. Genoa also received a new constitution, and Girolamo Durazzo for doge. Piedmont, however, was united with France.

After Buonaparte had become emperor, in 1804, he attached (March 17, 1805), the royal crown of Italy to the new imperial crown; he promised, however, never to unite the new monarchy with France, and even to give it a king of its own. The new constitution was similar to that of the French empire. Napoleon founded the order of the iron crown, and having placed the crown on his own head, at Milan, he appointed his step-son, Eugene Beauharnois, viceroy of Italy, who laboured with great zeal for the improvement of all branches of the government, of industry, and the arts. Circumstances, however, rendered this new government oppressive, as the public expenses, during peace, amounted to 100,000,000 francs, which were all to be contributed by less than 4,000,000 people.

No European power recognised, expressly, the Italian kingdom of Napoleon. The emperor continued to strengthen his power against the active enemies of the new order of things, and gave to his sister Eliza the principality of Plombino, and to her husband, Pasquale Bacciocchi, the republic of Lucca, as a principality, both as French fiefs. Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla were incorporated with the French empire July 21st. The pope was obliged to sanction the imperial coronation by his presence. Austria now acceded to the alliance of Russia and Britain against France. Naples, also, again suffered the British and Russians to land. But the success of the Austrian arms was frustrated by the defeats at Ulm and Austerlitz; after which the peace of Presburg completed the French supremacy in Italy. Austrian Venice, with Istria and Dalmatia, was united to the kingdom of Italy; and this, with all the French institutions, Italy recognised.

The kingdom had now an extent of 35,450 square miles, with 5,657,000 inhabitants. Naples was evacuated by its auxiliaries, and occupied by the French, notwithstanding the attempts of the queen to excite a universal insurrection. Napoleon then gave the crown of Naples to his brother Joseph.

In 1808, the widow of the king of Etruria, who conducted the regency in behalf of her minor son, was deprived of her kingdom, which was united with France. Napoleon, moreover, appointed his brother-in-law, the prince Borghese, governor-general of the departments beyond the Alps, who took up his residence at Turin. As Napoleon had, meanwhile, given his brother Joseph the crown of Spain, he filled the throne of Naples with his brother-in-law, Joachim Murat, until that period grand-duke of Berg, who entered Naples Sept. 6. 1808.

In 1809, the emperor gave Tuscany to his sister Eliza, of Plombino, with the title of grand duchess. In the same year, Austria made new exertions to break the excessive power of France; but Napoleon again drove her troops from the field, and appeared once more victorious in Vienna, where he proclaimed (May 17) the end of the secular authority of the popes, and the union of the states of the church with France. Rome became the second city of the empire, and a pension of 2,000,000 of francs was assigned to the pope.

After the peace of Vienna, by which Napoleon acquired the Illyrian provinces, Istria and Dalmatia were separated from the kingdom of Italy, and attached to them. On the other hand, Bavaria ceded to Italy the circle of the Adige, a part of Eisach, and the jurisdiction of Clausen. The power of the French emperor was now, to all appearance, firmly established in Italy.

While the Italian people were supporting French armies, sacrificing their own troops in the ambitious wars of Napoleon in remote regions, and were obliged to pay heavy taxes in the midst of the total ruin of their commerce, all the periodicals were full of praises of the institutions for the encouragement of science, arts, and industry in Italy. After the fatal retreat from Russia, Murat, whom Napoleon had personally offended, deserted the cause of France, and joined Austria (January 11, 1814), whose army penetrated into Italy, under Bellegarde. The viceroy, Eugene, continued true to Napoleon and his own character, and offered to the enemies of his dynasty the boldest resistance, which was frustrated by the fall of Napoleon in France.

After the truce of April 21, 1814, the French troops evacuated all Italy, and most of the provinces were restored to their legitimate sovereigns. The wife of Napoleon, however, the empress Maria Louisa, obtained the duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla, with reversion to her son; and Napoleon himself became sovereign of Elba, of which he took possession, May 4. But before the congress of Vienna had organised the political relations of Europe, he effected his return to France, March 1, 1815.

At the same time, Murat, king of Naples, abandoned his former ambiguous attitude, and took up arms, as he pretended, for the independence of Italy. But his appeal to the Italians was answered by a declaration of war by Austria. Driven from Bologna by the Austrian forces, and totally defeated by Bianchi Tolentino, he lost the kingdom of Naples, into which the Austrian general, Nugent, had penetrated from Rome, and Bianchi from Aquila, seven weeks after the opening of the campaign. He embarked from Naples, with a view of escaping to France. Ferdinand returned from Palermo, and Murat's family found an asylum in Austria. Murat himself, accompanied by a band of adventurers as daring as himself, made a descent in Calabria, from Corsica, in order to recover his lost kingdom. He was taken prisoner at Pizzo, brought before a court-martial, and shot (Oct. 13, 1815).

Meanwhile the congress of Vienna, by the act of June 9, 1815, had arranged the

affairs of Italy in the following manner:—1. The king of Sardinia was reinstated in his territories, according to the boundaries of 1792, with some alterations on the side of Geneva; for the portion of Savoy, left in possession of France by the peace of Paris, of May 30, 1814, was restored by the treaty of Paris, of Nov. 20, 1815. To his states was united Genoa, as a duchy, according to the boundaries of that republic, in 1792, and contrary to the promises made to Genoa.—2. The emperor of Austria united with his hereditary states the new Lombardo-Venetian provinces formerly belonging to Austria—the Valteline, Bormio, and Chiavenna, separated from the Grisons, besides Mantua and Milan. Istria, however, was united with the Germanic-Austrian kingdom of Illyria; Dalmatia, with Ragusa and Cattaro, constituting a distinct Austrian kingdom.—3. The valley of the Po was adopted as the boundary between the States of the Church and Parma; otherwise, the boundaries of Jan. 1, 1782, were retained. The Austrian house of Este again received Modena, Reggio, Mirandola, Massa, and Carrara.—4. The empress Maria Louisa received the state of Parma, as a sovereign duchess, but, by the treaty of Paris, of June 10, 1817, only for life, it having been agreed that the duchess of Lucca and her descendants should inherit it.—5. The archduke Ferdinand of Austria became again grand-duke of Tuscany, to which were joined the State degli Presidj, the former Neapolitan part of the island of Elba, the principality of Piombino, and some small included districts, formerly fiefs of the German empire. The prince Buoncompagni Ludovisi retained all his rights of property in Elba and Piombino.—6. The infanta, Maria Louisa, received Lucca, of which she took possession as a sovereign duchy, 1817, with an annuity of 500,000 francs, till the reversion of Parma.—7. The territories of the Church were all restored, with the exception of the strip of land on the left bank of the Po; and Austria retained the right of maintaining garrisons in Ferrara and Commachio.—8. Ferdinand IV. was again recognised as king of the Two Sicilies. Britain retained Malta, and was declared the protectress of the United Ionian Islands. The knights of Malta, who had recovered their possessions in the States of the Church and in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, for a time made Catania, and after 1826, Ferrara, their residence. The republic of San Marino, and the prince of Monaco, whose mountain fortress the Sardinians, and before them, the French occupied, alone remained unharmed amid the fifteen political revolutions which Italy had undergone in the course of twenty-five years. The Austrian predominance was thus more firmly established than ever in Italy.

But this state of things was not of long duration. Throughout the whole of Italy the mal-administration of affairs created great discontent, which soon exhibited itself in overt acts of riots and insurrection. This was more especially the case in Naples, where in 1820 an unsuccessful attempt was made by general Pepe to introduce a constitutional government.

But though the Austrian bayonets put down all insurrectionary movements, the revolutionary feeling was by no means suppressed; and throughout the whole of the peninsula an unsettled and discontented spirit continued to prevail. In 1830 the revolution in France still further fomented the desire of change; and Modena, Bologna, Parma, and other states, set up the standard of revolt. Hopes had been entertained that help would be easily found from the actors in the French revolution, and that Lombardy would join a confederacy, labouring for the emancipation of Italy at large. But these expectations were ill founded. France could not interfere, and Austria was ready with an army of 100,000 men to put down the first demonstration of revolt. After a brief struggle the malcontents were everywhere subdued, and the expelled princes returned to the peaceable possession of their ancient seats. Matters remained in *statu quo* till 1846, when the whole peninsula was once more shaken by the reforming spirit which Pius IX. exhibited on his election to the papal chair. Everywhere Italians then felt that for the first time for many years they had a future before them. In January 1848, the king of Naples, whose Sicilian subjects were in actual rebellion, promulgated a constitution. Soon afterwards, the king of Sardinia and the grand-duke of Tuscany followed his example. But amid many changes and many hopes, the one greatest hope and the greatest change stood forth prominently under the name of Independence. Republicans, constitutionalists, and absolutists, all joined in the desire, real or feigned, to see the Italian provinces rid of the Austrians, or the foreigners, as they were styled: and soon after the shock of February 1848, which established a republic in France, the passionate desire broke forth in acts.

The first outbreak was in Lombardy. On the 18th of March the news arrived of the revolution at Vienna. The Milanese, availing themselves of the difficulties of the Austrian government, demanded that all political prisoners should be set at liberty, a national guard armed, and a provisional government chosen to prevent anarchy. But with this demand neither the Austrian general, Radetsky, nor the director of the police, would comply. Meanwhile, the popular enthusiasm increased from hour to hour. Barricades were everywhere erected; arms were obtained from all quarters, and the troops were repulsed on every side. This passed on Sunday the 19th March. For five days, since called the 'five days of Milan,' the struggle raged with little interruption; but on the morning of Thursday, the 28th of March, the Austrian army withdrew from Milan: and the provisional government immediately issued an energetic proclamation, calling upon all Italians to join in the contest that had begun. The king of Sardinia at once responded to the call; after some 'coy reluctant' delay, Pope Pius IX. and the king of Naples were forced, by the clamours of their respective subjects, to send a large force to the aid of the insurgents.

General Pepe, the revolutionary hero of 1821, was appointed to the chief command. The enthusiasm of the Neapolitans, indeed, knew no bounds. Brilliant reviews in the morning, patriotic songs and serenades in the evening, consumed the brief space which intervened before the first division of the army was in readiness to move. After some vexatious delays, 17,000 men at length left Naples for the Lombard war. They were to be followed speedily by 24,000 more. Pepe, in the meantime, proceeded by sea to Ancona, which had been fixed upon as the rendezvous of the Neapolitan forces, previous to the commencement of active operations. But in the midst of all these preparations, the Neapolitan cabinet had determined that the expedition should never reach its pretended destination.

On joining the first division of his army at Ancona, Pepe was naturally eager to take part in the great struggle in Lombardy, which was then at the hottest. He quickly discovered, however, that the superior officers by whom he was surrounded had no intention to cross bayonets with the Austrians. Still he was in expectation of the second and larger division of his army, which might be more patriotically disposed. This second division, however, never appeared, and was never intended to appear. After some delay, instead of the expected aid, there came a peremptory order from Naples, recalling the whole of the troops under Pepe's command to protect the capital against the disaffected within its walls.

Meanwhile, fortune had hitherto smiled upon the arms of the king of Sardinia. After the 'five days' of Milan, the Austrian commander had prudently fallen back upon the great fortresses of Mantua and Verona, with the double object of providing for the safety of his troops, and of waiting the arrival of reinforcements. In his front he had the main army of the king of Sardinia, flushed with its past successes, and far outnumbering the imperial force. In his rear, the papal army, under Durando, lay at Vicenza: while on every side a hostile population was ready to intercept his supplies and impede his operations. Such was the position of affairs in the end of May.

But all these advantages were very shortly afterwards more than counterbalanced by the masterly operations of Radetsky to the eastward of the Adige. Having received reinforcements under Welden to the amount of 35,000 men, he immediately commenced active operations, and the papal army, which occupied Vicenza, was the first object of attack. This enterprise, which was conducted with the utmost secresy and expedition, was crowned with complete success. After a faint show of resistance, the Roman general surrendered, with nearly 20,000 men, on condition of their being allowed to recross the Po, with all the honours of war. The terms were granted by Radetsky; and after the departure of the Roman troops, he was again sole master of the Venetian provinces, with the means of ready and uninterrupted communication with Austria Proper. The tide of victory had now fairly turned against the king of Sardinia, and his adversary, no less enterprising than prudent, lost no time in following up his tardy triumphs. Charles Albert had still under his command about 80,000 men. The numbers under Radetsky, who now began to act on the offensive, were nearly as great, and much better supplied with all the *matériel* of war. Under such circumstances, the chances of success in the open country were in favour of the Austrians. The Piedmontese, betrayed by the Neapolitans, and abandoned by the Romans, still fought bravely, but without any definite plan; and after sustaining at least two serious defeats, Charles Albert retired precipitately upon his own dominions with the loss of fully one half of his army. He did not even, during his hasty retreat, attempt to defend Milan, which, after the lapse of four eventful months, again fell into the undisputed possession of the Austrians. A formal armistice was at the same time concluded; and the mediation of the great powers was offered for the purpose of effecting a final arrangement, which might be beneficial both to Austria and Italy.

After the retreat of Charles Albert, the Venetians, who had embarked with enthusiasm in the war, were left almost entirely to their own resources; but in their isolation they displayed a constancy and a spirit worthy the brightest days of the republic. The garrison, which was composed chiefly of volunteers, many of whom were members of the first families in Italy, not only defended the city throughout the autumn and winter of 1848, but they ventured to leave the shelter of the lagoons, and to attack the Austrian intrenchments on the main land. On the 27th of October, a descent was made upon Mestre, which proved eminently successful. Of 3,000 Austrians who were posted there, 600 were taken prisoners; and an equal number were killed or wounded, while the loss of the Venetians was comparatively small.

Throughout the winter and the ensuing spring, the struggle still continued with equal obstinacy upon both sides, and with varying success. But a contest more important than that in which Venice was so nobly engaged, was soon to attract the eyes of Europe. In the beginning of March 1849, it became apparent that a renewal of hostilities between Austria and Sardinia was inevitable. Charles Albert was still the master of 100,000 troops; and with these he had resolved to strike another blow for the independence of Italy. It was a rash, but by no means a hopeless enterprise; for Venice yet held out, and the whole population of Northern Italy was still burning to shake off the Austrian yoke, which galled the more severely after its temporary removal and its unlooked for return. Radetsky, indeed, was now at Milan, at the head of a numerous and well-appointed army; and with the undisturbed possession of the German passes, he could obtain from the heart of the empire whatever supplies he might require. Regardless, however, of the now comparatively secure

position of his adversary, the king of Sardinia once more pushed forward to the frontiers of Lombardy with the whole of his available force. At Novara the contending parties were nearly matched, numbering upon either side about 50,000 men. The combat was long and obstinate, but Austrian discipline at length prevailed. Throughout the day, Charles Albert, with his two sons, shared all the dangers of the field. The duke of Genoa had three horses killed under him; and several of the royal staff fell close to the person of the king. It was not until the battle was irretrievably lost that he retired with reluctance, and still within range of the enemy's guns, upon Novara.

In the evening he called around him his chief attendants and his sons; and having briefly explained his sentiments, he formally abdicated his crown in favour of the duke of Savoy. He then took an affectionate farewell of every one present, and departed alone in his travelling carriage, without a single attendant. Not one of his officers was permitted to share the solitude of his journey, nor was anyone aware of his intended destination. In a few short months he found, in his voluntary exile at Oporto, that death which he had sought in vain on the banks of the Ticino.

With the second defeat of the Sardinian army, the cause of Italy was virtually lost. But the spirit of the people was still unsubdued. Even after this event, the citizens of Brescia, although threatened by victorious Austrian armies upon every side, rose and expelled the garrison which occupied their citadel. But general Haynau soon afterwards with a large force reduced the city amid revolting barbarities. The fall of Brescia was speedily followed by that of Rome (whose stirring history during this eventful period has been told elsewhere); and the Sicilians, after a long but ineffectual struggle, were once more reduced to subjection.

On the south of the Alps, throughout the summer of 1849, the cause of Italian nationality was maintained alone by Venice, and nobly did she uphold her ancient fame. Fraud and force proved equally unavailing to subdue her. But hunger and pestilence at length accomplished that which Austrian bayonets had failed to effect. Towards the middle of August, the supply of bread in the city became exhausted; while, at the same time, the cholera was daily sweeping off 200 victims in a population of little more than 200,000. The ammunition, too, was nearly all expended; but even under these desperate circumstances, without hope, and without an ally in the world, the Venetians never seemed to have entertained the notion of an unconditional surrender. Aware, however, that the resistance of the Ocean City had awakened the sympathies of Europe, the imperial authorities probably felt that some consideration was due to the opinions of the age. After a brief correspondence with the provisional government, terms of a capitulation, highly honourable to the besieged, were offered and accepted. The last act of the revolutionary drama had now closed, and the cause of Italian independence was once more laid low throughout the entire peninsula.

But before many years should pass, the cause was to rise again, with brighter prospects of permanent success. By the aid which she furnished to England and France during the Russian war, Sardinia took her place among the greater powers of Europe, and count Cavour knew well how to use this advantage to promote the independence of Italy.

Before the close of the conference which settled the terms of the peace which put an end to the Russian war in March 1856, count Walewski called attention to the affairs of Italy, and expressed the wish of the French emperor to withdraw his troops from Rome, as soon as this could be done without injuring the tranquillity of the country, or the authority of the pontifical government. He also dwelt on the infamous manner in which the kingdom of Naples and the Sicilies was governed, as being the chief cause of the revolutionary movements which continually disturbed the peninsula. Lord Clarendon, in reply, recommended the secularisation of the papal government as the readiest way of meeting the Roman difficulty, and urged the necessity of demanding from the king of Naples an amnesty for those who had been condemned or imprisoned without trial for political offences.

But the presence of Austria at the conference rendered it impossible to come to a conclusion likely to satisfy Sardinia: and on the 16th of April count Cavour addressed to the British and French governments a protest against the failure of the conference to settle the Italian question. He spoke of the disturbed state of Italy for the last seven years, during which a violent system of repression kept it in continual ferment. The agitation had been recently calmed, because it was hoped that the conference would remedy the evils complained of: and now, on the disappointment of that hope, it was likely that the commotions would break out with greater excitement than ever. He further complained that Austria, by establishing a chain of fortresses had rendered herself absolute mistress of nearly all Italy, had destroyed the equilibrium established by the treaty of Vienna, and continually menaced Piedmont. In a speech made subsequently in the Sardinian chamber, count Cavour said that a great point had been gained by inducing England and France to proclaim the expediency of putting an end to the occupation of Central Italy, and to declare more generally that the evils of Italy ought to be remedied.

It was soon found that with the king of Naples and his ministers remonstrances, however friendly, were of no avail. They called forth simply an indignant assertion of the liberty of the sovereign to deal with his subjects as he pleased. The legations of France and England were accordingly withdrawn from Naples, while French squadrons were held in readiness to appear off Naples if the withdrawal of the ambas-

sadors should be followed by any ill-treatment or injury to British and French subjects residing in that kingdom. Against this step the king issued an energetic protest, in which he asserted the doctrine that rulers had a right to govern their subjects according to their fancy; and it is not easy to see how the proposition can be denied, if the converse is granted that subjects must be left to deal with their rulers, and retain or reject them at their pleasure. The inconsistency in this case was not greater than that which in 1854-55 refused to permit the Greeks of Epirus and Thessaly to rise up against the abominable tyranny of the Turks.

But the condition of Italy was soon to undergo momentous changes; and early in the year 1859 it became evident that the first impulse to the new movement would begin by a war between Austria and the allied forces of France and Sardinia. The first sign of the impending storm was given in the greeting of the French emperor to the Austrian ambassador when he went to the Tuileries on the 1st of January. The emperor regretted that his relations with the ambassador's government were not as good as they had been, but he expressed the same personal esteem for the Austrian emperor. The words naturally excited alarm throughout Europe: and the semi-official statements of the 'Moniteur' were not of such a kind as effectually to allay it. Before the end of the month the relations of Sardinia with the French emperor were cemented by the marriage of prince Napoleon with the princess Clotilde, then not sixteen years old, the only daughter of the king of Sardinia. Great efforts were made by Austria to secure the aid of the German confederation in case of a contest, while the Sardinian government published a strong protest against the attitude assumed by the Austrians in Italy; and count Cavour in the Sardinian chambers expressed his regret that England continued to preserve a cold neutrality with regard to the interests of Italy. But the British government, although it took no share in the struggle, exerted itself to the utmost to avert it, and for this purpose the Sardinian government was requested to specify exactly its grounds of complaint against Austria. This was ably done by count Cavour, who boldly admitted that the Austrian domination inspired nothing but feelings of repugnance and abhorrence in the immense majority of the Italians who were subject to it, and that the latter felt for their rulers nothing but antipathy and hatred. These feelings he justified on the grounds of the intolerable oppressiveness and infamous cruelty of their rule, while he urged a separation on the plea that the Austrians were simply encamped, not established in Italy, and that the two nations, differing utterly in language, manners, and forms of thought, could never coalesce. He added further that Austria had never kept herself within treaty barriers, but had sought by every means to secure to herself a preponderating influence throughout the whole peninsula. The duchies of Parma, Modena, and Tuscany had practically become her fiefs, and she had occupied the Roman states whenever she found a convenient pretext for so doing. The remedies which he proposed were, that Austria should grant a national and separate government for Lombardy and Venetia; that she should destroy the forts constructed outside the walls of Placentia; and, giving up the occupation of the Romagna, proclaim the principle of non-intervention; and further, that the dukes of Modena and Parma should be urged to give their people institutions similar to those of Piedmont, while the grand duke of Tuscany should reestablish the constitution to which he had freely consented in 1848, and the pope should give up the administration of his provinces beyond the Apennines. To this memorandum, Austria rejoined with a list of counter-complaints, urged at wearisome length, in which the stock arguments of conquerors were plentifully applied, and credit was taken for its interference in the Romagna, in order to guarantee to the pope the free exercise of his apostolic mission, and, of course, to preserve intact the independence of the spiritual head of the catholic church. Much correspondence continued to pass between the British and the other governments, in the course of which the former declared plainly that public opinion in England would not render it possible to assist Austria as against her own subjects, and count Buol urged on the other hand that Italy wanted no change, and that it was impossible Austria should ever come to an understanding with France on Italian affairs, inasmuch as she espoused the cause of nationalities, while Austria upheld that of sovereign governments and established order. On the 22nd of March, it was announced in the 'Moniteur' that Russia proposed the assembling of a congress, to which France had assented. To such a meeting the Austrians made it an indispensable preliminary that Sardinia should disarm. Still the negotiations went on, until they were rendered useless by the obstinate rashness of Austria. On the 23rd of April an Austrian officer arrived in Turin, and called on Sardinia at once to disarm under threat of immediate hostilities if she refused. To this demand count Cavour replied by saying that the decision belonged to the congress rather than to Sardinia alone. On the day following, Victor Emmanuel called his soldiers to arms, in answer to the menacing insolence of Austria. The British government wrote in the strongest terms condemning this step of the Austrians, and adding that when this demand was made, Sardinia had actually agreed unconditionally to disarm. In a special meeting of the Sardinian chamber-deputies, the king was intrusted with all legislative and executive powers, until such time as peace should be restored. On the 27th, the emperor of Austria announced to his army the commencement of war, and two days later declared his determination of invading Sardinia, while he sent a long paper to all foreign governments,

in which he drew an ideal picture of the wonderful prosperity and happiness which the Italians were enjoying under the benignant protection of Austria.

In Rome there was naturally great excitement, and some symptoms were shown of a wish for revolution: but it was no part of the French emperor's intention to embroil himself at present in that quarter, and general de Goyon warned the Romans that no public manifestations would be permitted, however peaceable, and that any such manifestations would be followed by very disagreeable consequences to those who made them. On the 27th of April a revolution broke out at Florence, where the grand duke, being thoroughly unpopular, was advised by his friends to abdicate in favour of his son. He replied that he would rather lose his throne, and he lost it accordingly. On his flight, the people proclaimed a provisional government, which on the 11th of May, handed over its functions to signor Buoncompagni, a commissioner appointed by the king of Sardinia, with the full consent of the people. From Parma, the duchess-regent fled on the 1st of May, but a few days afterwards she returned, to resume, as she said, the exercise of her regency. The appearances which had induced her to come were delusive, and once more she was obliged to leave Parma. But disdaining to fly as a fugitive like the duke of Tuscany, she withdrew openly and quietly into a neutral territory. Finally the duke of Modena, whose territory had on the outbreak of the war been occupied by Sardinian troops, found himself obliged to leave his dominions; and, having appointed a regency, he joined the duke of Tuscany in the Austrian camp. On the 29th of April, the Austrian army began to cross the Ticino, and it took five days to get all across at different parts of the river, until on the 8th of May the whole country north of the Po as far as Biella and Craglia on the northwest and the Dora Balea on the west were held by them almost without opposition. The French army was put in motion on the day on which Austria had sent her ultimatum of disarmament or war to Sardinia: the generals were Baraguay d'Hilliers, Macmahon, Canrobert, Niel, Prince Napoleon, and St. Jean d'Angely. Thus was the cause of Italian independence committed to the decision of war, and the British government, while freely condemning both sides, declared, in language somewhat inconsistent perhaps, with its acts in reference to the Greek subjects of the sultan, that it had always recognised as a sacred rule of international obligation, that no country has a right authoritatively to interfere with internal affairs of any foreign state, or in the relations of any government with its subjects. On the 12th of May the French emperor reached Genoa, where he was joined the next day by Victor Emmanuel, who then returned to the head-quarters of the Sardinian army, while Louis Napoleon went on to Alexandria. The allied armies occupied the whole line of the Po, and left the Austrian commanders quite uncertain as to where the attack would be made. On the 20th of May count Stadion was sent to make a reconnoissance on the right bank of the river, and his troops crossed at Vaccarizza, near the junction of the Ticino and the Po, took Corteggio and Montebello, which were held by Piedmontese troops: but as they pushed on towards Ginestrello, they were met by the French troops under general Forey, and Stadion was overwhelmed by fresh reinforcements which were brought up by railway from Voghera. In this battle of Montebello, the Austrians lost in killed and wounded about 1,400 men. The French emperor now sought most to deceive the Austrians as to the point of attack, and he succeeded. On the 30th of May the Piedmontese crossed the Leria and led the Austrians to think that the attack would be made on Mortara. The Austrian general determined, therefore, to fall on Palestro, which was guarded by troops under Victor Emmanuel in person. The Austrians were defeated here, as well as in an engagement which took place at the same time at Confienza. Meanwhile the French army had crossed the Po, and taken up its position at Novara. Soon afterwards the Austrians withdrew to the left bank of the Ticino, and thus their invasion of Piedmont had come to nothing. On the 4th of June, a terrible battle was fought at Magenta, near Buffalora, and after a doubtful combat of four hours, the issue was decided by the troops of marshal Macmahon, who was, after the battle, created duke of Magenta. On this signal defeat, the Austrians abandoned Milan, and posted themselves in force at Malegnano, halfway between Milan and Lodi, in order to protect the retreat of their main body across the Adda. To prevent this, the French attacked them on the 8th of June, and in two hours, drove them out of the town. It was at this time that the name of Garibaldi became a watchword for Italian soldiers. At the head of a band of volunteers calling themselves Chasseurs of the Alps, he drove the Austrians from Como, crossed the Leria, and again defeated them opposite to Vercelli. In the middle of June he engaged the Austrian vanguard at Rezzato and Triponti, and the latter were compelled to withdraw from Castenedolo, after blowing up the bridge over the Chiese at Montechiaro.

After the defeat at Magenta, the Austrians retreated on the line of the Mincio, blowing up all the bridges in their retreat, and destroying the military works at Piacenza and Pavia, Lodi and Pizzighettone, which had thus been raised in vain for the purpose of overawing Italy. Finally, they made their stand within the lines of the Quadrilateral, a sort of square formed by the fortresses of Peschiera, Verona, Legnano, and Mantua.

About this time the Prussian government expressed its opinion that the war presented no reason for the interference of the Germanic confederation, while count Walewski urged that such interference in a quarrel about Italian provinces would lead to the doctrine that the non-German provinces of Austria should be considered

as completely incorporated in the Federal Union.

On the 23rd of July the French emperor was at Montechiaro, the king of Sardinia at Lonato, when they were surprised by an unexpected move of the Austrians, who, instead of retreating further within the Quadrilateral, resolved suddenly to resume the offensive. Of this movement they were not aware until the 24th; nor did the Austrians know that the whole of the opposing force had crossed the Chiese. Hence two armies, numbering altogether some 400,000 men, found themselves suddenly facing each other. Then ensued the frightful battle of Solferino, a battle in which the horrors of the fight were heightened by a fearful thunder-storm which drenched the soldiers with rain, while it hid the movements of the armies. The Austrian centre was broken, and they themselves acknowledged, while they endeavoured to explain, their disastrous defeat. They then fell back on Verona, having left a strong force in Peschiera, which was shortly after invested by the Sardinians. But now, when the most difficult part of the contest, against an enemy entrenched within their own fortifications, was seemingly about to begin, it was suddenly announced that the two emperors had met at Villafranca, and agreed upon an armistice, which resulted in a peace. By the terms of the treaty, they were to establish an Italian confederation under the honorary presidency of the pope. It was also arranged that Austria should cede to France its rights over Lombardy with the exception of the forts of Peschiera and Mantua, while Venice, although still remaining under the Austrian crown, should at the same time, in some way or other, form part of the Italian confederation, and the dukes of Tuscany and Modena were to return to their states, granting a general amnesty. The reasons which led the emperor of France to this step was undoubtedly the fear that, by pressing Austria on its own ground, he would bring on himself the whole power of the Germanic confederation, or, in other words, that he would be engaged in a war not only in Italy but also on the Rhine. But his decision caused a desperate disappointment in Italy. The restoration of the dukes of Modena and Tuscany made the expulsion of the Austrians from Lombardy appear merely temporary. The people of Florence declared resolutely that they would never allow themselves to be brought again under Austrian influence, and resolved to appeal to Victor Emmanuel. A similar appeal was made by the people of the Romagna, which had revolted from the pope, and where the Sardinian troops had occupied Torre Urbano and Castelfranco. Against this the papal government had entered a furious and indignant protest, and appealed in their turn to the French emperor. To the requests addressed to him from Florence and the Romagna, Victor Emmanuel replied cautiously and prudently, but encouragingly, and on his recommendation, Buoncompagni, who had been extraordinary commissioner at Florence, was appointed regent of the central Italian States. From the French emperor the pope received very cold consolation. The 'solution' which he suggested for the unpleasant difficulty which had arisen, was the surrender of the revolted provinces. No doubt the rights of the pope were incontestable; but there remained the more stubborn fact that the people had no mind to return to their allegiance.

The drama was, indeed, scarcely more than begun. The congress which Louis Napoleon sought to convene for settling the affairs of Italy never met. France had committed herself to the restoration of the dukes of Tuscany, Modena, and Parma: England was not less determined (perhaps because it was not altogether against her own interests) that the people of those states should be allowed to choose their own form of government. Yet further, there appeared towards the close of the year a pamphlet entitled *Le Pape et le Congrès*, which was attributed to the emperor of the French, and which urged the necessity of depriving the pope of all his temporal possessions, with the exception of the city of Rome; and Austria, therefore, would have nothing more to do with the congress. The British government then proposed (1) that France and Austria should agree not to interfere by force in Italy, unless on the unanimous request of the five great powers; (2) that the French emperor should come to terms with the pope for the evacuation of Rome by the French troops; (3) that the government of Venetia should not be made a matter of negotiation; and (4) that the king of Sardinia should be advised not to send troops on to Central Italy, until the inhabitants should, by a new vote in their assemblies, have declared their wishes, whether for or against the annexation to Sardinia. In the former case the British government would interpose no obstacle to the march of the Sardinian armies. The French emperor himself now saw that his schemes could not be wholly carried out, and he therefore asserted that he had never intended to bind himself to restore the Italian dukes at all risks, and he now proposed (1) the complete annexation of the duchies of Parma and Modena to Sardinia; (2) the temporal administration of the Romagna, of Ferrara and Bologna, with the king of Sardinia as vicar of the holy see; (3) the independent reestablishment of the grand duchy of Tuscany. To these proposals, count Cavour said, that Sardinia would not object for herself, but he foresaw that they would be firmly rejected by the people of Tuscany and the Romagna, and he admitted the impossibility of resisting their wishes, if these should be for annexation with Sardinia: in fact, that no government could stand for a day which refused to carry out a desire thus expressed. Only a few days passed before the people of these several states decided almost unanimously for this annexation, and a bill, introduced into the Sardinian chambers to authorise it, speedily became law. Meanwhile, the other part of what would seem to have been a secret bargain before

the war with Austria, was carried out by the cession of Savoy and Nizza (Nico) to France. The French emperor put it on the ground of a 'geographical necessity,' for the safety of his frontier, and left the matter to the issue of votes given by universal suffrage; while count Cavour found it convenient to say that the inhabitants must be allowed to determine the question for themselves. It was of course answered in the affirmative by an almost unanimous vote: but it was notorious that French agents and emissaries had been sedulously at work, and the vote in fact was not free. The most strenuous opposition came from the Swiss confederation, which maintained that by this cession the neutrality of the provinces of Chablais and Faucigny would be violated. Much complicated correspondence passed between the federation and the Sardinian government on the subject: but in the end the former was constrained to content itself with a solemn protest against the annexation, and a refusal to recognise its validity. When the treaty of cession was presented in the Sardinian chambers, it was approved by a majority of 229 against 33 votes: but in the minority was Garibaldi, the deputy of Nizza, his native place; and thus the vote produced results very different from those which the French emperor anticipated.

To a letter (sent on the 20th of March), in which the king of Sardinia offered to administer the temporal government of the papal territories, the pope replied with an indignant refusal; but the result which he dreaded was nearer at hand than he imagined; and the crisis was hastened by the besotted folly of the king of Naples. Francis II. had seemingly made up his mind to follow the policy of Rehoboam, and was doing his best to change his father's whips into scorpions. On the death of Ferdinand II. the governments of France and England had consented to renew the intercourse which had been broken off; but matters grew worse instead of better, and in July 1859, lord John Russell wrote in plain terms to the English minister, to say that the king had now simply to choose between the ruin of his evil counsellors or his own; and that if the Neapolitan people should be driven to insurrection, he was not to look to England for any support, whether moral or material. The warning was unheeded.

In April 1860, the people rose in rebellion at Palermo in Sicily, and besieged the royal troops. They were joined by the people of Messina, Catania, and Agrigentum. For a month they carried on the struggle by themselves, but Garibaldi was on the way with more effectual help. On the 5th of May he sailed from Genoa with about 2,000 volunteers, and as he lay off the Roman coast he issued a proclamation calling on all to rise in arms, and divide the enemy's forces, with the battle-cry of 'Italy and Victor Emmanuel.' On the 10th, he landed at Marsala, and on the 14th advanced to Salerni, where he took the title of dictator of Sicily, 'in the name of Victor Emmanuel and Italy.' On the next day he completely defeated general Landi, with 3,500 troops, at Calata Fimi. After a few more engagements, in which he was generally successful, he attacked Palermo on the 27th, and drove the Neapolitan troops into the citadel, from which, aided by the fleet in the harbour, they bombarded the town for several hours. At length, an armistice was agreed on, by which the royalists were to evacuate Palermo, with the exception of Fort Castellamare. About three weeks later, Garibaldi was victorious in a severe battle at Melazzo, about twenty-five miles from Messina, but he narrowly escaped being killed during the conflict. The next day, Bosco the Neapolitan general capitulated, and his troops were allowed to leave Melazzo without their arms.

The terror of Francis II. showed itself in professions of lavish concession of everything to everybody. A new liberal ministry was to set to work, and draw up the articles of a statute or constitution, based on representative Italian and national institutions. An alliance was to be made with Victor Emmanuel for the common interests of Italy. A prince of the royal house was to be viceroy in Sicily, and that island was to have all that it could possibly want. The constitution granted by Ferdinand II. in 1848, and then treacherously withdrawn, was declared to be again in force, and the national parliament was summoned for the 10th of September. It was altogether too late. The straw at which the drowning man clutched in his desperation eluded his grasp. From Messina, Garibaldi in August sent a proclamation to the Neapolitans, in which he said that he had already tested their bravery, but desired not to make any further proof of it. He begged them to constitute Italy without slaughter of her sons; and his request was complied with almost to the letter. On the 19th of August he crossed the straits, and landed at Melito. On the 20th he advanced to Reggio, where a large body of royal troops had been concentrated. But there was next to no resistance. In less than two hours, only the fort remained in their hands; in a few more, this was surrendered, on condition that the garrison should be allowed to go out, leaving their arms and baggage behind, together with the stores in the fort, which comprised many cannon and 500 stand of arms. Garibaldi then advanced on the troops commanded by general Briganti, near San Giovanni, and surrounded them. But, confident in his expectation of a surrender, he forbade all firing, and presently the royalist troops raised the shout, '*Viva Garibaldi, viva l'Italia.*' Garibaldi then went among them himself, and was almost torn in pieces by their enthusiastic embraces. He had won a bloodless victory. The soldiers, about 2,000 in number, were told that they might go home if they liked; and they at once did so, leaving their arms to the invader. Towards the end of August, the count of Syracuse advised his nephew the king to follow the example of the duchess of Parma. There may have been a touch of sarcasm in the seeming eagerness with which he urged him to win the gratitude of Italy, by making 'a sublime sacri

fice;' but Francis II. had no mind to take his advice. His ministers resigned, and took refuge on board a British ship of war. Prince Ischitella, a most unpopular man, was removed from the command of the national guard, and general Viglia was made commander of the army of Naples. But the army itself was melting away. Two regiments of dragoons, sent to restore order at Foggia, declared against the king. Six regiments, who were ordered to march against Potenza, shouted *Viva Garibaldi*; and general Floraz wrote from Apulia to say that none remained with him but his staff. The king tried to form a new ministry. His efforts were vain, and in his misery he exclaimed, 'Then all have forsaken me.' Making up his mind to leave Naples, he comforted himself by issuing a proclamation, in which he said that he had never entertained a single thought that was not devoted to the happiness and good of his subjects. His subjects understood him perfectly, and left him to find his way as best he could to Gaeta, which, with Capua, was all that remained to him of his ancient kingdom. Two days afterwards Garibaldi entered Naples as an ordinary passenger in a railway train.

The pope had good reason to sympathise with the woes of the king of Naples. Early in September, the people of Tesaro, Urbino, and Montefeltro cast off his yoke and proclaimed Victor Emmanuel as their king. The pope threw himself on the commiseration of the catholics, and invited all who would, to enrol themselves under his standard. Hundreds hastened from Ireland, under plea of serving as railway labourers, but really to fight the temporal battles of the holy see. The papal army thus recruited was placed under the command of general Lamoricière; but before he could take any decided step, he was told by general Fanti, that the Sardinian troops would occupy Umbria and the Marches, if the papal soldiers attempted by force to suppress any national manifestations. From Rome Lamoricière received delusive promises of armed assistance from France; but he found himself suddenly without money, and the wisdom of the papal government in maintaining a toll on grinding corn made it almost an impossibility to procure any bread. Early in September, count Cavour informed cardinal Antonelli, that Sardinia would invade the papal states unless the pope disbanded his mercenaries; and on the 11th of September, the troops under general Cialdini crossed the boundary, and marched upon Pesaro, Fano, and Urbino; which were all occupied without difficulty. The next place surrendered was Perugia, in which the garrison of 1,700 men became prisoners of war. General Lamoricière retired on Macerata, in order to protect Ancona, having under him a force of 8,000 or 9,000 men. To intercept him Cialdini held the heights of Osini and Castel Fidardo. Hemmed in at Loretto, Lamoricière had no means of getting to Ancona except by fighting his way through the enemy; and the final battle took place accordingly on the 18th. General Pimodan led the attack on the Piedmontese troops, but he received a mortal wound, and his troops, after fighting bravely, were completely defeated. Seeing at length that the day was irretrievably lost, general Lamoricière fled to Ancona. The next day, the remains of his forces laid down their arms, and the papal army in the Marches and Umbria ceased to exist. Ancona was immediately besieged, and surrendered on the 29th of September: and so ended a campaign of eighteen days, in which the Sardinians took six cities, twenty-eight field pieces, 160 pieces of wall artillery, 20,000 muskets, more than 500 horses, and some 18,000 prisoners, with all the enemy's generals.

Meanwhile, things looked much as though in the work of liberation Venetia was to have its share as well as Naples. It was perhaps not altogether consistent with previous declarations made to the king of Naples, when lord John Russell wrote to count Cavour, strongly deprecating any movement in Venetia. The truth is, assoon as interest came in the way, the British government was still tempted to act in Italy as it had acted with reference to the Greek subjects of the sultan during the Crimean war. 'Great Britain,' he said, 'has interests in the Adriatic, which her majesty's government must watch with careful attention. But from the Sardinian chambers count Cavour obtained a complete sanction for all that had been done, while he candidly admitted that, although Venetia ought to be free, yet any attempt in that quarter would for the present be highly imprudent, and might endanger the cause of freedom not in Italy only, but throughout the European continent. He added also, that the pope must be left unmolested in Rome, that question being 'none of those which can be solved by the sword alone.' The presence of Mazzini at Naples caused much embarrassment. On his refusal to leave the place, the marquis Pallavicini and his colleagues in the ministry resigned; but the people expressed themselves loudly against Mazzini, and Pallavicini again took office. On the 15th of October Garibaldi issued a decree in which he said that, 'to satisfy a wish cherished by the whole nation, the Two Sicilies, which have been redeemed by Italian blood and which have freely elected me their dictator, form an integral part of one and indivisible Italy under the constitutional king Victor Emmanuel and his descendants.' A fortnight before this time Garibaldi had signally defeated the troops of Francis II. in the battle of the Volturno, and driven them into the fortress of Capua, although his volunteers, some 15,000 in number, were opposed to 30,000 royalist soldiers.

But Victor Emmanuel was now on the road to assume the power which had been won for him by Garibaldi. The hero and the king met on the 26th of October between Teano and Speranzano. As soon as the king saw Garibaldi, he spurred his horse towards him. As they drew near, his officers shouted, '*Viva Victor Emmanuel.*' Garibaldi came forward, raised his cap and added, 'king of Italy.' Victor Emmanuel raised his hand to his cap, and stretching out his hand to

Garibaldi, answered, 'I thank you.' On the 3rd of November he defeated the army of Francis II., which had retired behind the Garigliano, and now fell back on Gaeta, the only place which still remained to the king of Naples, Capua having previously surrendered, and its garrison of 9,000 having been made prisoners of war. The interference, whether well or ill-intentioned of the French emperor, protracted the defence and fall of Gaeta. He would only allow it to be invested by land, to give Francis II. the chance of escape by sea. But the only result was that the siege was continued through the rest of the year without benefit to himself, at the cost of enormous and useless bloodshed. At the same time the French army of occupation in Rome had been strengthened, and had occupied Civita Vecchia, Albano, Velletri, and many other towns. The town of Viterbo had, in September, declared unanimously for Victor Emmanuel; no disturbances had taken place, and the government had gone on peaceably. In October, general de Goyon sent a message to the Gonfalonière to say that he must find quarters for the French troops who were to be sent thither. The Gonfalonière answered that, relying on the French emperor's pledges of noninterference in the affairs of Italy, they had chosen to make Victor Emmanuel their king,—that the French might come if they pleased, and that they would encounter no resistance, for they would find the town deserted. Early in November the Italian question was decided at Naples: 1,302,064 votes were given in favour of a united Italy, 10,312 against it. On the 7th Victor Emmanuel entered Naples in triumph, and appointed signor Farini his lieutenant-governor for the Neapolitan provinces. Two days later, Garibaldi retired to his own domain of the little island of Caprera, having issued a proclamation in which he called on all Italians to unite under the 'Re Galantuomo,' and invited them in March of the following year to give 'the last shock, the last blow, to the crumbling tyranny.'

On the 19th of January 1861, the last French ship of war sailed away from Gaeta. The French emperor had abandoned Francis II.; he had prevented the Italians from blockading the place by sea, to give the Bourbon a fair chance of escape, but he had no mind to continue his veto, when his aid was looked upon 'as an encouragement to resistance, and assumed the shape of material support.' Thus forsaken, Francis II. still struggled on till the 18th of February, when the garrison capitulated, and with the ex-queen he went on board a French steamer, and took refuge at Rome.

The first measure of the Sardinian chambers, on meeting in 1861, was to introduce a bill declaring Victor Emmanuel king of Italy. Against this act, which was passed almost unanimously, the papal government vehemently protested; but Great Britain immediately recognised the new kingdom, and France soon followed the example. But the great statesman who had first secured for Sardinia a recognised place among the European powers, and who had steered his country through the gravest dangers, was cut off before his great work was consummated. After a short illness, of which the fatal issue was in great part set down to the Italian practice of bleeding for every possible malady, count Cavour died on the 6th of June; and the first feeling was that the Italian cause had undergone an irreparable disaster. The loss was indeed great, but there were not wanting men to carry on his work with equal sincerity, if not with equal genius. A ministry was formed under baron Ricasoli, who, in answer to rumours that he purposed to cede the island of Sardinia to France, declared unmistakeably the policy which he intended to work out. The very word and thought of cession he scouted with all the disdain of his soul. 'Not an inch of Italian ground,' he said, 'must be given up.' 'But there was a territory to recover. Opportunity, matured by time, would open the way to Venice. In the meantime, we think of Rome. Yes, we will go Rome. For to go is for the Italians not merely a right, it is an inexorable necessity.' Yet there were obstacles in the way which even Italian enthusiasm found it impossible to surmount. After a thousand twists in his tortuous game, it became evident that the French emperor had no intention of withdrawing his troops from Rome. The ex-king of Naples by his agents stirred up brigandage in every quarter, and his emissaries caused serious disturbances in several places. Order was preserved, but only by force; and the dawn of Italian unity seemed to be suddenly and ominously clouded. The events of 1862 seemed to make the prospect even darker. The intrigues of the Sardinian minister Rattazzi led Garibaldi to suppose that an attack on Rome would not be thwarted by the Italian government: and Garibaldi determined accordingly to bring the contest to a final issue. It was soon manifest that he had to deal with a very different spirit from the cautious yet vigorous prudence of count Cavour. The disapproval of the French government was not disguised or qualified; and the king of Italy found it necessary to send troops to arrest the progress of Garibaldi and his volunteers. The fight at Aspromonte, in which the hero who had destroyed the Bourbon tyranny was with his son wounded and taken prisoner, was the result — a result disgraceful to the intrigues of signor Rattazzi, yet the best perhaps for the true interests of the Italian kingdom. Even before it there could be little doubt as to the intentions of the French emperor; since the defeat of Garibaldi those intentions were boldly proclaimed, and announced an indefinite continuation of the occupation of Rome, and a determined support of the temporal power of the papacy.

The only important event in Italian history belonging to the year 1864 was the passing of the bill for transferring the seat of government from Turin to Florence; and the significance of the event was to be found, not so much in the change itself, as

in the motives which actuated it. On proposing the measure, general Cialdini said that they only could wish to retain Turin as the capital who wished also to keep the Italian kingdom under the shadow of France; that strategically it was of no value, so long as the Austrians occupied the Quadrilateral, and that he desired to see the Italian kingdom placed under the sole protection of her own bayonets and her own valour. If it should be urged that Florence was not sufficiently central, he replied by admitting the fact, and alleging this fact as the reason for which he desired and hoped to go to Rome.

The prospect of a war with Austria in 1866 caused great enthusiasm. A volunteer corps was formed, and the command given to Garibaldi. The popular enthusiasm was founded simply on a resolution to free Venetia from Austrian dominion, and set Italy free from the Alps to the Adriatic. This was enough to impel the Italians to avail themselves eagerly of the probable rupture between Prussia and Austria, and thus to expel all German intruders from the Italian soil. War against Austria was declared by Prussia on June 18, and two days later by the king of Italy. The commencement of operations was fixed for the 23rd of June, and, for a few days preceding that date, the first, second, and third corps of the army, under the immediate command of the king, with a cavalry division, had been pushed forward to the frontier, the general head-quarters being at Cannelo. On the morning of the 23rd the troops were ordered by the king to cross the Mincio. The entry upon the enemy's territory was effected at all points without resistance, and it was evident that the Austrians had given up all idea of defending the territory between that river and the Adige. Hence it was determined to advance into the territory between the fortresses of Verona, Peschiera, and Mantua, separate one from the other, and take up a strong position between the plain of Villafranca and the group of hills between Valeggio, Sommacampagna, and Castelnuovo. The third corps first came into conflict with the enemy a little beyond Villafranca, where it was attacked by the Austrian cavalry, but succeeded in holding its ground. The rest of the army, by the admission of general Marmora, was defeated. Another division underwent a repulse at Custozza at the hands of the archduke Albert, who was in command of the Austrian army. The battle raged for several hours, and for some time the Austrians failed to carry Custozza. At last the Italians, under the princes Humbert and Amadeus, endeavoured, with their picked troops, to advance to Staffalo, holding Custozza at the same time; but they were overborne by the Austrians, who finally got possession of the Italian position. The Italian army, driven back by the Austrians, recrossed the Mincio, and burnt the bridge at Valeggio. It then reformed and took up its position behind the Oglio. A naval battle off Lissa also ended in the repulse of the Italian fleet; and admiral Persano was afterwards brought to trial for the result. Nor was Garibaldi much more fortunate. On the 3rd of July he attacked the Austrians at Monte Bello, and was driven back and himself wounded in the thigh; but he took the opportunity of crossing over into French territory, and urging the Italians to deliver the French districts from the grasp of the foreigner.

But the struggle was now cut short by the armistice accepted by the Prussians and Austrians, of which the reader will find an account in the history of Prussia for 1866. The Venetians were asked to go through the ceremony of a plebiscite, by which, of course, they declared their decided wish to be united to the kingdom of Italy, the sovereign of which could now again wear the iron crown of Lombardy, which, like Venetia, had been ceded by the Austrians.

The Roman question alone remained to be solved; but in his circular, addressed to the prefects of the kingdom, baron Ricasoli declared that, after the fulfilment of the September convention, that question could not and must not be the motive for agitation. Italy had promised France and Europe to remain neutral between the pope and the Romans, and she must keep her promise.

These words were to be tested as early as 1867. The political movements were preceded by ineffectual proposals for the conversion of ecclesiastical property into money to be held by the clergy as a corporation, the church being left entirely free, and giving up all its exemptions, immunities, and prerogatives in the state. Early in February signor Ratazzi displaced baron Ricasoli as prime minister. In the course of the summer armed bands of volunteers approached the Roman frontiers from various parts of Italy with the expressed purpose of marching upon Rome, and the Roman people showed, by breaking out in insurrectionary movements, that their satisfaction in the papal government admitted of being stronger. But the Italian ministry was determined to keep its word; and on the 23rd of September Garibaldi was arrested near Sienna, and taken, first to Alessandria, and thence to Caprera, which was watched by Italian ships of war. At Rome great uneasiness was felt. The officers of the French legion, known as the Antibes, were throwing up their commissions, and the desertions were becoming so frequent as to threaten the dissolution of the whole force General Dumont, having reached Rome from Paris, found that these desertions were owing to Italian influences, but, although the desertions ceased, the incursions of the Italian volunteers did not. These were commanded by Menotti Garibaldi, a son of the great liberator of Italy. The contest went on with varying success between the pontifical troops and the Garibaldians, until the French emperor determined once more to settle the matter by his own overwhelming military force. The needle-gun had turned the day against the Austrians at Sadowa; the chassepot

decided the fate of the Garibaldians at Mentana, where Garibaldi himself commanded, having made his escape from Caprera in spite of the squadron which was guarding him. He was soon again arrested and confined at Varignano, on the gulf of Spezzia. But when general Menabrea, as the head of the Italian government, called upon the French emperor to withdraw his troops from Rome, the latter answered by proposing his favourite remedy of a conference for the settlement of the Roman question. To this the Italian government consented, on the proviso that the deliberations should be confined to removing the present difficulties between Italy and the holy see, without any retrospective considerations of the facts by which the kingdom of Italy had been constituted. The French, however, retained only Civita Vecchia, where they were to remain only until the holy father should be no longer menaced.

But the general policy of the Italian government remained unchanged. Rome, according to Signor Crispi, was not necessary to Italy. Thoroughly agreeing in this, general Menabrea added that it was nevertheless necessary tenaciously to affirm their right to Rome, but that Rome, though it was the crowning of the national edifice, was only to be won by moral means.

The year 1869 was to be marked by the opening of a council, which was to affect largely the action of half the nations of Europe, and to hasten the great catastrophe which a few months later was to bring the German armies to Paris. On the 8th of December a procession of about 800 ecclesiastics, of whom nearly 700 were archbishops and bishops, formed in the Vatican, and descended into St Peter's, where the pope gave them his benediction. The true business of this assembly was already a matter of more than conjecture, and the French emperor had intimated, it is said, that the promulgation of any decree maintaining the personal infallibility of the pope would be both inexpedient and unseasonable; while the Spanish government insisted on the imprudence of any attempts to increase an authority almost omnipotent itself, and to close the door against all future gatherings of the church by rendering such assemblies superfluous. It may be enough to say that these warnings were disregarded, and all opposition from every quarter persistently overruled. In vain the archbishop of Paris, who was not many months later to fall a victim to the fury of the Parisian communists, declared that the proclamation of infallibility would be fatal not only to the temporal power but to the church itself. In vain Strosmeyer (bishop of the Croatian diocese of Diakovar), Dupanloup (bishop of Orleans), MacHale (archbishop of Tuam), and some others, the most learned perhaps and the most earnest of the prelates of Latin Christendom, raised their voices against the proposed changes. The dogma was at last enunciated on the 13th of July; and when it had been once promulgated, the habits of obedience instilled into the Latin clergy prevailed, and many of the German bishops who had been most vigorous in opposition met at Fulda and pronounced their acceptance of the decree.

1870. The consequences of this decree to the temporal power of the pope seemed to follow with astonishing rapidity. The disasters which came thick and fast after his declaration of war against Prussia compelled the French emperor to withdraw his garrison from Rome; and the king of Italy found that he must either make his power felt at Rome or cease soon to have any power elsewhere. If Rome were not included in the Italian kingdom, Italy itself would fall into the hands of Mazzinians and Garibaldians. The Italian army under general Cadorna was, accordingly, ordered to march across the frontier; and Victor Emmanuel, in a letter to the pope, took on himself the responsibility of maintaining order in the peninsula, as well as the security of the apostolic see. By way of answer the pope directed his general to go through the form of resistance which should show that he protested against the violence done to him, but nothing more. In other words, negotiations for surrendering Rome were to be opened so soon as a breach should be made in the walls. It turned out, however, that a cannonade of four hours was needed to bring about this result.

The question now was whether Rome should be made the capital of the Italian kingdom; and to decide this an appeal was made to the will of the people throughout the States of the Church. The number of votes in the affirmative was 133,681 against 1507 on the other side. In Florence the transfer of the capital to Rome was voted by 192 votes against 18. For the pope it was determined that he should retain his guards and his sovereign rights, with an income of 3,225,000 francs. The Vatican, the church of Sta Maria Maggiore, and Castel Gandolfo, with their dependencies, were to be retained by him, and to be exempted from taxes and common-law jurisdiction; and all other provisions were made which were necessary to secure his complete ecclesiastical independence. On the last day of the year the king of Italy made his public entrance into the Eternal City.

1871. The same year in which the sovereign of United Italy first addressed his subjects within the walls of Rome, witnessed the jubilee of the first pope whose reign had reached the full period of twenty-five years. In St Peter's 20,000 persons were assembled to see high mass celebrated by the patriarch of Constantinople; and the fall of the temporal power of the pope was signified only by the absence of the soldiers.

Here, as elsewhere, the causes of disturbance arising from the intrigues of internationalists and communists were not wanting. A "Working Men's Congress," to be held in November, was expected with apprehensions which happily were not justified by the event.

In Rome the pope continued to speak of himself as a prisoner, and as such he was represented by the Ultramontane party, who wanted to get him out of Rome in order that the next conclave might be held beyond reach of the influences of the new Italian kingdom. But there were no facts to answer to this theory of imprisonment, and from Austria the pope received only the assurance that nowhere else would he be so secure or so removed from the danger of political complications. His policy, as a whole, can scarcely be called successful. In France some priests had given up their charge rather than affirm the new dogma, and the abbé Michaud, vicar of the Madeleine, had declared that sooner or later the world would see whether the victory would belong to those who combat for Christ governing the pope by his gospel, or to those who fight for the pope supplementing Christ by his Syllabus." In Rome itself a committee of Old Catholics was organised by father Hyacinthe, who not long afterwards, under his secular designation of M. Charles Loyson, married an American lady in London.

On the 10th of March Mazzini died at Pisa, as he was preparing for a journey to spread his political theories in Northern Italy.

The priestly party now began to think that they had made a mistake by abstaining from voting at elections. But in spite of their change of tactics, not one of the clerical candidates, although these were headed by prince Torlonia, was returned.

But if, apart from the spread of brigandage in Southern Italy, there was little of political or social excitement, the year was marked by some serious physical calamities. An eruption of Vesuvius in the spring left 30,000 persons homeless, many hundreds being killed. A hurricane in the autumn destroyed a flourishing town in Sicily; and no less than 80,000 persons were thrown on public relief for maintenance by an inundation of the Po towards the close of the year.

Of the following year, 1873, the most marked events were the deaths of the poet and novelist Manzoni and of the distinguished statesman Rattazzi. In Rome the Jesuits were in October expelled from their convents and colleges; and after the measure which he had dealt out to his opponents in Germany, the pope denounced these acts as those of men who despise law, who are enemies of religion, and who confound all things human and divine. The Italian occupation of Rome had for its object the destruction of the Catholic religion itself. The Genevese, in requiring from the clergy an oath binding them to give to the Tridentine decrees the measure of obedience accorded by the Gallic church, imposed an oath involving actual apostasy, and all faithful people were enjoined to regard as strangers and robbers all priests who might comply with the terms imposed by the governments of the Swiss cantons.

The religious controversy was less prominent in the year 1874 than in those which had immediately preceded it. The policy of the Italian kingdom was that of Cavour; and it was supposed that the complete separation of the church and the state, leaving both perfectly free, would place the state on a level with the church, and give to the former at least the same chance of success in its work as to the latter. Those who so thought forgot that they were contending against an ancient and organised system, supported by large endowments, whilst the lay schoolmasters of the government had to contend with a grinding poverty, and that these were really placed at a disadvantage when they were instructed to teach the maxims of social justice and morality on which the institutions of the state are founded, by the aid of a manual approved by the government upon the advice of the Supreme Council of Public Instruction.

The pressing danger in Italy at this time lay in the prevalence and spread of brigandage. In Southern Italy and Sicily this shameful state of things had produced a complete collapse of justice, and smitten the honest portion of the community with abject fear. Juries refused to convict; judges were afraid to pass sentence; and if by a rare chance a criminal was punished, those who ordered and administered the punishment were pretty sure to be murdered. The Camorra, Maffia, and other secret societies, struck down their victims with the dagger; and the prefect of Palermo declared plainly that it would be impossible to put down the Maffia even with the whole Italian army, so long as the brigands could claim constitutional rights. Yet the government on their side were afraid to order the state of siege; and while this fear lasts, the golden age of ruffians, bandits, and murderers will continue, to the disgrace of the new kingdom of Italy.

The sufferance of these societies may well be regarded as not merely a scandal but a curse. The Camorra, an organised band of ratteners, has been allowed to survive the old monarchy which connived at its iniquities, because it was conscious of having done nothing to secure the voluntary obedience of the people. The Maffia is, it is said, practically an army consisting of hundreds of thousands of members, each sworn to support the rest with the dagger. In this way an irresistible pressure is brought to bear on all juries, not a few of the jurymen, and, it would seem, of the

judges themselves being enrolled in this infamous association. Such a state of things, it is obvious, can be put an end to only by the stern and impartial administration of the sharpest remedies; and it is scarcely credible to Englishmen that the extreme liberals of Italy can actually denounce the measures proposed for arresting the evil as signs of an oppression "worthy of the middle ages, or rather of the most cruel despotism." It is, however, some comfort for the lovers of order and law generally to learn that the great but indispensable powers needed to rid the island of this pest were in 1875 bestowed upon the government by the carrying of the Act for the Public Security through the Italian parliament; and it remains to be seen whether the powers so bestowed will be effectually exercised.

THE HISTORY OF VENICE.

Of all the republics of Italy, Venice is that whose history is the most interesting and singular; it has all the startling brilliancy of romance, and fully justifies the remark of a great modern poet,—'Truth is strange, stranger than fiction.'

The history of Venice is now, more than ever, interesting to us; for it is in our day that a blow, as swift and as crushing as the thunderbolt, has struck out of the list of independent states this ancient republic, so remarkable in site and in institutions.

At the north-eastern extremity of Italy, between the Alps and the north-western coast of the Adriatic, there was settled from a very early age a people called the Heneti or Veneti, from whom the fertile district in question was called Venetia.

However subjected, it is certain that in the years of Rome 652-3, just after the defeat of the Cimbri and Teutones by Marius, Venetia became a part of the Roman province called Transalpine Gaul, and was governed by a prætor. From this time forth we must, for some centuries, speak of it in connection with Rome; of whose disasters we shall see that fertile *Venetia Prima* was the desolated victim—and the maritime *Venetia Secunda* the glorious and mighty consequence. Continental Venice, if subjected to the power of Rome, was at the same time admitted to its privileges and made participator of its advantages. Governed by a Roman prætor, they also voted in the Roman assemblies of the people; and furnishing a contingent of men and money when the affairs of Rome demanded it, they also had the aid of Roman taste and Roman wealth in improving and beautifying their cities, as numerous remains, especially in Verona, show at this day.

From the annexation of Venice to Rome, until the end of the fourth century of the Christian era, it is in Roman history that the reader must look for such slight mention as is made at all of the affairs of Venetia; and we pass, therefore, in the present sketch to the commencement of the fourth century of the Christian era.

The fierce northern people known by the name of Goths, being expelled by the no less fierce and still more powerful Huns, about the year 376, were allowed to settle themselves in the vast plains of Thrace. Actuated partly, perhaps, by gratitude to Rome, but still more by hatred of the Huns, the Goths were of signal service to the western empire, to which the Huns were a dreadful and perpetually troublesome enemy. Alaric, the Gothic leader, the most distinguished himself in this auxiliary warfare, was far too acute not to perceive the weakness of the once mighty people of which he was the temporary ally and the seemingly grateful guest; and he was far too ambitious and restless in his nature, to see that weakness without design to take advantage of it. From merely aiding Theodosius the Great to repel the Huns, Alaric easily got leave to assist in putting down the rebellions of Arbogastes and Eugenius, who aimed at the imperial purple. This interference in the internal affairs of Rome at once increased Alaric's insight into her actual condition, and his desire to become the master of that empire, of which hitherto he had only been the sheltered guest or the paid servant. A considerable territory in Thrace and high honorary rank in the Roman army should have been deemed by Alaric himself a sufficient reward for all the services he had rendered to Rome; especially as Rome had sheltered the Goths as distressed fugitives long before she asked their aid as warlike allies. But a plea was necessary to justify the auxiliary in becoming the foeman; and accordingly as soon as Alaric saw that the state of public affairs was such as to promise him success, he began to call men and angels to witness how faithfully and boldly he had served Rome, and how scantily and ungratefully she had rewarded his good services.

Both courts, the eastern and the western, abounded with men who wished to see confusion and warfare in the very midst of their native country; some in mere political or personal hatred of their rulers, others in the still more detestable hope that barbaric legions might be so far successful as to throw the empires into that state in which the strongest arm and the sharpest sword would be the best title to all possessions. Rufinus, though he was tutor to the young Arcadius after the death of Theodosius the Great, was the most active of the traitors who wished for the success of the barbarian malcontent; and aided him not only with secret advice and information, but also with considerable sums of money. Thus aided and encouraged, Alaric overran Pannonia, Macedonia, and those parts of Thrace which were adjacent to his settlement and sufficiently wealthy to be worth his destroying labour. Stilicho, the general of Honorius, who then reigned over the western empire, was for a time successful against Alaric; but by an unfortunate over-confidence gave the able barbarian opportunity of retaliation, which he so effectually used, that Honorius was fain to recall his general from aiding the Greeks, and convert the Goth from an enemy into an ally, by giving him the sovereignty of all Illyria. The increase of power which Alaric necessarily obtained from increase of territory was little likely to decrease either his enmity to Honorius, whose general had

temporarily defeated him, or his desire to overrun the western empire, which promised much richer spoil than the Grecian territory he had already ravaged.

Causing himself to be elevated upon a shield—the ancient enthronement of a warrior king—he was proclaimed, amidst the shouts of his fierce soldiery, king of the Visigoths. Increasing his already immense army by recruits from the banks of the Danube, he pointed to Rome and the smiling Italian lands, and promised their spoils to his followers; and, unfortunately, his fierce hatred of Rome and love of bloodshed and plunder were fully equalled by the timidity and irresolution of Honorius. That feeble monarch was speedily convinced of his inferiority to his barbaric opponent; and was from the very outset of the war worsted by him, in despite of a literally innumerable army, composed partly of veteran troops and partly of barbarian levies from the very extremities of the empire.

Stilicho, the man who, of all the emperor's friends and advisers, was probably the most likely to have proved the successful defender of the empire, who had already given such signal proofs of both ability and zeal, was sacrificed partly to that vague, but no less bitter, hatred which the multitude of all times and all ages bear to towering and highly successful talent, and partly to the mingled timidity and treachery of Honorius himself, who had learned to fear the ability of Stilicho by mere dint of profiting by it. Forgetful of the talent and bravery which Stilicho had often shown, or, as we might almost say, imputing his most important services to him as crimes, Honorius showed little concern when his general and minister was massacred; and actually after the perpetration of that crime, praised the perpetrators, and condemned the memory of Stilicho and his fellow-victims, as far as their memory could be condemned by any words of so poor-spirited and effeminate a person.

The treachery of Honorius and the malignity of his favourite, Olympius, having put Stilicho to death by a virtual violation of sanctuary, and some of the ablest men of the empire merely for being the friends of Stilicho having been sacrificed just before or just after the murder of the minister himself, we might expect to find Honorius, at least, making the negative and poor atonement of protecting the widow of his tutor, friend, and minister. But though Serena, the lady in question, was aunt to Theodosius and adoptive mother of Honorius himself, he meanly suffered her to be strangled, in 408, on the approach of Alaric with his Goths to besiege the imperial city. Alaric, shrewd in policy as fierce in fight, sought to enlist on his side the feelings of the numerous partisans of the murdered Stilicho; and a cheap and safe way of doing so presented itself in praising the virtue and the talents of Stilicho, now that the former could no longer be serviceable to Rome, nor the latter formidable to Alaric himself. The praises thus bestowed upon the deceased minister, by the living and threatening foe, were interpreted by the Roman multitude into proof irrefragable that the widow of Stilicho carried on a treasonable correspondence with Alaric, and that his reliance upon her aid and interest it was that emboldened him to threaten the imperial city with destruction. The popular cry of the ignorant multitude was basely complied with by the emperor and the senate, and the unfortunate Serena was strangled.

With such an emperor just such a people was joined as was least likely to be permanently successful in resisting a bold, greedy, and hardy race of barbarians led on by an Alaric or an Attila. The individual hardihood and pride of manhood that had characterised the Roman of the republic, and the serried discipline and national pride that had so often given prey to the Roman eagle, under the Roman emperors who were worthy of that name, had passed away before a luxury and effeminacy which would be incredible were they not related to us by the pens of indignant Romans who describe the scenes which, loathing, they lived amidst and witnessed. Ammianus Marcellinus, more especially, describes the luxury, pride, and effeminacy of the rich as being more than eastern. 'If,' says he, 'on a hot day they muster courage to sail in their painted gallies from the Lucrine lake to their elegant villas on the sea-coast of Puteoli and Cajeta, they compare the exploit to the expeditions of Alexander and Cæsar. Yet should a fly settle on the silken folds of their umbrellas, or a sunbeam penetrate some unguarded chink, they deplore their hard fate, and protest, in affected language, that 'twere better to have been born in the land of the Cimmerians, the regions of perpetual clouds and darkness.' Innumerable instances might be given of this effeminacy as to the upper orders of Romans in the commencement of the fifth century; and abundant proofs might be adduced of the state of want, dependence upon public alms, or still more enthralling dependence on individual patronage, of the lower orders. But enough has been said to show that the state of Rome, alike in government and people, was precisely such as to invite, nay, to require the rude purification of successive and successful invasions of hardier races; and it now only remains to enter upon the particular history of Venice, as one which claims our attention more than the other Italian republics.

Alaric again and again ravaged the Roman territories, and insulted the Roman people; Honorius and his ministers literally seeming to invite him to do so by their pusillanimity on some occasions, and their absurd and empty threats on others. Honorius kept his court at Ravenna, whence his ministers alternately provoked Alaric by their useless and empty boastings, and bribed him to forbearance by the sacrifice not only of public treasures, but of the national honour; until at length the barbarian colours floated above the walls of Rome. Adolphus, brother-in-law of Alaric, and subsequently the terrible Attila, who awfully realised his truculent boast that where his horse once trod the grass never grew, ra

vaged Italy in every direction; and perhaps no part of the empire, if we except Aquileia, which was so utterly destroyed as to be even without traceable ruins, suffered more than Venetia Prima, or Continental Venice, Concordia, Oderso, Altino, and Padua. For three years the inhabitants of these places were never for an instant free from the presence of the stranger and the oppressor on occasion of the second inroad of the Gothic Alaric; and many of them, even during the tyranny of that comparatively mild tyrant, took refuge in the various islets which were grouped around Rialto. This island, which was already the port and entrepôt of the commerce of Padua, was naturally that which was earliest and most resorted to; and we find that as early as the year 421 the inhabitants of this little islet were numerous enough to allow of the building of a considerable church, which was in that year dedicated to St. James in pursuance of a vow made during the progress of a great fire which consumed twenty-four houses. It is possible that the retreat of the great majority of the fugitives from the main land to the isles was merely temporary, and that when their proper country was abandoned by the barbarians, they would be led, either by a pining after their fertile and beautiful land, which would be remembered with the greater regret by being contrasted with the flat and dreary shores of the isles, or by a vague hope of finding some remnants of plunder left behind by the barbarians, to return to the continent. But that the number of permanent emigrants to the isles even at this time was very considerable, is evident from a document which we believe is not quoted, if even referred to, by any modern historian of Venice, except Daru.

The document in question is an old and only partially perfect manuscript in the convent of St. Michael—and is a collection of 'various notices relative to the origin of Venice,' which was formed by Fulgentius Tomasellus, an abbot of the house, and since translated by one of its librarians, Father Mitarelli. It bears date in the year of Christ 421, and the last year of the papacy of Innocent I.; and the chief passage of it that was sufficiently legible to be translated into Latin by the learned librarian, is a decree of the consuls and senate of Padua for erecting Rialto into a chief city, in which the scattered population of the whole of the adjacent islands might congregate, not merely for their own greater comfort, and the convenience and prosperity of their own port, and the patron city of Padua, but likewise, and especially, that they being thus concentrated might keep an armed fleet, and thus defend alike themselves and the neighbouring continent against the recurrence of the destruction by fire and sword, which this region had already, and to so fearful an extent, experienced at the hands of the Goths with their king Alaric.

'*Reliquum legere non potui*,' says the translator, 'the rest is not legible;' but enough appears to show, that the earliest inhabitants of the isles were comparatively few in number, scattered hither and thither without judgement and without common polity, save such as necessarily resulted from their common dependence upon Padua, as fishermen, carriers, and traders in general; and that the invasion of Italy by Alaric, and the subsequent and ruinous occupation of the cities and plains of Lombardy by his fierce people, so much increased the populousness of the isles, as to lead the Paduans to order the concentration of the inhabitants and the constitution of a central seat of population—in short, of a chief city of the islets, to which it was inevitable the rest should become morally, as in the end they also were physically, united and subjected.

Imitating upon a small scale the immemorial policy of Rome herself, the Paduans, while they assuredly took the course which was best calculated to promote the interests of the settlers on the islands, and to make them importantly useful to north-eastern Italy, should its fate ever depend upon maritime warfare, did not allow the islanders to forget that they were dependents as traders, and, in some degree, as colonists; and, accordingly, the new town or state was governed by officers appointed by the Paduans, with the title of consuls.

Rialto, or *Rivo alta*, the deep river, which was thus made the chief town of the isles, was subsequently connected with the opposite bank by a bridge which bore the same name, and this island subsequently had built upon it, too, the exchange, also called Rialto: this last being at once the homage paid to the chief island, and the surest guarantee, in a purely commercial and maritime state, for preserving the chief resort and influence to it.

The peculiar situation of the Venetian isles being considered, the obstacles which their difficult navigation must have presented to foreigners and barbarians in the then rude state of the maritime art, their connection with so fertile and populous a portion of continental Italy, would prognosticate immense prosperity immediately, and great, if not preponderating power ultimately, to the new state, in the event of that ruin falling upon the Roman empire, which every circumstance, within and without, indicated to the least careful and attentive observer; even should no other external circumstances favour the islanders. Such other circumstances, however, tended to bring about the greatness of Venice.

A new scourge for Italy appeared in the shape of a multitude of Huns, who were led from the depths of Scythia by Attila; a leader fierce and able as Alaric in the field, and far more cruel and unsparing when the field was won. Having carried fire and sword throughout Macedonia, Germany, and Gallia, from which last he found it prudent to retreat, the alarm was suddenly given that he was leading the Huns and their swarming barbarous allies towards the Julian Alps, threatening new destruction to the beautiful lands of Venetia, and new miseries to the Venetians of the main land. In the year 452 Attila appeared before Aquileia; and that city still

preserving some of the spirit of old Rome, of which it was a colony and offset, made a defence so brave—though insufficient to save it from the fierce host that assailed it—that when it was, at length, in sheer necessity, yielded, the enraged barbarian literally left not one brick or stone standing upon another.

The cause of this new irruption of Attila and his Huns, as being also a principal cause of the wealth and power of Venice the Superb, must not be wholly omitted here; we mean the treason of Honoria, the sister of Valentinian III. This princess, having dishonoured her rank and family by her intrigue with a courtier, which intrigue was aided by the carelessness of her own mother, who had always acted as if she was regardless of the education and moral conduct of her daughter, was placed under the most rigid surveillance. Naturally of a gay, perhaps we might even say of a licentious turn, this restraint wearied her to such a pitch of desperation, that she contrived to send a ring to Attila, as a pledge of love and good faith; and with it a pressing message demanding his support and aid against her own family, and requesting to be admitted into the number of his wives. Honoria was reputed to be very beautiful, and to female beauty the barbarian chieftain was by no means unsusceptible. But he devised a considerable improvement upon the proposition of the princess; he preceded his new advance upon the empire with a demand, not only of the hand of the lady, but also of half the provinces of the empire. The refusal he met with, and his rage thereupon, led to the destruction of Aquileia, and to the taking refuge of the inhabitants of that and the neighbouring cities in Rialto and the dependent Venetian isles.

If not so wholly destroyed to their very foundations as Aquileia, the neighbouring cities were, however, so completely pillaged and so considerably devastated, that a vast number of the inhabitants not merely sought shelter in the isles during the actual and threatening presence of the barbarians upon the main land, but were so wearied by the losses they had already sustained, and so completely dispirited by the apparent probability of a frequent recurrence of similar inflictions, as to take up their permanent residence in the comparatively inaccessible isles, where they had at first sought only a temporary shelter. Some would doubtless return to the main land, in hope to find their homes undestroyed, whatever might have befallen the homes of their neighbours; but being as poor as the poorest of the islanders, and far less favourably situated as to the future than the islanders as a body, it was not at all reasonable that the former should claim any continuance of the Paduan authority over the isles; the more especially as no one knew how soon a new incursion of the barbarians might once more render the isles the only place of safe refuge to the dwellers upon the main land.

The authority of the old towns being thus tacitly but effectually terminated, the islanders and refugees consolidated themselves together, and organised perhaps the very best kind of society for the circumstances in which they were placed.

The extent of the immigration had made it impossible for the chief islet, Rialto, to accommodate more than a very inconsiderable portion of the fugitives. The remainder had of necessity distributed themselves amid the other islets, all of which were now populated, more or less densely. Each of the larger of these islands, containing a sufficient population to give it the necessary weight and importance in the new state, it was agreed should elect a tribune. This magistrate, whose term of office was limited to one year, was charged with the administration of justice in his own isle, and was accountable only to the general assembly of the colony, which alone could decide upon the affairs of the isles *en masse*. In a word, the islanders formed a federative republic; the whole governed as to external affairs and affairs of common import, by an authority delegated from the whole; each internally and in matters peculiar to itself governed by the tribune of its own election.

For a long time their chief commodities for sale were salt and fish, but those are articles peculiarly profitable where the commerce in them is very large; moreover, the islanders could not fail to accumulate riches, the great source, when wisely used, of political power—exempted as they were from the evils to which the cities on the main land had become the victims.

The invasion of Italy by the Herull under Odoacer, in 476, when the army sent by Augustulus was vanquished, and its general slain by Odoacer's own hand; and the subsequent invasion of the Ostrogoths under Theodoric, who dethroned and put to death Odoacer, the dethroner of Augustulus, caused a new increase of population to flow into the Venetian isles; and when the insular republic had barely a hundred years of existence, it already began to be respected for its industry and numbers, and admired for a prosperity so strikingly contrasted with its small number of natural productions. Fish and salt were all that Venice seemed to possess; and it was not yet known how far better a nurse commerce is to a state than war.

The disasters to which the empire had been subjected both in the east and in the west, and the blots which barbarian success had cast upon the escutcheon of Rome's supposed invincibility and even invulnerability, added to the utter destruction of the cities of Venetia Prima, probably caused Rome's power to be held in comparatively light estimation even by those who returned to the main land and rebuilt their destroyed homes. And the isolation of the inhabitants of the isles, their early poverty, and, above all, the hardly practicable sea-walls that stretched around them, would seem to make their independence of disorganised and distracted Rome a matter beyond dispute. It has, however, been disputed, and by a high authority, but we think on very inadequate grounds. Cassiodorus, minister to Theo-

doric, wrote a highly flattering letter,—a letter penned with most oratorical art and care, and evidently with great anxiety as to its success,—requesting the Venetians to effect by means of their vessels the transport of a supply of wine and oil from Istria to Ravenna. The very care and polish that are lavished upon this letter seem to us to be quite decisive as to Rome having no recognised, stated, or easily available authority over the Venetians of the isles. It is quite true, as has been remarked by the learned count Daru, that notwithstanding the urbanity of the letter, it yet evidently contains an order. It seems to us, that the politely couched order of such a neighbour as Rome, can scarcely be said to prove aught against the actual political independence of such a state as Venice, and at so early a stage of its existence. It would seem far more correct to consider that Rome couched a demand, which she knew was not strictly just, in terms which she judged would be agreeable to her nascent neighbour. Even in her decline Rome was far too formidable a neighbour not to feel at liberty to make even unreasonable requests of a community of fishermen and small merchants, comparatively prosperous as that community might be.

With increase of population and of wealth, the Venetians, by which name we shall, to save circumlocution, henceforth designate only the islanders, began to feel anxious about that which was their chief and cheap safeguard, the difficult navigation of the lagoons; and the navigation was forbidden not merely to strangers in general, but even to that Padua which once was the metropolis and nursing mother of the island republic. When we consider the horrors to which the cities on the main land had been exposed by the barbarian invaders, and reflect how probable it was that new invasions would occur, which only the difficulty of the navigation and the superiority this insured to the vessels of the islanders could prevent from extending to the isles, we can scarcely wonder at the stern and jealous rule adopted by men who had only become islanders and fishers after they had been ruined agriculturists, flying in haste and in terror from one of the loveliest and most fertile of earth's lovely and fertile spots. Nor was it long before the Venetians had good reason to congratulate themselves upon the care they had bestowed equally upon acquiring dexterity in the navigation of their narrow and difficult creeks and shallows, and preventing a like dexterity from being acquired by others.

The Slavi, a barbarous and warlike people, had established themselves in Dalmatia. That country, however, had already been so often overrun and plundered, that it afforded by no means a sufficient amount of booty to satisfy so numerous and so greedy a people. They consequently availed themselves of the numerous ports and creeks their new country afforded them, and imitated the piratical example of the Illyrians, by whom the country had formerly been occupied, and speedily became a name of terror to all who had occasion to be upon the sea in that direction. The Venetians, perpetually pursuing their commercial and carrying avocations in their light vessels, were especially subjected to the attacks of these daring marauders, to whom the portable but valuable freights brought by the Venetians from the ports of the eastern empire, with which they carried on great commerce, were an irresistible temptation. The hardy habits and active life of the fishers and merchants of the Venetian isles had given new vigour and courage to the people, who, while living in comparative luxury upon the mainland, had abandoned all their possessions to the barbarians, rather than struggle to possess them at the risk of losing life also. Mustering their vessels, they boldly encountered the pirates, beat them, and compelled them to respect the liberty of the seas as far as Venetians were concerned therein. This, in addition to many other circumstances, seems to have been a link in a long and unbroken chain of causes which tended to bring about the prosperity and power of Venice in her subsequent palmy days; for while the success with which the traders encountered the terrible and notorious pirates was especially well calculated to obtain a high and chivalrous name for the Venetians, even at the outset of their career, the very struggle and warfare in which they were from time to time engaged with so fierce a people, and with everything at stake upon the issue, must have had a mighty share in increasing the energy of the Venetians, and in forming their national character to that striking commixture of commercial industry and warlike spirit and skill to which their subsequent and long-continued power may so greatly be ascribed.

In the year 568 the Lombards invaded Italy, and so successfully, as completely to cut off all connection between it and the eastern empire. The Lombards, who came from Pannonia, like all the other barbarian scourges of Italy, commenced their destroying and plundering career on the main land. And now again, the misfortune of the main land brought benefit to the isles. Not only were the people of the newly rebuilt habitations on the main land glad to abandon their incomplete cities, and take refuge in the isles; not only did the islanders see the inhabitants of even Padua, their former patron city, imploring shelter, but even the clergy settled amongst them, and permanently too; for the Lombards established Arian preachers in the towns of continental Venice; and the consequence was, so fierce and sanguinary a war and such ceaseless schisms, that the clergy who had found a refuge in the isles did not think of quitting them.

Though the Lombards persecuted the Catholic faith professed by the Venetians, the former, who were at that time neither a commercial nor a maritime people, were to a very great extent dependent upon the islanders for their supply of all such necessaries or luxuries as came from foreign countries; and in this particular superiority of the Venetians to the Lombards, and subsequently to Charlemagne and his Franks

the attentive and thoughtful reader will scarcely fail to see yet another great element of the permanency and power of the insular state of Venice.

Eginhard, the contemporary and historian of Charlemagne, makes emphatic mention of the coarseness of the apparel of that monarch and his court, as compared to the fine stuffs and rich silks brought by the Venetian traders from the ports of Syria, the Archipelago, and the Black Sea.

It was in the inevitable nature of things, that the very increase of population which tended so greatly to the increase of the prosperity and consideration of the comparatively new state, should bring in its train such a diversity of interests, such a difference of proportion in the numbers, wealth, and power of the numerous insulated members of the federative republic as should call aloud for a change in the political system. Most important changes afterwards took place; and it is to Venice as an acting and not merely growing state, that we have henceforth to direct our attention.

The original form of Venetian government was purely democratical: magistrates were chosen by a general assembly of the people, who gave them the name of tribunes; one of whom was appointed to preside on each island, but to hold his office only for a year. This form subsisted for about one hundred and fifty years; it then appeared expedient to make choice of a chief magistrate, and on him the title of duke was conferred, which has since been corrupted to doge; this dignity was elective, and held for life; he was even intrusted with the power of nominating to all offices, and of making peace and declaring war. Paul Luke Anafesto, the first duke, was elected in the year 697; and such was the confidence which the people reposed in their duke, that he was at liberty to use his own discretion how far he would avail himself of the advice of the citizens. In the councils which he called on any matter of importance, he sent messages to those citizens for whose judgement he had the greatest esteem, praying that they would come and assist him with their advice. This form was retained by succeeding doges, and the citizens so sent for were called *pregadi* (from the Italian word *pregare*, to pray). The third doge, whose talents for war had proved successful in extending the power of the republic, at length meditated the assumption of a more absolute sway, wishing to render the supreme authority hereditary in his family: but such conduct excited a general alarm in the people; he was assaulted in his palace and there put to death. This event caused the government of Venice to be new modelled, and a chief magistrate, who was now called 'master of the militia,' was elected annually; but his power whilst in office was the same as before. Such form of government continued only five years, when the title of doge was revived (A.D. 740) in the person of the son of him who had been assassinated.

About the latter end of the twelfth century, when every other part of the Christian world was seized with a frantic rage for recovering the Holy Land, the Venetians were so far from contributing any forces for the crusades, that they did not scruple to supply the Saracens with arms, ammunition, and every other necessary. As the power of the state became augmented by the acquisition of Istria and many parts of Dalmatia, the jealousy of the people towards their doge became stronger. At that time the only tribunal at Venice consisted of forty judges; these were called 'the council of forty;' but in the year 1173, another doge, named Michieli, being assassinated in a popular insurrection, the council of forty found means to new-model the government by gaining the consent of the people to delegate the right of voting for magistrates, which each citizen possessed, to four hundred and seventy persons, called councillors, who received the appellation of 'the grand council;' and, acting as delegates of the people, became what the general assembly of the people until that time had been. By this artful innovation (which the people were cajoled into an acquiescence with, by retaining the right of electing those councillors annually), the democracy became presently subverted; and an aristocracy, in its fullest and most rigid form, was introduced, by restricting the power of the doge, and instituting a variety of officers (all of whom were, in a short time, chosen from among the nobility), which effectually controlled both the prince and the people.

Ziani was the first doge elected after the government had received, what the event proves to have been, its permanent modification; and during his administration the singular ceremony of espousing the sea, which has been annually observed ever since, was first adopted, and took its rise from the assistance which the Venetians gave to pope Alexander III. when hard pressed by the emperor, Frederic Barbarossa, and the signal victory they obtained over a formidable fleet under the command of Otho, son of Frederick, in which the admiral and thirty of his ships were taken. Alexander, with the whole city of Venice, went out to meet Ziani, the conqueror, on his return; to whom his holiness presented a ring, saying, 'Use this ring as a chain to retain the sea, henceforth, in subjection to the Venetian state: espouse her with this ring, and let the marriage be solemnised annually by you and your successors, to the end of time, that the latest posterity may know that Venice has acquired the empire of the waves, and holds the sea in subjection, in the same manner as a wife is held by her husband.'

During the continuance of the republic this ceremony was performed by the doge, dropping a ring into the sea, pronouncing at the same time the words, *Desponsamus te, Mare, in signum veri perpetuique dominii.* This emblem of its former power and independence is now for ever gone; and, in the language of the poet,

> The spouseless Adriatic mourns her lord.

The Venetians having extended their ter

ritories into Lombardy, Istria, and Dalmatia, became masters of many of the islands in the Archipelago, particularly the large and important one of Candia; they were masters of the Morea; and, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, Dandolo, their doge, when more than eighty years of age, in conjunction with the French, took Constantinople from the Turks. It was about this time that they engrossed the lucrative trade in the manufactures and productions of the East Indies, which they procured at the port of Alexandria, and conveyed to every market of Europe.

Under Marino Morosini was introduced the latest form of electing the doge; and at this juncture jealousy and envy occasioned the war with Genoa, which, after continuing a hundred and thirty years, was at last concluded by a treaty in 1381. During this war, Peter Gradonigo, the doge, procured a law to be passed, that none but the nobility should be capable of having a seat in the grand council; and thus the government became altogether aristocratical.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the Venetians extended their possessions in Lombardy, and, in 1473, the last king of Cyprus appointed the state of Venice his heir. Towards the end of the fifteenth century the commerce and power of the Venetians began to decline; for the Portuguese having doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and found the way to the East Indies by sea, that valuable trade was acquired, first by the discoverers, and afterwards by the Dutch and English.

In the beginning of the sixteenth century (A.D. 1509) the pope, the emperor, France, and Spain, joined in the famous league of Cambray, which threatened the subversion of the Venetian state; but the republic made a brave stand against its numerous and powerful enemies, and the Venetians retained their independence, although with the loss of all their possessions in the ecclesiastical state and the Milanese. They also suffered much from the Turks, who drove them out of Cyprus. In the seventeenth century a sharp contest arose between the government, the clergy, and the pope, in which, however, the former had the advantage. Venice was also long engaged in fierce wars with the Turks, during which they lost Candia, but gained part of Dalmatia and all the Morea; the latter, with other places and districts, the Turks recovered in the wars which were waged during the early part of the last century.

The Venetian government, in the year 1737, having shown particular marks of respect to the prince, who was generally called in England the pretender, when he visited that city under the character of the count of Albany, the British court took great offence, and the Venetian resident at London was ordered to depart; but proper concessions being made by the state, a friendly intercourse was reestablished, and in the year 1745 the earl of Holdernesse was sent ambassador extraordinary to Venice. In the year 1763 the Venetians found it necessary to pay a subsidy to the dey of Algiers, to preserve their commerce from the depredations of the Algerine corsairs; but they subsequently carried on a war with some other of the piratical states, nearer to them, on that coast.

Thus did the republic of Venice continue upwards of thirteen hundred years, amidst many foreign wars and intestine commotions. Its grandeur, as we have seen, was chiefly owing to its trade; and after the decline of that, its strength and power suffered considerable diminution. No government has been more attacked by deep-laid and formidable conspiracies than that of Venice; many of which have been brought to the very eve of execution without discovery or suspicion. But though the entire subversion of the state has been, at times, impending from some of these plots, yet until the era of the French revolution, they have been constantly rendered abortive, either by the vigilance or good fortune of the senate. One of the most remarkable of these conspiracies was formed by a doge named Marino Faliero, in the year 1355, who at that time was eighty years of age; but, conceiving a violent resentment against the senate, he formed a plan in order to assassinate the whole body. The design was timely discovered, and the dignified hoary traitor was brought to trial, found guilty upon his own confession, and publicly beheaded. In the great chamber of the palace, where the portraits of the doges are placed, there is a vacant space between the predecessor and successor of this man, where appears this inscription, '*Locus Marini Falieri decapitati*,' 'The place intended for the portrait of Marinus Falierus, who was beheaded.' The year 1618 is also distinguished by a no less remarkable conspiracy, the contriver and principal agent in which was the marquis Bedamar, the Spanish ambassador residing there.

Addison observes, that among all the instances of Venetian politics, there is none more admirable than the great secrecy which reigns in their councils. 'The senate,' says he, 'is generally as numerous as our house of commons, if we only reckon the sitting members, and yet carries its resolutions so privately, that they are seldom known till they discover themselves in the execution.'

The college, called 'the seigniory,' or supreme cabinet council of the state, was originally composed of the doge and six counsellors only, but to those at different periods were added, six of the grand council chosen by the senate, who were called *savii* (sages), then five savii of the Terra Firma, whose more immediate department it was to superintend the business of the towns and provinces belonging to the republic on the continent of Europe; at one time there were also five savii for maritime affairs, but after the state had lost its commercial importance, five young noblemen were chosen by the senate every six months, who attended the meetings of the seigniory without having a vote, though they gave their opinions when asked: this

was designed as an initiation into public business. To these were added the chiefs of the criminal court of 'forty.' This college was at once the cabinet council and the representative of the republic.

The *consiglio di dieci*, or 'council of ten,' was a high penal court, which consisted of ten counsellors, with the doge as president. It was supreme in all state crimes, and possessed the power of seizing anyone who was accused before them, or committing him to close confinement, and prohibiting all communication with his relations and friends, of examining and trying him in a summary manner, and, if a majority of the council pronounced him guilty, of condemning him to death; they also might order the execution to be either public or private, as they thought proper. This formidable tribunal was established in the year 1310.

About two centuries after, a still more despotic power was intrusted to three individuals, always chosen from the above council of ten, and forming the court called the state inquisition. These inquisitors likewise kept the keys of chests which are placed in several parts of the ducal palace, enclosed within the open jaws of lions' heads carved in the walls; through which notes were conveyed by anyone who was disposed to drop them; and thus notice was secretly given to the government of whatever might concern it to know.

The history of Venice furnished a dreadful instance, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, of a number of confederated villains, who concerted their measures so artfully as to frame false accusations against some of the Venetian nobles, which in the opinion of their judges convicted them of treasonable practices against the state, and one at least was publicly executed. At length the frequency of accusations created suspicions, which led to a full detection of the infernal scheme; upon which every possible reparation was made to the manes of the innocent victim, the honour of whose family was fully restored, but the tribunal, which decreed the sentence, was suffered to possess the same unlimited power, the only alteration being that anonymous information was somewhat more cautiously received; for it was a political maxim in Venice, that 'it is of more importance to the state to intimidate every one even from the appearance of a crime, than to allow a person, against whom a presumption of guilt appears, to escape, however innocent he may be.'*

* We have treated at some length the history of Venice, because its political and commercial eminence rendered it for many centuries by far the most important of the Italian states. In order not to break the thread of the narrative, the part which Venice played in the Italian movements of 1848 and 1849 is described at pp. 765, 766.

PAPAL ROME, OR THE STATES OF THE CHURCH.

THE name of Pope, or Father, was formerly given to all bishops. But since the time of Gregory VII. it has been solely applied to the bishop of Rome.

The temporal grandeur of the Roman pontiff commenced in times very remote. Constantine gave to the church of Lateran upwards of 1,000 marks in gold, and about 30,000 marks in silver, besides the assignment of rents. The popes, charged with sending missionaries to the east and west, and with providing for the poor, obtained for these pious purposes, from the richer Christians, without much trouble, considerable sums. The emperors, and the kings of the Lombards gave to the Holy Father lands in various parts; and many others, by gift, and by will, increased his patrimony. In the seventh century we find the pontiff possessed of great riches in various countries, and exempted from tax or tribute. The popes formed the design of rendering themselves independent. Under the reign of Pepin, father of Charlemagne, this revolution commenced; and it was completed under that of his son. Adrian I. caused money to be coined with his name: and the custom of kissing the feet of the pope began about the close of the eighth century, when they assumed regal rights, and their power and riches increased rapidly in the following ages. Gregory IV. rebuilt the port of Ostia; and Leo IV. fortified Rome at his own expense.

The election of pope has been different in the different ages of the church. The people and the clergy were the first electors; and the emperor had the power of confirming the election, after the death of Pope Simplicius, in 483. Odoacer, king of the Heruli and of Italy, made a law which struck at the right of election, under pretence of remedying the divisions which sometimes took place on the election of a pope. This law was abolished about twenty years after, in the fourteenth council of Rome, held in 502, with the consent of the king Theodoric. But this prince, who was an Arian, becoming cruel towards the end of his life, caused Pope John to be laid in prison, where he died in 526. He then usurped the right of creating a pope, and named to the pontifical chair Felix IV.

The Gothic kings who succeeded him followed his example; yet not entirely, for they contented themselves with confirming the election which the clergy had made. Justinian, who destroyed the empire of the Goths in Italy, and after him the other emperors, preserved this right; and they obliged the new elected pope to pay a sum of money for a confirmation of his election. Constantine Pogonatus delivered the church from this servitude and unworthy exaction, in 681.

Notwithstanding this apparent relinquishment on the part of the emperors, they always preserved some authority in the election of popes, until the time of Louis le Debonnaire, in 824, and his successors, Lothaire I. and Louis II., who ordained that the election of popes should henceforward be free, and canonical according to ancient usage.

Parties in favour of the different candidates for the popedom had now arisen to a great height, and were the cause of the schisms which followed in the church. The emperors were obliged to take on themselves the right of election; but after the schism of Peter and Victor IV. had been extinguished, all the cardinals were reunited under the obedience of Innocent II. After his death, the cardinals were the only electors of Celestine II. in 1143; since which time they have been in full possession of this privilege. Honorius III. in 1216, or, according to others, Gregory X. in 1274, ordained that the election should be made in the conclave.

The conclave is a part of the palace of the Vatican, composed of many cells, where the cardinals were shut up for election, which takes place on the morning of the tenth day after the death of the pope.

The pope may be considered under four different titles: first, as chief of the church; second, as patriarch; third as bishop of Rome; and fourth, as a temporal prince. As primate, he is the superior of all the catholic churches. As patriarch, his rights extend over the kingdoms and provinces within the pale of the Romish church. As bishop of Rome, he exercises in the diocese of Rome the ordinary functions which he has not a right to exercise in other dioceses. As a temporal prince, he is sovereign of Rome, and the states which have been acquired by donation, or by proscription.

No throne upon earth has been filled with men of more exalted genius, higher ambition, or more depraved vice, than the pontifical chair; but they are in general old men, well versed in the knowledge of men and the world. Their council is composed of men resembling themselves; and their orders for a length of time embraced almost the universe.

The government is wholly ecclesiastical, no one being eligible to fill any civil office who has not attained the rank of abbot. The pope enacts all laws, and nominates to all clerical appointments. He is assisted, however, by the high college of cardinals, comprising about seventy members; and the different branches of the government are conducted each by congregations with a cardinal at its head.

Cardinal Braschi (Pius VI.) was elected in the early part of the year 1775, on the

death of the celebrated (Ganganelli) Clement XVI. He occupied the pontifical chair until the breaking out of the French revolution in 1789; or rather till after the execution of Louis XVI., when he was induced to take a part in the war carrying on against France, by the emperor and other potentates. The French armies having overrun Italy, seized upon Rome, and made the venerable pontiff prisoner in 1798, from whence he was conveyed into France, where he died at Valence, in August 1799, at a very advanced age. During this period the church domains were alienated; but the compensation since made to their former owners, and the restoration of suppressed churches and convents, have cost government prodigious sums, and are the principal causes of the wretched state of the finances. Within the limits of the Papal States there are no fewer than eight archbishops', and fifty-nine bishops' sees; and it is estimated that in Rome there is a clergyman for every ten families. It is needless to add that this superabundance of priests, instead of promoting religion and morality, is, in fact, a principal cause of their low state in the city. The outward deportment of the papal court is, however, at present highly decorous. Those times, so disastrous and disgraceful, when the popes had so many nephews, and those nephews built so many splendid palaces and villas, called by the Romans, in derision, miracles of St. Peter, are now almost as much forgotten in Rome, as the time when horses were made consuls, and eunuchs emperors. In 1800 a successor to the popedom was elected at Venice, who took the name of Pius VII. At his death in 1823, Leo XII. was elected, and was succeeded in 1829 by Pius VIII., who filled the papal chair only two years. He was succeeded in 1831 by Gregory XVI., whose reign embraced a period of no ordinary interest and difficulty in the history of the church, and in the relation of the Vatican with the temporal powers of Christendom.

On the 1st of July 1846, Gregory XVI. breathed his last. His death produced a profound impression in Italy, because it was felt that it must lead to considerable changes. Preparations were immediately made for holding a conclave, with a view to nominate a successor. Meanwhile the Roman people congregated in the streets, demanding reforms. The authorities caused the people to be dispersed by force, but order was not established till a sanguinary collision had taken place between the citizens and the military force. The fermentation in Romagna and the Marches increased from day to day, and troubles broke out at this juncture at Ancona. It was in the midst of these that the new pope was elected on the 16th of June, and proclaimed on the 17th. The individual on whom the choice of the college fell was the cardinal Mastai, a native of Sinigaglia, then only fifty-four years of age. The first acts of Pius IX. gave indications of promise. In the middle of July an amnesty was published greatly to the general satisfaction

But with all this, the retrograde party showed a bold front, and intrigued on every side; and from the first months of 1847, the hopes which the Romans had allowed to grow in their bosoms in 1846, began to wither and die within them. The Austrian influence was very nearly as preponderant as in the time of Gregory XVI.: the convocation of any representative assembly was eluded; patriotic meetings and demonstrations were seen with an evil eye; the censorship existed in full force; and the secret action of the Jesuits was still everywhere traceable. These circumstances convinced the most favourably disposed that the changes so ardently desired would never be made by the pope nor by the church.

It was not till the cries of 'Death to the Austrians!' 'Death to Lambruschini!' 'Death to Bernetti!' had been repeatedly heard on the Piazza di Spagna, and on the Piazza di Venezia, where the Austrian ambassador lived; it was not till Lambruschini and other reactionary cardinals had left Rome, with a view to escape personal violence, that the pope proclaimed an edict for a civic guard. On the 8th of July, cardinal Gizzi, the secretary of state, sent in his resignation, which was accepted; and cardinal Ferretti, legate of Pesaro and Urbino, was immediately appointed his successor. Disquietude, nevertheless, continued, nor was tranquillity restored by the activity of the city guard, which probably over-acted its part. The pope, however, was now prepared to go farther than he had hitherto done. He dismissed the cardinal governor of the police, Grasselini, and ordered him to quit Rome. Contemporaneously with these events, the Austrians entered Ferrara, an occupation against which Ferretti in vain protested. In the month of August, the pontiff dismissed some high functionaries suspected of connivance with the retrograde agitators. A more significant circumstance than any of these was the refusal of the pope to appear at the church of Jesus, to celebrate the feast of St. Ignatius. This circumstance was generally regarded as an open rupture with the Jesuits. The latter, nevertheless, turned away public wrath from their order by the offering of money for the clothing of the national guard. Austria, meanwhile, was becoming day by day more aggressive as to Ferrara. But the Romans consoled themselves with believing that an English squadron would soon be anchored in the waters of Ancona, and force the Austrians to retreat. On the 1st of October, the *motu proprio* of the pope was published on the municipal organisation of Rome. It promised, undoubtedly, a great reform, for the paper was drawn up in a liberal spirit, and was generally approved of. No distinction was made between noble and citizen, as had always hitherto existed. Rome was henceforth to have a council composed of 100 members, of which 64 were to be proprietors, 32 savants, advocates, artists, bankers, merchants, and 4 representatives of the ecclesiastical body. The municipal magistracy, to be called the Senate of Rome, was to consist of a senator and eight con-

servators. It was now determined that each religious order should pay ten per cent. of its revenues for covering the expenses of the state. But notwithstanding all these measures, the principal employments were occupied by retrogadists, and in the absence of Ferretti they commenced attacks on the press. These and other circumstances induced Morandi, governor of Rome, to resign. He was replaced by a prelate, Savelli; and the charge of Preside di Roma et Comarca was conferred on a cardinal, Prince Altieri—two appointments which created dissatisfaction. On the 15th of March 1848, little more than a fortnight after the fall of Louis Philippe, the constitution was proclaimed at Rome. This was a great step in advance, for one of the bases of it was a representative system giving a member for 30,000 souls. On the 1st of May, the people of Rome were so excited by the events of Lombardy and the prolonged occupation of Ferrara, that they called on the pontiff to declare war against Austria. Pius temporised, and offered his mediation to the house of Austria, on the condition of completely abandoning Italy. But this did not satisfy the Romans; the pontiff was accused of duplicity, and *émeutes* took place in the capital and towns. It is not here our purpose to give a history of the Mamiani ministry; of the dilapidation of the papal finances; of the pope's adhesion to the cause of Italian independence; of the efforts made by the Romans to send a contingent to the common cause; or of the weakness, vacillation, if not culpable double-dealing, of Pius IX. To treat all these subjects in detail would far exceed our limits.

In September, count Rossi, who had represented France at the papal court down to the 24th of February 1848, accepted the task of forming a ministry. His first anxieties were about the taxes and the army. He sought to meet the wants of the treasury by convincing the pope it was time to obtain help from the clergy, and of the army by proposing Zucchi as minister of war. He procured aid for the treasury from the clergy, by a provision of the pope, that the cardinal-vicar should lay a tax of eighty bajocchi for every hundred crowns rated on all ecclesiastical property, and that the clergy itself, which had already granted a charge of 2,000,000 crowns in return for treasury bonds, should bind itself to make a gift of 2,000,000 more. A commission was also nominated for fiscal arrangement and the organisation of the army; the reform of the monetary system, and other useful measures were adopted. But several functionaries, magistrates, and administrators, whom Rossi admonished and constrained to activity, began to murmur, as did the clergy whom he had taxed.

On the 15th of November, the chambers were to meet, and Rossi, though warned from four different sources that there was a conspiracy against his life, proceeded to the palace of the Quirinal, where the sittings were held. Advancing to the peristyle, he found himself surrounded by a menacing group, one individual of which pushed roughly against him. Turning sharply round, as if to reprove the rudeness of his assailant, he received from another hand a poniard wound in the throat, which was at once pronounced mortal. No effort was made by the civic guard to arrest the assassin, and in the chamber of deputies, to which the news was hastily conveyed, no voice was raised to cover with execration the cowardly assassin. Nine days after the assassination, the pope fled from Rome to Gaeta, where an asylum had been provided for him by the king of Naples.

Every effort was made on the part of Mamiani and others to induce the pope to return: but in vain. In the meanwhile, the pope was deposed from his temporal authority, and a republic was proclaimed. A triumvirate, of which Mazzini was one, was established; and measures were at once taken to assemble a 'constituent' parliament to decide on the great question of Italian unity. But this was not to be. Under pretext of maintaining their influence in Central Italy, a French army laid siege to Rome, and, after a long and heroic resistance, succeeded in making themselves masters of the city. This victory was followed by the restoration of the pope, who returned to Rome on April 12, 1850. Since that period the pope has had his capital garrisoned by French, and other portions of his dominions by Austrian troops; but he has reformed or remodelled nothing in the manner of a wise sovereign, a prudent statesman, or even an astute politician.

The events of the last ten years which have immediately affected the Papacy, will be found related in the *History of Italy*.

THE HISTORY OF NAPLES.

Of the remote antiquity of this country there are but scanty documents. At a very early period most part of the coasts of Naples and Sicily were occupied by Greek colonists, the founders of some of the greatest and most flourishing cities of the ancient world. They received, from this circumstance, the name of Magna Græcia. But rapidly as the Greek republics of Italy rose to prosperity, it is certain that luxury and corruption kept equal peace with their prosperity; and in the time of Polybius, the very name of Magna Græcia was disused.

Continental Naples submitted to the Romans at an early period of the republic, subsequent to which it underwent many vicissitudes. In the fifth century it became a prey to the Goths. Belisarius, general of the emperor Justinian, took Naples in 537. Destined to pass from master to master, it was conquered by Totila in 543. The Lombards next got possession of it, and kept it until Charlemagne put an end to that kingdom. His successors divided it with the Greek emperors, and the latter soon after became its sole masters. In the ninth and tenth centuries, the Saracens possessed Naples, and after them, the Normans. Sicily also fell into the hands of the French in 1058.

The French formed Naples into a monarchy, of which Roger was its first king. Constance, last princess of the blood of Roger, and heiress of the two kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, was married, in 1186, to Henry, son of the emperor Barbarossa. This marriage was the source of great misfortunes. At length this family became extinct in 1265, when Pope Clement IV. gave the investiture of Naples and Sicily to Charles, count of Anjou. Charles was opposed by Conradin, nephew of Manfred, who had come from Germany to dispute with him the crown. Charles defeated him in battle, and having taken him prisoner, with Frederick of Austria, caused them both to be executed in the market-place of Naples in 1268. This execution made the king detested by his new subjects; and the French in Naples were equally obnoxious as in Sicily. A Frenchman had committed in Sicily an atrocious act of violence on a woman. On the morrow after Easter, 1282, the people assembled together, and murdered every Frenchman on the island, with the exception of one gentleman, a native of Provence. The innocent perished with the guilty, and the blood of Conradin was terribly avenged.

The descendants of Charles of Anjou possessed the crown until 1384, when Jane I. adopted by her will Louis I., duke of Anjou, son of king John. At the same time Charles Duras, or Durazzo, a cousin of queen Jane, established himself upon the throne. This event occasioned a long war between the two princes, and even between their successors. The posterity of Charles Durazzo, however, maintained their situation, while that of the count of Anjou also bore the title of king of Naples.

Jane II., last sovereign of Naples, of the house of Durazzo, appointed, by her will, Rene of Anjou as her successor, which gave that family a double right to the kingdom; but Rene never possessed it. Alphonso, king of Arragon, took possession of Naples, and the crown.

The kings of Arragon possessed Naples until the time of Charles VIII., when Louis XII. conquered the kingdom. The great general Gonsalvo of Cordova drove out the French army. Notwithstanding the treaty made between Louis XII. and Ferdinand, king of Spain, in favour of the former, the successors of Ferdinand enjoyed it until the death of Charles II., but not without frequent revolts on the part of the Neapolitans.

The revolt of 1647 was headed by a man of the name of Massaniello, a fisherman, who, during fifteen days, could reckon upwards of 100,000 men, over whom he held a most absolute sway. Henry, duke of Guise, a knight-errant of his day, taking the advantage of the troubles which rent Naples asunder, procured himself to be declared king, when, after he had been some months in Naples, he was made prisoner by the Spaniards; and his partisans not only disavowed him, but submitted to his conquerors.

After the death of Charles II., who had left Philip V. as the inheritor of his kingdom, the Neapolitans acknowledged him as their king. Ferdinand IV., the late king of Naples, joined the grand confederacy against France at an early period of the war. He afterwards made his peace; but again joining in the war, the French made themselves masters of Naples in January 1799, and the royal family were compelled to fly from that portion of the Neapolitan dominions, and take refuge in Sicily. In February it was divided into eleven departments, and the government new-modelled on the French plan; but, within a few weeks, admiral Nelson appearing upon the coast, the French capitulated, the democratic system was overturned, the old monarchy and government restored, and the king welcomed back to his throne.

The kingdom of Naples was again, however, placed under French dominion by Buonaparte, and its crown conferred on his brother Joseph: the legitimate king having again fled to Sicily, where he was long supported by a British force under sir

John Stewart. In the spring of 1808 Buonaparte removed Joseph to Spain, and raised Murat to the tributary and usurped throne of Naples, where he remained without being able to annex Sicily to his usurpation, until he was in turn hurled from the throne in 1815. Early in May of that year, the capital was surrendered to a British squadron; and on the 17th of June, Ferdinand IV. reentered it, amid loud and apparently sincere plaudits of the multitude.

During the time of Murat's reign considerable changes took place, the good effects of which every impartial person was ready to allow. All branches of the public administration were invigorated and improved; society in the upper ranks was reconstructed upon the Parisian scale; the French code superseded the cumbrous and vicious jurisprudence of ancient Naples; and the nation, notwithstanding its subordination to the imperial politics and its participation in Napoleon's wars, appeared to be destined to take a higher rank than before in the scale of nations.

In July 1820, a revolt, headed by general Pepe, broke out amongst the troops; and the universal cry was for a constitution, though no person seemed to know exactly what constitution to adopt, or how to frame a new one. At length it was determined to imitate that of the Spanish cortes, and the parliament was expressly summoned to modify and correct it. An episode to this revolutionary movement was about the same time exhibited in Sicily. No sooner had the citizens of Palermo heard what had been transacted at Naples, and that a parliament had been convoked there, than they determined to have a parliament and constitution of their own. Of their taste for liberty, as well as of their fitness for it, they gave an immediate specimen, by letting loose from prison nearly a thousand atrocious malefactors. They assailed the houses of the Neapolitan officers, and threw the soldiers into dungeons. It was necessary, therefore, to send a large force from Naples to put down the rebellion; but when that force approached Palermo, a dreadful scene of slaughter and cruelty ensued in that unhappy city. All who refused to join this militia of criminals were shamefully murdered, then cut into pieces, and their quivering limbs exposed on pikes and bayonets. In the meanwhile those who led the Neapolitan troops permitted Palermo to surrender on terms of capitulation.

While at Naples they were thus amusing themselves at constitution-mongering, and in Sicily every species of horrid barbarity was being practised, the allied powers took into their deliberation the changes which popular force had worked in the political system of the country; and the king of the Two Sicilies was invited to the congress. The result was, that the Austrians crossed the Po on the 28th of January, and marched to Naples. Rieti was immediately taken by the Austrians, and the Neapolitan army fell back upon Aquila. The Austrians appeared in sight; general Pepe was almost instantly deserted by his troops, and obliged to escape as well as he could. This dispersion was followed by that of the troops at Mignana, who fired on their officers, and then disbanded. The Austrians entered Naples on the morning of the 29th; and thus ended the Neapolitan revolution.

But though the flame of insurrection both in Sicily and Naples was thus extinguished, the elements of combustion were not destroyed. Thousands of exiled Italians, with Mazzini at their head, continued in Marseilles, Geneva, and London, to disseminate their views, and from time to time inundated the Neapolitan territories, both insular and continental, with their revolutionary publications. But the election of Pius IX. to the papal chair in 1846, gave the first great impetus to political action. In 1847 Messina, Palermo, and Catania were the scene of popular commotions, which it required all the energy of the government to suppress. At length, in January 1848, the great mass of the people in Palermo rose in insurrection, overcame the Neapolitan garrisons, and demanded a repeal of the union between Naples and Sicily. To all these demands the king acceded; but, in the meanwhile, the French revolution of July 24th had given a fresh impulse to the political movement; and the provisional government, which had been formed, declared king Ferdinand deposed, but offered the crown of Sicily to the duke of Genoa, second son of the king of Sardinia, by whom, however, it was prudently declined.

Meanwhile, grave events had taken place at Naples. Simultaneously with the concessions made to the Sicilians, the king had promulgated a constitution for his continental dominions. On the 14th of May the first parliamentary sitting began; but some difficulties arose relating to the oath which the deputies were requested to take; and as neither the king nor the chamber would give way, disturbances immediately began. On the morning of the 15th, the streets were full of barricades; and, while negotiations were going on, the more eager and impetuous among the constitutional party, impatient of longer delay, began an attack on the military. A sanguinary contest now ensued between the national guards on one side, and the troops and the populace on the other, which lasted for eight hours, and terminated in the complete defeat of the former. It is easy to imagine what scenes of horror ensued in a contest when the very dregs of the population of Naples were fighting on the victorious side. At length, the French admiral Baudin, whose squadron lay in the Bay of Naples, interfered and threatened to land his forces unless the outrages ceased. Upon this the firing ceased; martial law was proclaimed, the national guard suppressed, and the chamber of deputies dissolved.

The king, being thus triumphant in Naples, soon afterwards equipped a large expedition for the reduction of Sicily. The first object of attack was Messina, which refused to surrender. On the 2nd of September a simultaneous attack was made upon it from the fire of the garrison,

the Neapolitan fleet in the harbour, and a large force which had previously landed. The inhabitants fought with desperation; but the contest was too unequal; and after a bombardment of four days, during which a large portion of the city was laid in ruins, they were compelled to surrender. Here, as at Naples, great atrocities marked the conduct both of the victors and the vanquished. Under the mediation of the English and French naval commanders, an armistice was agreed to; but the war was virtually at an end. It would serve no purpose to detail the events that followed. They who wish to see how far unmitigated tyranny can go in avenging its imaginary wrongs, will find ample satisfaction in perusing Mr. Gladstone's unanswerable exposure of the Neapolitan government. A few years later that government ceased to exist. Francis II. has paid the penalty of his father's crimes and his own obstinate folly. But for an account of the events which led to and followed his expulsion from his kingdom, the reader is referred to the *History of Italy*.

SICILY.

SICILY, the largest, most fertile, and best peopled island in the Mediterranean sea, was inhabited originally by a people called Sicanians. The Siculi, inhabitants of Latium, are said to have penetrated afterwards into this island, and to have driven the Sicanians from the south and west parts.

Several colonies of Greeks next transported themselves into Sicily, and the ancient inhabitants were obliged to retire into the interior of the country. The Greeks built several handsome cities, which are remaining to this day; but the most considerable was the Corinthian colony of Syracuse. The colony next in importance was that of Agrigentum.

About the year 491 some Syracusan fugitives implored succour from Gelon, king of Gela, a city of Sicily. Gelon conducted himself with so much prudence, that the Syracusans unanimously elected him to be their king. He fortified Syracuse, and became afterwards so powerful as to be master of all Sicily. The Carthaginians made several attempts upon this island, but were always repulsed by Gelon.

Gelon died in the year 476 B.C., leaving behind him the character of a great prince, and regretted by all ranks of Sicilians. He was succeeded by his brother Hieron, who died 466 B.C., and left the throne to his brother, Thrasybulus, who possessed all the vices of Hieron, without his good qualities. He was driven out for his tyranny; and Sicily was a short time free.

Dionysius rendered himself master of Sicily in 405 B.C., and reigned thirty-seven years. He was succeeded by Dionysius the younger, who reigned twenty-five years: being driven out by Timoleon, he took refuge in Corinth, where he set up a school. Agathocles brought the Sicilians under his yoke 317 B.C., and reigned twenty-six years. From his death, Sicily was a theatre of continual war between the Carthaginians and the Romans, until Marcellus became master of it in the year 208 B.C.

Sicily flourished under the Romans; but in the decline, or rather towards the fall, of that empire, it came under the Vandals, and afterwards the kings of Italy. The Saracens were continual in their attacks upon it; and in A.D. 823 the emperors of the East ceded it to Louis le Debonnaire, emperor of the West; from which time the Saracens occupied a part of it (A.D. 827), until driven out by the Normans in 1004.

Soon after the expulsion of the Saracens the feudal system was introduced; and in 1072, earl Roger, the Norman, also established a representative assembly, or parliament, in which the nobles and clergy had an overwhelming majority, and which subsisted, notwithstanding the many changes the island has undergone, down to our own times. The Normans kept possession of the island till the establishment of the Suabian dynasty, in 1194. In 1265, Charles of Anjou became master of Sicily; but the massacre planned by John of Procida, known by the name of the 'Sicilian Vespers' (March 29, 1282), put an end to the sway of the Angevines. It soon after became a dependency of Spain, and was governed by Spanish viceroys. At the death of Charles II. of Spain, his spoils became an object of furious contention; and at the peace of Utrecht, in 1711, it was ceded to Victor Amadeus of Savoy, who not many years after was forced by the emperor Charles VI. to relinquish it for Sardinia. The Spaniards, however, not having been instrumental in effecting this disadvantageous exchange, made a sudden attempt to recover Sicily, in which they failed, through the vigilance of the English admiral Byng, who destroyed their fleet, and compelled them for that time to abandon the enterprise. In 1734 the Spanish court resumed their design with success. The infant Don Carlos drove the Germans out, and was crowned king of the Two Sicilies at Palermo. When he passed into Spain, to take possession of that crown, he transferred the Sicilian diadem to his son Ferdinand III. of Sicily, and IV. of Naples.

In order that the thread of the narrative may not be broken, we have incorporated the subsequent history of Sicily with that of Naples, to which the reader is referred. The final campaign, in which the island was delivered from the tyranny of the Bourbons by the heroism of Garibaldi, is related in the *History of Italy*.

THE HISTORY OF SARDINIA.

THE nucleus of the Sardinian monarchy was Savoy, which was governed as early as the tenth century by its own counts, whose descendants acquired Nice in 1399, and Piedmont in 1418. The sovereigns of Savoy and Piedmont were long celebrated for their ability and the skill with which they preserved and extended their limited dominions, notwithstanding the difficulty of their position in the immediate vicinity of the great European powers. The territory was recognised as a separate kingdom by the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, when Sicily was added to the Piedmontese dominions, though, in 1720, it was exchanged for the island of Sardinia, which it still retains. During the wars that sprang out of the first French revolution, the Piedmont territory was absorbed into the French republic. At the peace of 1815 the kingdom of Sardinia was restored; and Genoa and Monaco were annexed to the Sardinian crown. On their restoration to the throne of their ancestors, the princes of Savoy, it was found, had taken no hint from misfortune, and exhibited no consciousness of the altered state of affairs. They brought back with them from exile all the old system in its effete mechanism. The people were anxious for a trial of their strength and speed in the race of nations. But it was something more than the new social life common to all Europe that was developing itself in Piedmont. The fever of Italian nationality, which ran throughout the veins of unhappy Italy, throbbed especially here, at the heart and temples. The comparative youth and freshness, the wealth and prosperity of the country, gave Piedmont an earnestness and steadiness of endeavour which might be looked for in vain amidst the more weary and worn-out communities of the eastern and southern part of the peninsula.

Unable to stem this mighty tide of advancement, the princes of Savoy strove, but unsuccessfully, to turn it into different channels. So far as their priests would let them, they were not averse to reform; and something like important internal progress was indeed observable in the old institutions of the country; but there was that in its relations to foreign potentates which too plainly pointed to revolution. All other difficulties might be smoothed down, all other differences adjourned; but the national question enlisted the Piedmontese in the ranks of Italian conspiracy, and as a necessary consequence, threw the princes of Savoy into the arms of Austria. The Piedmontese attempted a partial constitutional outbreak in 1820. The event was such as they had anticipated; and the result immeasurably greater than the mere event portended. It was clearly proved that Sardinia had ceased to be a free agent. The princes gave way before the storm, only to come back in the wake of Austrian bayonets. It was felt that they could not have rendered a more efficient service to the country. All local or partial disaffection subsided in one national yearning. Piedmont was identified with Italy; it would no longer stand or even triumph alone. The contest was now between Piedmont and Austria, and the people bade their rulers choose between them and their foe.

The choice was matter of long hesitation and perplexity; for on the one hand Austria offered, unquestionably, the most immediate chances of safety; and it was not to be expected of the court of Turin that it should at once rid itself of its priests, who unceasingly represented the cause of the foreigner as that of heaven and its own; and on the other hand those princes could not free themselves from some compunctious qualms: for something of the old generous spirit, and of the far-reaching ambition of the founders of the House, still lingered at the heart of their successors, and the foreign yoke was perhaps as galling to themselves as to the best of their subjects: they felt that—would they only run a great risk—a great prize was possibly within their reach. But the kings of Sardinia hesitated and temporised, until in 1848 the sudden insurrection in Milan against the Austrian government gave a final blow to the wavering system, and Charles Albert was forced, by the clamours of his subjects, not only to send an army to the assistance of the insurgents, but himself to take the field, with what melancholy results both to his country and himself has been recorded in the *History of Italy*.

The sentiments of the Piedmontese had long been in advance of their institutions. Hence, when the revolutionary storm burst over Europe in 1848, a constitution modelled on that of Belgium was set up amid the acclamations of the people, and has since operated with a regularity and vigour which augur well for the cause of constitutional government beyond the Alps. But it would be vain to deny that Sardinia has three powerful enemies to contend with in France, Austria, and Rome; each of the former with large forces concentrated on her frontiers; while the last has advanced posts in the very heart of the country. The history of Sardinia is, however, now merged in that of Italy, to which the reader is referred.

THE ISLAND OF SARDINIA

is divided from Corsica by the Strait of Bonifacio. While it was in the possession of the Romans, it was a place of banishment; and afterwards the Saracens possessed it nearly four centuries. Their expulsion could not be effected by the Pisanese, on whom Pope Innocent III. had assumed the prerogative of bestowing it in 1132. The emperor Frederick paid so little regard to this grant, that he again reunited it with the empire; but the Pisanese, taking advantage of the long interregnum, got possession of it in 1257. A difference afterwards arising between them and the see of Rome, the pope again bestowed the island, in 1298, on James II. of Arragon, whose son, Alphonso IV., made himself master of it in 1324. From this time it continued under the crown of Spain, governed by a viceroy until 1708, when the English making a conquest of it for king Charles III., afterwards emperor by the title of Charles VI., it was confirmed to him by the treaty of Utrecht. In 1717, it was recovered by the Spaniards: and in 1718, the emperor exchanged it for Sicily with the duke of Savoy, who was put in actual possession of it in 1720 and took the title of king of Sardinia.

GENOA.

In the time of the second Punic war, Genoa was a considerable city under the dominion of Rome. Mago, a Carthaginian general, in the course of this war, attacked, took, and destroyed it. The senate thereupon sent the pro-consul Spurius, who in less than two years raised it to its former splendour. It remained under the Romans until it submitted to the Goths. The Lombards next possessed and almost ruined it. Charlemagne annexed it to his empire. Pepin, his son, gave the city of Genoa, and its dependencies, to a Frank lord of the name of Adhesnar, under the title of count. His descendants reigned until the end of the eleventh century, when the Genoese revolted against their count, set themselves at liberty, and chose magistrates from among the nobles. In the next century the city was taken by the Saracens, who put all the men to the sword and sent the women and children as slaves into Africa.

When again reestablished, the inhabitants, availing themselves of their fine situation, turned their attention to commerce, enriched themselves, became powerful in proportion to their riches, and erected their country into a republic. Their enthusiasm for liberty rendered this republic capable of great things; but the jealousy and ambition of the citizens at length caused great troubles; the emperors, the kings of Naples, the Viscontis, the Sforzas, and France, successively called in by the different parties, divided the republic.

In 1217 the principal Genoese, fearful of once more becoming the victims of intestine war, chose as their first magistrate a stranger. In 1339, the state appeared in a somewhat more regular form, and had acquired tranquillity. Simon Bocanegra, a man of an illustrious family, was elected duke or doge, with a council composed of the chiefs of the principal families. In 1396 the Genoese put themselves under the protection of Charles VI., king of France, whom they acknowledged as their sovereign. In 1409, they massacred the French, and gave their government to the marquis of Montferrat. In 1458, Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, was acknowledged sovereign protector of the republic of Genoa; but his administration tending to despotism, they set themselves at liberty. It was at this time that they offered the sovereignty of their city to Louis XI. Louis, well acquainted with the disposition of the Genoese, unfit either to command or obey, made this answer to their solicitations: 'If the Genoese give themselves to me, I will give them all to the devil.'

In 1528, Andrew Doria had the happiness and address to unite and conciliate this refractory people, and established an aristocratic government. This form continued until the French republicans made their rapid conquests in Italy. Genoa was the scene of many hard-fought battles. At length, in 1797, a new republic was raised, under the name of the Ligurian republic; but which, like the rest of the modern French creations, was dissolved at the downfall of Napoleon, in 1815, and transformed to a dependent province of Sardinia.

THE MODERN HISTORY OF GREECE.

CHAPTER I.

We have seen (see p. 49) to what a state of degradation the Greeks were reduced in a few centuries after their subjugation by the Romans. Thus it continued as long as it was either really or nominally a portion of the Roman empire; till at length, like the imperial mistress of the world herself, it bent before the all-subduing Alaric the Goth, A.D. 400,* and shared in all the miseries which were brought by the northern barbarians who successively overran and ravaged the south of Europe. After the Latin conquest of Constantinople, in 1204, Greece was divided into feudal principalities, and governed by a variety of Norman, Venetian, and Frankish nobles; but in 1261, with the exception of Athens and Nauplia, it was reunited to the Greek empire by Michael Palæologus. But it did not long remain unmolested; for the Turks, then rising into notice, aimed at obtaining power in Europe: and Amurath II. deprived the Greeks of all their cities and castles on the Euxine sea, and along the coasts of Thrace, Macedon, and Thessaly; carrying his victorious arms, in short, into the midst of the Peloponnesus. The Grecian emperors acknowledged him as their superior lord, and he, in turn, afforded them protection. This conquest, however, was not effected without a brave resistance, particularly from two heroic Christians, John Hunniades, a celebrated Hungarian general, and George Castriot, an Albanian prince, better known in history by the name of Scanderbeg.

When Mohammed II., in 1451, ascended the Ottoman throne, the fate of the Greek empire seemed to be decided. At the head of an army of 300,000 men, supported by a fleet of 300 sail, he laid siege to Constantinople, and encouraged his troops by spreading reports of prophecies and prodigies that portended the triumph of Islamism. Constantine, the last of the Greek emperors, met the storm with becoming resolution, and maintained the city for fifty-three days, though the fanaticism and fury of the besiegers were raised to the highest pitch. At length (May 29, 1453) the Turks stormed the walls, and the brave Constantine perished at the head of his faithful troops. The final conquest of Greece did not, however, take place till 1481. Neither were the conquerors long left in undisturbed possession of their newly acquired territory; and during the 16th and 17th centuries Greece was the scene of obstinate wars, till the treaty of Passarovitz, in 1718, confirmed the Turks in their conquest; and for a century from that time the inhabitants of Greece groaned under their despotic sway.

At the time of the expedition of the French into Egypt, the Greeks, strongly excited by the events of the war, which was thus approaching them, waited for them as liberators, with the firm resolution of going to meet them and conquering their liberty; but again their hopes were disappointed, and the succours they expected from France were removed to a distance. Having waited in vain, in the midst of the great events which in several respects have changed the whole face of Europe in this century, the Greeks, taking counsel only of their despair, and indignant at living always as helots on the ruins of Sparta and of Athens, when nations but of yesterday were recovering their rights and recognising their social relations, rose against their despotic and cruel masters, perhaps with greater boldness than prudence.

The first decided movement took place in the year 1800, when the Servians, provoked by the cruelty of their oppressors the Turks, made a general insurrection, which was headed by their famous chief Czerni George, who had been a sergeant in the Austrian service, and afterwards became a bandit chief. He was possessed of much energy of character and bravery; and under him the Servians obtained several victories. He blockaded Belgrade; and one of the gates being surrendered to him, he made his entry into the city and slaughtered all the Turks that were found in it.

At this time the affairs of the Porte were in great disorder. It had but just terminated its war with France; and the efforts by which it had been endeavouring to reduce Paswan Oglou, pacha of Widdin, had failed and ended in disgrace. At home the janissaries were dissatisfied, and Roumelia was in a disturbed state. The divan, however, exerted themselves to quell the Servians, and they were aided by the Bosnians, in consequence of which many sanguinary combats took place. But relying on the promises of Russia, and receiving pecuniary succour from Ypsilanti, the insurgents continued the contest, issuing from their fastnesses on every favourable opportunity, and marking their progress through the surrounding country by spreading devastation in every direction.

In the meantime Russia openly declared war against the Porte in 1807, and carried on the war until 1812, when the treaty of Bucharest was negotiated; and though some efforts were made to obtain a concession in favour of their Servian allies, yet one difficulty after another being started

* For the effects which the invasions of Alaric had on the growth of the Papal power, see Milman's *Latin Christianity*, book II. ch. i.

by the Porte, a peace was at length concluded, as before, upon such terms as left the insurgents to their fate. At length it was agreed, that Milosh, brother-in-law to Czerni George, a native, should be their prince; that the sum of 100,000*l.* should be paid yearly to the Turks, whose garrisons in the fortresses of the Danube were to be limited, and that the prince should maintain a few national forces, for the regulation of the internal policy.

The period that intervened between 1815 and 1820 was apparently tranquil: the Ottoman affairs seemed prosperous; the sultan Mahmoud, by his vigorous measures, maintained peace with his neighbours, quelled the spirit of the mutinous janissaries, suppressed several revolts in the eastern part of the empire, and gave more weight to the imperial firmans than they had heretofore possessed. But under this appearance of tranquillity, all those projects were forming which produced what we term 'the Greek revolution.'* The Greeks soon became more open in their plots against their oppressors, and entertained some considerable hopes from the probable arrangements of the congress of Vienna; but that congress closed without effecting any result favourable to the liberties of Greece. This, however, did not damp the ardour of its friends, nor induce them to abandon the plans they had projected. At length, in 1820, symptoms of a general rising appeared; and all civilised nations seemed disposed to aid the cause of the oppressed. But that generous feeling in a great measure subsided, as the petty dissensions of party, or the despotic notions of arbitrary power, severally displayed themselves.

The Turks and Greeks never became one nation; the relation of conquerors and conquered never ceased. However abject a large part of the Greeks became by their continued oppression, they never forgot that they were a distinct nation; and their patriarch at Constantinople remained a visible point of union for their national feelings.

On the 7th of March 1821, a proclamation of Ypsilanti was placarded in Jassy, under the eyes of the hospodar, Michael Suzzo, which declared, that all the Greeks had on that day thrown off the Turkish yoke; that he would put himself at their head, with his countrymen; that prince Suzzo wished the happiness of the Greeks; and that nothing was to be feared, as a great power was going to march against Turkey. Several officers and members of the *Hetaireia* had accompanied Ypsilanti from Bessarabia and Jassy. Some Turks were murdered, but Ypsilanti did all in his power to prevent excesses, and was generally successful. He wrote to the emperor of Russia, Alexander, who was then at Laybach, asking his protection for the Greek cause, and the two principalities, Wallachia and Moldavia; but the revolutions in Spain and Piedmont had just then broken out, and that monarch considered the Greek insurrection to be nothing but a political fever, caught from Spain and Italy, which could not be checked too soon; besides, Ypsilanti was actually in the service of Russia, and therefore had undertaken this step against the rules of military discipline. Alexander publicly disavowed the measure: Ypsilanti's name was struck from the army rolls, and he was declared to be no longer a subject of Russia. The Russian minister and the Austrian internuncio at Constantinople, also declared that their cabinets would not take advantage of the internal troubles of Turkey in any shape whatever, but would remain strictly neutral. Yet the Porte continued suspicious, particularly after the information of an Englishman had led to the detection of some supposed traces of the Greek conspiracy at Constantinople. It therefore ordered the Russian vessels to be searched contrary to treaty. The commerce of Odessa suffered from this measure, which occasioned a serious correspondence between baron Stroganoff, the Russian ambassador, and the reis effendi. The most vigorous measures were taken against all Greeks: their schools were suppressed; their arms seized; suspicion was a sentence of death; the flight of some rendered all guilty, and it was prohibited under sentence of death: in the divan, the total extinction of the Greek name was proposed; Turkish troops marched into the principalities; the hospodar Suzzo was outlawed; the patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem excommunicated all insurgents (March 21); and a hatti-sheriff of March 31 called upon all Mussulmans to arm against the rebels for the protection of the Islams. No Greek was for some time safe in the streets of Constantinople: women and children were thrown into the sea; the noblest females openly violated, and murdered or sold; the populace broke into the house of Fonton, the Russian counsellor of legation; and prince Murusi was beheaded in the Seraglio. After the arrival of the new grand vizier, Benderli Ali Pacha, who conducted a disorderly army from Asia to the Bosphorus, the wildest fanaticism raged in Constantinople. In Wallachia and Moldavia the bloody struggle was brought to a close through the treachery, discord, and cowardice of the pandoors and Arnaouts, with the annihilation of the valiant 'sacred band' of the *Hetaireia*, in the battle of Drageshan (June 19, 1821), and with Jordaki's heroic death in the monastery of Seck.

In Greece Proper, no cruelty could quench the fire of liberty; the beys of the Morea invited all bishops and the noblest Greeks to Tripolizza, under pretence of consulting with them on the deliverance of the people from their cruel oppression. Several fell into the snare; when they arrived, they were thrown into prison. Germanos, archbishop of Patras, alone penetrated the intended treachery, and took measures with the others for frustrating the designs of their oppressors. The beys of the Morea then endeavoured to disarm the separate tribes; but it was too late·

* See the admirable *History of the Greek Revolution*, by George Finlay.

the Mainotes, always free, descended from mount Taygetos, in obedience to Ypsilanti's proclamation, and the heart of all Greece beat for liberty.

The revolution in the Morea began March 23, 1821, at Calavrita, a small place in Achaia, where eighty Turks were made prisoners. On the same day the Turkish garrison of Patras fell upon the Greek inhabitants; but they were soon relieved. In the ancient Laconia, Colocotroni and Peter Mavromichalis roused the people to arms. The archbishop Germanos collected the peasants of Achaia. In Patras and the other places, the Turks retreated into the fortresses. As early as April 6, a Messenian senate assembled in Calamata, and the bey of Maina, Peter Mavromichalis, as commander-in-chief, proclaimed that the Morea had shaken off the yoke of Turkey to save the Christian faith, and to restore the ancient character of their country. 'From Europe, nothing is wanted but money, arms, and counsels.' From that time, the suffering Greeks found friends in Germany, France, Switzerland, Britain, and the United States, who sympathised with them, and did all in their power to assist them in their struggle. The cabinets of Europe, on the contrary, threw every impediment in the way of the Hellenists, until they were finally obliged, against their inclination, to interfere in their favour.

Jussuf Selim, pacha of Lepanto, having received information of these events from the diplomatic agent of a European power, hastened to relieve the citadel of Patras, and the town was left a heap of ruins. The massacre of the inhabitants, April 15, was the signal for a struggle of life and death. Almost the whole war was thenceforward a succession of atrocities. It was not a war prosecuted on any fixed plan, but merely a series of devastations and murders. The law of nations could not exist between the Turks and Greeks, as they were then situated. The monk Gregorios, soon after, occupied Corinth, at the head of a body of Greeks. The revolution spread over Attica, Bœotia, Phocis, Ætolia, and Acarnania. The ancient names were revived. At the same time, the islanders declared themselves free.

In some islands, the Turks were massacred in revenge for the murder of the Greeks at Patras; and, in retaliation, the Greeks were put to death at Smyrna, in Asia Minor, and in those islands which had not yet shaken off the Turkish yoke. The exasperation was raised to its highest pitch by the cruelties committed against the Greeks in Constantinople after the end of March. On mere suspicion, and often merely to get possession of their property, the divan caused the richest Greek merchants and bankers to be put to death. The rage of the Mussulmans was particularly directed against the Greek clergy. The patriarch of Constantinople was murdered, with his bishops, in the metropolis. In Adrianople, the venerable patriarch Cyrillus, who had retired to solitude, with the archbishop of Adrianople, and others, met the same fate. Several hundred Greek churches were torn down, without the divan paying any attention to the remonstrances of the Christian ambassadors. The savage grand-vizier, indeed, lost his place, and soon after his life; but Mahmoud and his favourite, Halet effendi, persisted in the plan of extermination.

The commerce of Russia, on the Black Sea, was totally ruined by the blockade of the Bosphorus, and the ultimatum of the ambassador was not answered. Baron Stroganoff, therefore, broke off all diplomatic relations with the reis effendi, July 18, and on the 31st embarked for Odessa. He had declared to the divan, that if the Porte did not change its system, Russia would feel herself obliged to give 'the Greeks refuge, protection, and assistance.' The answer of the reis effendi to this declaration, given too late, was sent to Petersburg; but it was only after the most atrocious excesses committed by the janissaries and the troops from Asia, that the foreign ministers, particularly the British minister, lord Strangford, succeeded in inducing the grand-seignior to recall the command for the arming of all Mussulmans, and to restore order.

CHAPTER II.

ALL eyes were fixed on Tripolizza, which was now in a state of close blockade, and its fall daily expected. The usual population was about 15,000 souls; it is also computed that the garrison, with all the Albanians of the Kiayah, amounted to 8,000 men; there could not, therefore, have been fewer than 20,000 persons within the walls; yet they allowed themselves to be blockaded by 5,000 undisciplined and ill-armed Greeks, without artillery or cavalry. While the Turkish horse were in a state for service, the Greeks did not attempt anything in the plain; but their forage soon failed, and the only food they could get was vine leaves. Provisions were become very scarce, and the Greeks had cut the pipes, and thus intercepted the supply of water. Ypsilanti, however, was impatient, and felt anxious to begin a regular siege; but he had neither proper ordnance nor engineers. Some cannon and mortars had indeed been brought from Malvasia and Navarin, and were intrusted to the care of an Italian adventurer; but in the first essay he burst a mortar, and was dismissed. Things were in this state, when prince Mavracordato arrived, bringing with him some French and Italian officers.

In the beginning of October the Turks began to make propositions for a capitulation, and the treaty was proceeding, on the 5th, when an accidental circumstance rendered it of no avail, and hastened the catastrophe. Some Greek soldiers having approached one of the gates, began to converse, and, as usual, to barter fruit with the sentinels. The Turks imprudently assisted them in mounting the wall, but no sooner had they gained the top when they threw down the infidels, opened the gate, and displayed the standard of the cross

above it; the Christians instantly rushed from all quarters to the assault, and the disorder became general. The Turks immediately opened a brisk fire of cannon and small-shot; but the gates were carried; the walls scaled: and a desperate struggle was kept up in the streets and houses. Before the end of the day the contest was over, and the citadel, which held out till the next evening, surrendered at discretion. About 6,000 Turks, it is said, perished, some thousands were made prisoners, and numbers fled to the mountains.

While these transactions were occurring at Tripolizza, four pachas proceeded in the month of August from the frontiers of Thessaly and Macedonia, to Zeitouni, with the design of forcing the straits of Thermopylæ, and, in conjunction with the Ottoman troops at Thebes and Athens, relieving the besieged fortresses in the Morea. Odysseus was stationed on a height above the defiles at a place called Fontana. They sent a body of 300 horse to reconnoitre his position, but this detachment was cut to pieces. The next day they attacked him with their whole force; at first the Greeks gave way, but a brave chief, named Gonaz, made a stand and rallied the fugitives. They returned to the charge, and the infidels were routed with the loss of 1,200 men. One of the pachas was slain, and vast quantities of baggage and ammunition taken. This was on the 31st of August, and was a victory of immense importance to the cause. About the same time the bishop of Carystus raised an insurrection in Eubœa, and endeavoured to intercept the communication between Athens and that island.

An assembly was now called to meet at Argos for the purpose of organising a government, and the prince repaired thither to attend it; while deputies in the meantime arrived from different parts to demand succours from the administration of the peninsula, and to report what was doing in their districts. In Macedonia the monks of mount Athos, provoked by the violent proceedings of the Turks, were driven into revolt.

The assemblage of a congress had been regarded as a new and important era in the Greek revolution; the anxiety of the nation for the organising of a government was evident from the eagerness with which the people elected the deputies. By the middle of December not less than sixty had arrived, including ecclesiastics, landowners, merchants, and civilians, most of whom had been liberally educated. They first named a commission to draw up a political code; the rest were occupied in examining the general state of the nation, and laying plans for the next campaign. On the 27th of January 1822, the independence of the country was proclaimed, and its code published amidst the joyful acclamations of the deputies, the army, and the people. The government was, for the present, styled 'provisional,' while the promulgation of the constitution was accompanied with an address, exhibiting the reasons for shaking off the Turkish yoke Five members of the congress were nominated as an executive, and prince Mavrocordato was appointed president. Ministers were appointed for the different departments of war, finance, public instruction, the interior, and police; and a commission named of three individuals to superintend the naval affairs.

The new government signalised their liberality by a decree for the abolition of slavery, as well as the sale of any Turkish prisoners who might fall into their hands, prohibiting it under the severest penalties; they also passed another edict for a compensation for military services, and a provision for the widows and orphans of those who should fall in battle; and a third regulating the internal administration of the provinces. The organisation of the army was also commenced; a corps called the first regiment of the line was formed and officered from the volunteers of different nations, and, as there were more of them than were requisite for this service, a second was formed of the remainder, which took the name of Philhellenes. Patras was blockaded again by 3,000 men, and a smaller body under the French colonel Voutier was sent to Athens, to reduce the Acropolis; the forces before Napoli were augmented, and Modon and Coron closely invested by the armed peasantry around.

An event, the most terrific and atrocious that history has ever recorded, marked the commencement of the second campaign: the destruction of Scio, and its miserable inhabitants. The Sciots had taken no part in the movement of 1821. In the beginning of May, in that year, a small squadron of Ipsariots appearing off the coast, furnished the aga with a pretext for his oppressions, and he began by seizing forty of the elders and bishops, who were immured as hostages for the good conduct of the people.

'On the 23rd of April,' says Mr. Blaquiere, 'a fleet of fifty sail, including five of the line, anchored in the bay, and immediately began to bombard the town, while several thousand troops were landed under the guns of the citadel, which also opened a heavy fire on the Greeks. It was in vain for the islanders to make any resistance: deserted by the Samians, most of whom embarked and sailed away when the Turkish fleet hove in sight, they were easily overpowered and obliged to fly. From this moment, until the last direful act, Scio, lately so great an object of admiration to strangers, presented one continued scene of horror and dismay. Having massacred every soul, whether men, women, or children, whom they found in the town, the Turks first plundered, and then set fire to it, and watched the flames until not a house was left, except those of the foreign consuls. Three days had, however, been suffered to pass, before the infidels ventured to penetrate into the interior of the island, and even then their excesses were confined to the low grounds. While some were occupied in plundering the villas of rich merchants, and others setting fire to the

villages, the air was rent with the mingled groans of men, women, and children, who were falling under the swords and daggers of the infidels. The only exception made during the massacre was in favour of young women and boys, who were preserved to be afterwards sold as slaves. Many of the former, whose husbands had been butchered, were running to and fro frantic, with torn garments and dishevelled hair, pressing their trembling infants to their breasts, and seeking death as a relief from the still greater calamities that awaited them.

'Above 40,000 of both sexes had already either fallen victims to the sword, or been selected for sale in the bazaars, when it occurred to the pacha, that no time should be lost in persuading those who had fled to the more inaccessible parts of the island to lay down their arms and submit. It being impossible to effect this by force, they had recourse to a favourite expedient with Mussulmans—that of proclaiming an amnesty. In order that no doubt should be entertained of their sincerity, the foreign consuls, more particularly those of England, France, and Austria, were called upon to guarantee the promises of the Turks: they accordingly went forth and invited the unfortunate peasantry to give up their arms and return. Notwithstanding their long experience of Turkish perfidy, the solemn pledge given by the consuls at length prevailed, and many thousands, who might have successfully resisted until succours had arrived, were sacrificed: for no sooner did they descend from the heights, and give up their arms, than the infidels, totally unmindful of the proffered pardon, put them to death without mercy.' The number of persons of every age and sex who became the victims of this perfidious act was estimated at 7,000.

'After having devoted ten days to the work of slaughter, it was natural to suppose that the monsters who directed this frightful tragedy would have been in some degree satiated by the blood of so many innocent victims; but it was when the excesses had begun to diminish, on the part of the soldiery, that fresh scenes of horror were exhibited on board the fleet, and in the citadel. In addition to the women and children embarked for the purpose of being conveyed to the markets of Constantinople and Smyrna, several hundreds of the natives were also seized, and, among these, all the gardeners of the island, who were supposed to know where the treasures of their employers had been concealed. There were no less than 500 of the persons thus collected hung on board the different ships; when these executions commenced, they served as a signal to the commandant of the citadel, who immediately followed the example, by suspending the whole of the hostages, to the number of seventy-six, on gibbets erected for the occasion. With respect to the numbers who were either killed or consigned to slavery, during the three weeks that followed the arrival of the capitan pacha, there is no exaggeration in placing the former at 25,000 souls. It has been ascertained that above 30,000 women and children were condemned to slavery, while the fate of those who escaped was scarcely less calamitous. Though many contrived to get off in open boats, or such other vessels as they could procure, thousands, who were unable to do so, wandered about the mountains, or concealed themselves in caves, without food or clothing, for many days after the massacre had begun to subside on the plains. Among those who had availed themselves of the pretended amnesty, many families took refuge in the houses of the consuls, who were indeed bound by every tie of honour and humanity to afford them protection. It has, however, been asserted upon authority which cannot well be doubted, that the wretched beings thus saved from Mussulman vengeance, were obliged to pay large ransoms before they could leave the island. Nay, more, numbers of those who escaped the massacre affirm that it was extremely difficult to obtain even temporary protection under the Christian flags, without first gratifying the avaricious demands of those who conceived this appalling event a legitimate object of mercantile speculation.'

At the commencement of the campaign, Colocotroni, with 300 men, was despatched to Patras, where a part of the Turkish fleet had landed a great body of men in the latter end of February. On his approach the Turks went to meet him with almost all their force. Colocotroni, not considering himself strong enough for them, retreated to the mountains; but suddenly stopped, addressed his men, and, wheeling about, advanced towards the enemy. Upon this the Turks, struck with a panic, thinking he had received notice of a reinforcement, turned their backs and were pursued by the Greeks up to the walls of the town; 500 of them were slain in less than two hours, and Colocotroni blockaded the place. The Ottoman fleet was pursued by the Greeks under Miauli and Tombasi, and the admiral's frigate nearly fell into the hands of the Greeks. Marco Bozzaris and Rango gained many advantages in Epirus, and took Arta, the key of Albania; but, owing to the treachery of Tairabos, it was abandoned. Odysseus and his companions endeavoured to check the enemy in Livadia and Negropont; but the disaster of the Greeks at Cassandra so much strengthened them, that they advanced again, and threw some reinforcements into Athens.

The fall of Ali Pacha had now so much increased the resources of Choursid, that he concerted measures which would have been the destruction of the Greek cause, had they been skilfully executed. Mavrocordato, in order to frustrate them, laid a plan to undertake an expedition into Epirus, draw off the Turks from the Morea, relieve the Suliotes, and carry the war into the heart of Albania. He communicated his plan to the executive, and it was determined to place 5,000 men at the disposal of the president, who was to lead the expedition in person. The only forces, however, which could be mustered, were the

corps of the Philhellenes, and the first regiment of the line, neither of them complete, with 700 men commanded by general Norman and Kirlakouli, to relieve the Suliotes. He arrived at Patras on the 12th of June; but Colocotroni here opposed many difficulties to any of his troops being detached, and he was obliged to leave without the expected assistance. Accordingly, he sailed to Missolonghi with only a few hundred men. A large force of the enemy was in the meantime collected at Larissa and Zetouni; Colocotroni suddenly left the blockade of Patras, and proceeded with all his army to Tripolizza, leaving an opportunity for the Turkish garrison either to enter the Morea, or cross the Lepanto. Consternation prevailed in the Peloponnesus; and Corinth was abandoned and re-occupied by the enemy, not without the suspicion of treachery.

The situation of Ypsilanti was at this time very critical: he had no money or provisions, and hardly 1,300 men to oppose 30,000; he therefore, in order to stop the enemy's progress, threw himself into the citadel of Argos, while Colocotroni took up the strong position of Lerno on the west of the gulf. The first body of the Turks, consisting of 7,000 cavalry and 4,000 foot, halted near Argos, and part of it proceeded to Napoli; soon after Marchmont Pacha arrived with 10,000 more. The pacha, however, entered Napoli, and continued several days inactive; when threatened with the extremities of famine and drought, he gave orders for the return to Corinth, and his army set out in the greatest disorder. Colocotroni attacked and destroyed 5,000 of them in a few hours; the advanced guard was attacked in the defiles by the Mainiotes under Nikitas, and 1,200 perished in the first onset. These successes happened between the 4th and 7th of August. On the 18th the pacha attempted to draw the Greeks into an ambuscade, but they got into his rear, and he was defeated with great loss; the next day, determining to regain the position they had lost, the Turks again attacked under Hadji Ali, who was slain in the engagement, and nearly 2,000 of his men were lost, as well as a large quantity of baggage and several hundred horses. The Greeks, however, had no means of following up their successes.

Ypsilanti advanced to Napoli to assist in its reduction, while the troops left under the command of Colioputo, not being supplied with rations or pay, became so weary of the service that the greater part withdrew, leaving Colocotroni's eldest son with 200 or 300 men to continue the blockade of Corinth. Soon after this, Colocotroni, at the passes near the isthmus, stopped the Turks who wished to bring succours to Napoli; and they being driven to the greatest extremity of famine, and the citadel having been surprised, the garrison had no alternative left them but to surrender. The Greeks took possession of this important place on the 11th of January. The Turkish commanders, on the surrender of Napoli, determined to proceed to Patras, which the Greeks had lately neglected blockading. Setting out in the middle of January, they had reached Akrata near Vostitza, when a detachment from Missolonghi stopped one of the passes, and shortly after another body blocked up the other: so that the Turks were reduced to the greatest straits, feeding upon horses, the herbs on the rocks, their saddles, and at last one another. For nearly three weeks longer the place held out, when Odysseus arrived, and on one of the beys being acquainted with him, a negotiation was commenced, by which the garrison obtained permission to embark, and the beys were sent prisoners to Napoli. The number of the enemy that perished on this occasion, without firing a shot, amounted, it is said, to 2,000 Thus ended the second campaign in the Morea, costing the Turks not fewer than 25,000 men in the Peloponnesus alone.

The operations in Epirus, though on a smaller scale, were little less interesting. Mavrocordato put his forces in motion, and first making a feint as if he wished to reach Salona, returned on the village of Therasova, and entered Missolonghi on the 17th of October, where greater difficulties than ever awaited him. Here he was besieged by the Turks until the 9th of November, when the blockading squadron was chased away by six vessels bearing the Greek flag; and on the 14th Mavromichalis arrived with the long-expected succours. A sortie was then made; but it was to little avail, and the garrison was so much weakened, that Omar Vrioni determined to attack the place. Accordingly on the morning of Christmas-day, at 5 o'clock, 800 men approached the walls with scaling ladders unperceived, and had even fixed some, but they were instantly cut down; the conflict that followed was desperate and sanguinary, and the Turks were obliged to retire with the loss of 1,200 men and nine pieces of cannon. The rising now became general through the country, and the retreat of the enemy was intercepted in all quarters; so that of the whole force brought into the country, only three months before, not half escaped. Mavrocordato arrived in the Peloponnesus in the early part of April 1823, after an absence of ten months.

The national congress met at Astros, a small town in Argos, on the 10th of April 1823, in a garden under the shade of orange trees; nearly 300 deputies were occupied in the debates, which began at sunrise. The following oath was taken at the first meeting by each member:—'I swear, in the name of God and my country, to act with a pure and unshaken patriotism, to promote a sincere union, and abjure every thought of personal interest in all the discussions which shall take place in this second national congress.' Having settled a number of important points, its labours ended on the 30th. The third meeting of the congress was deferred for two years; and the executive and legislative body was transferred to Tripolizza, where measures were immediately taken for opening the third campaign.

The enemy was not idle as the summer

advanced; a fleet of seventeen frigates, and sixty smaller vessels, was sent with stores to supply the remaining fortresses in Negropont, Candia, and the Morea; and, after accomplishing this object, the capitan pacha arrived at Patras about the middle of June. Yusuff Pacha led on a large body to Thermopylæ, and Mustapha conducted another to the pass of Neopatra, near Zeitouni, the former, especially, laying waste the whole country, and committing all manner of excesses. Odysseus in the meantime arrived from Athens, and Nikitas from Tripolizza, and a sort of guerilla warfare was commenced, which so harassed the Turks under Yusuff that they retreated in the greatest disorder. Mustapha was attacked, and forced to take refuge in Negropont, at Carystos, where he was closely blockaded.

Marco Botzaris, who commanded the Greeks at Crionero, fell on the Turks, and either killed or captured two-thirds of their number. The same brave leader undertook a forced march against Mustapha, who had 14,000 men, while he had only 2,000. On assigning each man's part at midnight on the 19th, his last words were, 'If you lose sight of me during the combat, seek me in the pacha's tent.' On his arrival at the centre, he sounded his bugle, as agreed upon, and the enemy, panic-struck, fled in all directions. In the midst of the attack, which was now general, he was twice wounded, and at last carried off from the field expiring; the struggle, however, was maintained till daylight, when the Greeks were victorious on all points, and the loss of the enemy was not less than 3,000. One of the first acts of the capitan pacha, on his arrival with his fleet, had been to declare Missolonghi, and every other Greek port, in a state of blockade. The entrance of a few Greek gun-boats, however, was sufficient to set the capitan pacha at defiance; having remained inactive for above three months, and lost nearly a third of his crews by epidemics, he at length made the best of his way to the Archipelago.

At the commencement of the year 1824, proclamation was issued by the president and senate of the United States of the Ionian islands, declaring their neutrality, and their firm resolution not to take any part in the contest; also prohibiting any foreigner, who should do so, from residing in the islands. Among the Greeks dissensions still prevailed, every faction following its own plans, and seeking to advance its own influence. Mavrocordato, Colocotroni, and Ypsilanti headed different factions, among the members of which there was neither unanimity of counsel, nor uniformity of action.

The Turkish fleet sailed on the 23rd of April. The Greek senate summoned Colocotroni to surrender himself, and to deliver up Napoli and Tripolizza, but he refused; the troops that were investing Patras quarrelled about the division of some of their booty, and were withdrawn; in the meantime the Turks sailed from Lepanto with fourteen ships, and blockaded Missolonghi. In order to encourage the Greeks, a loan of 800,000*l.* was contracted for in London. About this period Ipsara was threatened by the Turkish fleet, which was now at Mitylene. The island of Caso was attacked on the 8th of June by an Egyptian squadron, and, after an obstinate resistance, was taken on the 9th.

Several naval actions occurred about this time, in which the Greeks generally had the advantage; and had not the long delay in paying the loan in London threatened ruin to the cause, the success of their arms was such as to give great hopes of a speedy deliverance from the Ottoman power. On the 18th of April, this year, lord Byron died at Missolonghi, of an inflammatory fever, after having zealously devoted himself to the cause of the Greeks from the time he first landed, in August 1823, up to the period of his death. His exertions had been great and unremitting, but he never seems to have been free from apprehension lest the jealousies and divisions among the Greek leaders should ultimately prove destructive to all their patriotic efforts.

Taking advantage of an insurrection that broke out in the Morea, at the head of which were Colocrotoni and his sons, the troops of Mehemet Ali, pacha of Egypt, were directed to land in great force there; and it now became evident that the neighbourhood of Navarino was destined to be the seat of war.

On the 1st of May the Egyptian fleet, from 65 to 70 sail, left the port of Suda, where it had been watched by a Greek squadron under Miaoulis, who now sailed to Navarino. On the 8th, Miaoulis's squadron, amounting to 22 vessels, was near Zante; the Egyptian fleet, 46 in number, being off Sphacteria. In about an hour from 2,000 to 3,000 troops effected a debarkation from the Egyptian fleet, on the island. The garrison of old Navarino capitulated on the 10th, and the garrison of Navarino on the 23rd. After the surrender of Sphacteria, a great part of the Egyptian fleet was followed by Miaoulis into the harbour of Modon, and more than half of it destroyed by fire-ships.

In the end of May the Turkish admiral left the Dardanelles, and on the 1st of June was encountered by the Hydriote Sakhturi, who, by means of his fire-ships, destroyed three men of war and some transports. Soon after the capitan pacha entered Suda, and joined the Egyptian fleet from Navarino. The Greek fleet was dispersed by a tempest, and having no fire-ships, they retired to Hydra, while the Turkish admiral landed a reinforcement of 5,000 men at Navarino, and went to Missolonghi, with seven frigates and many smaller vessels. The siege was now vigorously pressed; the lagoon was penetrated on the 21st of July, and Anatolica, an island to the north, surrendered to the Turks. The supply of water was now cut off, batteries had been erected near the main works of the place, the ramparts had been injured, and part of the ditches filled up; at length a general attack was ordered on the 1st of August, and the town assailed in four places at once. On the 3rd the Greek fleet, consisting

of 25 brigs, attacked and destroyed two small ships of war and all the boats in the lagoon, relieved Missolonghi, and obliged the enemy's fleet to retire. On the 10th the Greeks attempted, but without success, to burn the Turkish fleet in the harbour of Alexandria. On the 20th the fleet of the Greeks, about 30 sail, commanded by Miaoulis, engaged the Turks between Zante, Cephalonia, and Chiarenza, and an action ensued, which lasted with little intermission for two days and nights, till at length the Greeks were obliged to retire. On the 29th another naval action took place, and skirmishes on the next two days, when the Greeks forced the enemy to take shelter in the gulf.

Nothing of importance happened during the year 1826 to give the Greeks encouragement. After a lengthened blockade of Missolonghi, in which every effort was made by the Greeks to defend it, that important fortress was taken by assault and sacked. Nor were the events of the early part of 1827 such as to hold out hopes of a successful issue of this prolonged and barbarous contest. Athens was taken in May by the Turks under Kiutaki, not long after the arrival of the gallant lord Cochrane in its neighbourhood, with a considerable naval force. The loss of the Greeks on this occasion amounted to 700 men killed, and 240 taken prisoners, including eighteen Philhellenians of different countries. Kiutaki, supposing that lord Cochrane and general Church were among the Europeans, had the prisoners brought before him, and, after examining them carefully, caused the eighteen Europeans to be poniarded before his eyes, and ordered 222 Greeks to be massacred.

The interference of the great European powers could no longer well be deferred; and an important treaty between Great Britain, France, and Russia was concluded, expressly with a view to put an end to this horrid warfare, and, under certain tributary stipulations, to establish the independence of Greece. The ambassadors of the three powers, on the 16th of August, presented the said treaty to the Porte, and waited for an answer till the 31st. Meanwhile the Greek government proclaimed an armistice in conformity with the treaty of London; but the reis effendi rejected the intervention of the three powers. The Greeks then commenced hostilities anew, and on the 9th of September the Turkish-Egyptian fleet entered the bay of Navarino. A British squadron appeared in the bay on the 13th, under admiral Codrington. To this a French squadron, under admiral Rigny, and a Russian, under count Heyden, united themselves on the 22nd. They demanded from Ibrahim Pacha a cessation of hostilities; this he promised, and went out with part of his fleet, but was forced to return into the bay. He, however, continued the devastations in the Morea, and gave no answer to the complaints of the admirals.

The combined squadrons of England, France, and Russia now entered the bay, where the Turkish-Egyptian fleet was drawn up in order of battle. The first shots were fired from the Turkish side, and killed two Englishmen. This was the signal for a deadly contest, in which Codrington nearly destroyed the Turkish-Egyptian armada of 110 ships. Some were burned, others driven on shore, and the rest disabled. Enraged at the battle of Navarino, the Porte seized all the ships of the Franks in Constantinople, detained them for some time, and stopped all communication with the allied powers, till indemnification should be made for the destruction of the fleet. At the same time it prepared for war; and the several ambassadors left Constantinople. Upon this the Porte affected to adopt conciliatory measures; but it was evident they were insincere; for from all parts of the kingdom the rayah were now called to Constantinople; and all the Moslems, from the age of nineteen to fifty, were called on to arm.

In the meantime, the president of the Greeks, Capo d'Istrias, established a high national council at Napoli di Romania; took measures for instituting a national bank; and put the military on a new footing. The attempts at pacification were fruitless, because the Porte rejected every proposal, and in Britain the battle of Navarino was looked on as an 'untoward event.' In this state of indecision and uncertainty, Ibrahim took the opportunity of sending a number of Greek captives as slaves to Egypt. In the meantime, the French cabinet, in concurrence with the British, to carry into execution the treaty of London, sent a body of troops to the Morea, whilst admiral Codrington concluded a treaty with the viceroy of Egypt, at Alexandria (August 6) the terms of which were that Ibrahim Pacha should evacuate the Morea with his troops, and set at liberty his Greek prisoners. Those Greeks who had been carried into slavery in Egypt were to be freed or ransomed: 1,200 men, however, were to be allowed to remain to garrison the fortresses in the Morea. To force Ibrahim to comply with these terms, the French general Maison arrived, on the 29th of the following August, with 154 transport-ships in the bay of Coron. After an amicable negotiation, Ibrahim left Navarino, and sailed (October 4) with about 21,000 men, whom he carried with the wreck of the fleet to Alexandria; but he left garrisons in the Messenian fortresses, amounting to 25,000 men. Maison occupied the town of Navarino without opposition; and after a mere show of resistance on the part of those who held the citadels of Modon, Coron, and Patras, the flags of the allied powers floated on their walls.

Nothing hostile was undertaken against the Turks by the French out of the Morea, because the sultan would in that case have declared war against France; and Britain and France carefully avoided such a result, that they might be able to mediate between the Porte and Russia. To defend the Morea, however, from new invasions by the Turks, the three powers agreed to send a manifesto to the Porte to this effect: 'that they should place the Morea and the Cyclades under their protection till the time when a definite arrangement should

decide the fate of the provinces which the allies had taken possession of, and that they should consider the entrance of any military force into this country as an attack upon themselves. They required the Porte to come to an explanation with them concerning the final pacification of Greece.'

The Greeks, in the meantime, continued hostilities; and the Turks relaxed not in retaliating with bitter vengeance on all who came within their power; nor would Mahmoud recall the edict of extermination which he had pronounced when he commanded Dram Ali, a few years before, to bring him the ashes of Peloponnesus. Ibrahim had wantonly burned down the olive-groves as far as his Arabians spread, and the Greeks were sunk in the deepest misery.

It must not be supposed that the allied powers were wholly unmindful of the great object they had undertaken; but many serious obstacles tending to delay its accomplishment presented themselves at every step of the negotiation. The basis of a settlement was, however, at length agreed upon; the principal points of which may be thus briefly stated:— The Greeks to pay to the Porte an annual tribute: a joint commission of Turks and Greeks to determine the indemnification of the Turks for the loss of property in Greece: Greece to enjoy a qualified independence, under the sovereignty of the Porte: the government to be under an hereditary Christian prince, not of the family of either of the allied sovereigns; at every succession of the hereditary prince, an additional year's tribute to be paid: mutual amnesty to be required: and all Greeks to be allowed a year to sell their property and leave the Turkish territories.

The situation of Capo d'Istrias, the president, was all this time most embarrassing. He was without means, in a land torn by discord; yet his attention had been zealously directed towards the maintenance of order, the suppression of piracy, and the formation of a regular army; the establishment of courts of justice, and schools of mutual instruction; of means for collecting the revenue, and providing for the subsistence of the wretched remnants of the population. He called together the fourth national assembly, at Argos, and in a long address (July 23, 1829), gave an account of the state of the country and of his measures, particularly directing the attention of the assembly to the organisation of the forces and the revenue.

The conferences between the ministers of the three powers, at London, had now for their object to select a prince to wear the crown of Greece. It was first offered to prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg, Feb. 3, 1830, and was accepted by him, as 'sovereign prince of Greece,' on the 20th. On further consideration, however, he resigned the honour; alleging as his reasons — the unwillingness of the Greeks to receive him, and their dissatisfaction at the settlement of the boundaries. He further observed, that the answer of the president of Greece to his appointment, in his judgement, announced a forced submission to the allied powers, and even that forced submission was accompanied by reservations of the highest importance. Much dissatisfaction was shown in England, and various motives were assigned for the prince's refusal; but it is perhaps unnecessary to seek for any other motive than that which would force itself on the notice of any man of correct feelings and good taste, namely, the irksomeness of filling a regal station, with the consciousness that his unwilling subjects regarded him as an intruder and a tyrant. After the resignation of Leopold, several princes were proposed as candidates for the throne; and at length Otho, a younger son of the king of Bavaria, accepted the trust, and was proclaimed at Nauplia, Aug. 30, 1832. During the discontents and jealousies of the previous year count Capo d'Istrias, the president, had been assassinated.

Such havoc had the ravages of war made in Greece, and so necessary was repose to all classes of its inhabitants, that the first years of Otho's reign passed away in a comparatively tranquil manner; although the sullen murmur of discontent was occasionally heard as, one by one, the several state appointments were filled by the king's German friends, to the exclusion of natives. At length in September 1843, the people, urged by distress and dissatisfaction, rose against the constituted authorities of the kingdom, and accomplished a revolution without bloodshed or violence — without endangering the personal safety, or inflicting any humiliation on the king. The ministers were arrested at their houses, but were liberated in a few hours. The populace assembled in front of the palace, and demanded a constitution. The king assured the people that he would consider their demand, and that of the army, after consulting with his ministers, the state council, and foreign ambassadors, but was informed that the ministers were no longer recognised, and that the council of state were then deliberating on the best course to pursue. An address from this body was subsequently presented to the king, in which the instant dismissal of the Bavarian ministers was insisted on, and a list of those chosen to succeed them in office was presented. Wisely foreseeing the result of resisting demands, which were founded in justice and reason, his majesty with a good grace acceded to them, and the affair terminated apparently to the satisfaction of all parties. It is, however, too important an event in the history of Greece to be dismissed with so slight a notice: we shall therefore avail ourselves of the following extract from an account of this bloodless revolution, as given in a Greek paper of the 15th of September 1843:—

'A wise revolution, accomplished in one day, amidst the most perfect order, without a single offensive cry being uttered, even against the Bavarians, has renewed the claims of Greece to the esteem and sympathy of nations and their governments. Everybody knows the unfortunate situation in which Greece was placed. The Greeks had exhausted every means in their

power to induce the government to adopt a truly national policy. The parliaments of France and England, and the London conference, had vainly acknowledged the many grievances of the Greek people; the government obstinately persevered in its evil course. The nation had no other alternative but to plunge itself into the abyss opened by ten years' mistakes and incapacity, or to extricate itself therefrom by a dangerous but inevitable effort. For some time the movement was in progress of preparation on different points of the country, that it might be effected without any disorder. The hostile attitude assumed by the government against those who sought to enlighten it, the extraordinary dispositions adopted within the last few days with a view to assail the liberty and the very lives of the citizens (a military tribunal had been established) most devoted to the national interests, necessarily tended to hasten the manifestation of the contemplated movement.

'Last night, at two o'clock, A.M., a few musket-shots fired in the air announced the assembling of the people in different quarters of Athens. Soon afterwards the inhabitants, accompanied by the entire garrison, marched towards the square of the palace crying, "The constitution for ever!" On reaching the place, the entire garrison, the artillery, cavalry, and infantry, drew up under the windows of the king, in front of the palace, and the people, having stationed themselves in the rear, all in one voice demanded a constitution. The king appeared at a low window, and assured the people that he would take into consideration their demand and that of the army, after consulting with his ministers, the council of state, and the representatives of the foreign powers. But the commander, M. Calergi, having stepped forward, made known to his majesty that the ministry was no longer recognised, and that the council of state was already deliberating on the best course to be adopted under existing circumstances. A deputation of the council shortly after waited on the king with the documents that had been prepared for his perusal.

'The new ministry soon afterwards repaired to the palace, where they held a long consultation with his majesty, who shortly appeared on the balcony surrounded by his ministers and other personages, and was received with acclamations by the people. The cry of "Long live the constitutional king!" resounded, together with that of "The constitution for ever!' The new ministers entered immediately on the discharge of their functions.'

1853.—The struggle, which, rising out of the question of the Holy Places, had involved France and England in a deadly war with Russia, for the alleged purpose of maintaining the integrity of the Ottoman empire, excited, naturally, to the highest degree, the political hopes and fears of the Greek race, and especially of those who were the subjects of king Otho. A boundary line, arbitrarily fixed by the powers who took on themselves to define the limits of the Greek kingdom, left as subjects of the Turks many who had as good a title to be considered Greeks as any who lived within the borders of the new Hellenic kingdom. Hence every revolution roused the ambition of extending a kingdom confined within such artificial barriers, and awakened a hope in those who lay outside, that at last they might shake off the yoke of their Turkish tyrants. When, therefore, England and France declared war against Russia on behalf of Turkey, even those of the Greeks who had the greatest dislike and dread of Russian ascendancy yet felt that, in some sense, the emperor Nicholas was doing battle on behalf of their common faith, and that he was striving to put an end to a system by which a set of intruding Mahomedans were enabled to trample on a Christian population some three or four times as large as their own. When prince Menschikoff arrived at Constantinople, and it became evident that the Turks would not grant the protectorate demanded by the emperor of Russia, prayers were put up in the churches throughout free Greece for the success of the emperor and the speedy downfall of the sultan, and the extinction of his European dominion. A large Greek force was sent from Athens to watch the Turkish frontier near Lamia, and the British envoy at Athens reported that, if Greeks and Turks thus came into contact, a struggle of arms would be inevitable. The indignation of the Greeks was roused by the interference of Christian states on behalf of Turkish tyranny; their hopes were excited by visions not of Russian protection but of a restoration of the ancient Byzantine empire. At the same time they felt that while France and England had contented themselves with protests against the ill-treatment of the Christians by the Turks, Russia had interposed a more substantial interference, and that for any improvements they were indebted not to the firmness of the sultans but to dread of Russian power. The excitement at Athens grew continually stronger; and in October 1853, the Epirotes, a Greek tribe whom the three powers had left to the tender mercies of the Turks, issued a proclamation by which they bound themselves to fight against their masters until they should obtain their freedom. The Western Powers blamed king Otho and his government, who replied that they dare not employ any severer modes of repression than they had already done; and the reply called forth retorts on the general misgovernment of the country from the time when they put a Bavarian to manage the affairs of a country of which he was profoundly ignorant. Early in 1854, several districts of Thessaly, Epirus, and Albania rose in arms against the Turks, and their chiefs, gathered at Radobitzi, proclaimed the independence of all the Greek provinces. It now remained to see what part would be played by the governments of France and Britain. They had guaranteed the integrity of Turkey against foreign attacks; it was now to be decided whether they would put on the engagement a wider interpretation, binding themselves to put down the insurrection

of those who were Turkish subjects. There had been a growing disposition in England to adopt the policy of nonintervention in all quarrels between rulers and their subjects, and so to allow each nationality to exert its own existence and its own rights, without let or hindrance, if only it should be able to do so. But the time was not yet come for the consistent practice of such a policy; and it became clear that in this war at least it was the fixed determination of the allied powers to maintain the integrity of Turkey at all costs and even against the insurrection, if so it might be, of all its subjects. Whatever might be said of the justice or credit of such a resolution, it led at once to prompt measures for repressing the openly expressed wishes of the Greek subjects of the sultan. Thus, when captain Peel, who was sent to protect Prevesa, doubted whether England, when it engaged to guard Turkey against foreign aggression, engaged also to guard it against its own subjects, had his objections at once overruled by the high commissioner of the Ionian Islands, who took upon himself to decide that this was no genuine insurrection, but a mere diversion caused by Russian agency. Nothing, he said, could be more inopportune, or more embarrassing to our avowed policy: and no words could be more true, as long as the justice of that policy remained unquestioned. Still the Greeks went on. On the 5th of February 1854, under Spiridion Karaiskaki, they besieged Arta; in a day or two they took the town and then assaulted the citadel. On the 11th Spiridion issued a proclamation, telling the Greeks that their rallying cry ought to be 'the Hellenic empire or death.' He knew not, or perhaps he did not care to remember, that the emperor Nicholas had expressed himself immovably determined against any such restoration. The Turkish envoy remonstrated at Athens: the government replied that they would not allow any free Greeks to take part in the movement, over Turkish subjects they could have no control. But while the Turkish minister complained of Greek interference, and of attacks made by Theodore Grivas on Arta, he said nothing of outrages inflicted on Greeks by Albanians in Turkish pay, or of the infamous and intolerable oppression which had excited an irrepressible loathing in the minds of every Greek for everything Turkish. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe interposed his advice and warnings; these were followed by new firmans ordering more equitable taxation and fairness in levying them: and the firmans were, as usual and of course, disregarded. It was not wonderful that the sultan's Greek subjects should at least pray for the success of the czar.

Meanwhile the game of recrimination and retort was being played out at Athens. Otho insisted on his own inability to repress a movement which was preeminently national; and the French minister accused him to his face of stirring up the excitement and conniving with Russia. But the strife beyond the frontiers went on. Early in March the Turks attacked Theodore Grivas in Kotzulios near Janina, and, after stout fighting, were defeated, and a like result followed two subsequent attempts at Peta and Lutro. But in April more Turkish troops arrived; and general Tsavellas and Theodore Grivas were in their turn completely defeated. All Greek ships were now watched by the allied forces, and all hopes of supplies and reinforcements for the insurgents cut off. The Greek cause, therefore, became practically hopeless; yet there was no sign that the Greeks would give in. Their trust was strong in Russian help: and Russia did not fail at the moment to take up their cause warmly. Count Nesselrode insisted on the impossibility that Europe would stand by and see the Greek Christians exterminated by fanatical unbelievers, and his conviction that if the insurrection became a war, no Christian power could allow these populations to be placed again under Turkish oppression without doing violence to its conscience. But France and England were preparing now to interfere by land as well as by sea. The Turkish embassy was withdrawn from Athens; and all Greek subjects were ordered to quit Ottoman territory within fifteen days. The order caused extreme misery to hundreds of poor persons who could not evade it; and the responsibility for this as for everything else was considerately laid by France and England to the charge of the utterly incompetent government of king Otho. Towards the end of May, French and English troops landed at the Piræus; and a demand was made of immediate compliance with the requisitions of the Western Powers. The Greek cabinet resigned; and the signature of Otho was taken as equivalent to that of the king and his ministry. The new cabinet behaved prudently, and, without condemning the insurrection, contented themselves with declaring that under present circumstances its success could not be hoped for. Theodore Grivas and other chieftains made their submission to the government, and the insurrection was virtually ended. Meanwhile the English government had indulged in the hope of obtaining by diplomacy some part of what the Greeks had sought to wrest from the Turks by force of arms. They had represented to the Porte the absurd folly of supposing that things could be allowed to go on as they then were, that the Christians must be admitted to legal equality with the Mohammedan subjects of the sultan, and that in courts of justice their testimony must be received as in every way equivalent to that of a Mussulman. As before, the sultan yielded, and lord Stratford de Redcliffe announced in February 1854, that he had obtained a firman which distinctly affirmed this legal equality of all Turkish subjects without reference to their faith. It is scarcely necessary to say that it was easier to affirm than to establish it, and that the firman was as much and as little regarded as many an earlier rescript by which the sultan found it convenient to humour demands which he felt to be utterly impracticable. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe

attempted with even less success to induce the sultan to arm his Christian subjects and let them fight along with the Mussulmans for the defence of their common country.

The year 1862 witnessed two insurrections in Greece against the authority of king Otho. The first, which was entirely military, was promptly repressed: the second was bloodless, yet wholly successful. The king left his capital to visit the Peloponnesus, and on his return found himself shut out from Athens. Thus far the revolution had been disgraced by no single crime. Otho and his Bavarians had been expelled: a provisional government carried on the administration of the country; and the universal choice of the country had demanded prince Alfred, the second son of queen Victoria, as their future king. To this request the British government returned a firm refusal, tempered, however, by a promise of relinquishing the protectorate of the Ionian islands if the latter should wish for union with the Greek kingdom. Such was the state of affairs at the end of 1862, when the Greeks had their future entirely in their own hands, and the great powers showed no disposition to interfere. It was a golden opportunity; but it was easier to point out their wants than to predict their actions. They needed a statesman rather than a prince, a financier rather than the member of a hereditary dynasty; they needed one who would see at once the reasons which have arrested or crushed the political and commercial growth of the country: and unless these evils were promptly removed, there could be but little hope of any present improvement in the Hellenic people. Until all political exemptions from the control of law are unreservedly abolished, there can be no real constitutional freedom; until the municipal institutions are restored, there can be no effectual check on the monstrous and corrupt centralisation which Otho fostered with desperate determination. Until the haratch, or tax in kind on all farm produce, has been done away with, there can be no inducement to Greeks or foreigners to invest their capital in land, and the country must continue in a state of comparative poverty and insecurity. With the removal of these evils, the kingdom would receive an immense increase of strength and power, which would immediately affect its position with regard to the corrupt and effete empire of the Turks.

The Greeks at length elected as their king, prince George of Denmark, the son of the present Danish sovereign, and brother of the princess of Wales. Since that time there is not much to be told unless an exception is to be made in the case of the Cretan revolt against the Turks, and the aid given to them by Hellenic volunteers. This insurrection has dragged on its length for two years, and has threatened (1868) to bring on a European war, if Greece refuses to accept the alternative of Turkey, and withdraw all countenance from the Cretans. The matter was (January 1869) discussed, according to the usual recommendation of the French emperor, in a conference; and all danger of a war between Greece and Turkey was for the present averted.

The miserable condition of the kingdom was in 1870 painfully illustrated by the murder of two secretaries of legation, one English, the other Italian, and two English gentlemen, by brigands, who seized them on their way to Marathon. The bandits were graciously pleased to reduce from £50,000 to £25,000 the ransom which they demanded; and this was paid without an attempt to draw near them with troops, this being forbidden by the ruffians on pain of the massacre of the prisoners. It seems impossible to divine the motives of Greek governments, in which the opposition seems to make use of these murderers for the purposes of parliamentary strategy. The terms of the robbers were accepted, and at the same time the troops were led out against them. When at length they fired, the death-warrant of the prisoners was sealed. All were murdered; but the indignation expressed in the British parliament went for nothing in the face of evils which seemed to have struck their roots into the very heart of Greek society. The Franco-German war also came in to divert attention from a country which seemed to show so little power of progress; and the only fact of any interest in its history for the next twelve months was the announcement of the proposal for a law abolishing the taxation of grain in kind. It remained to be seen how long this would remain a proposal only.

THE HISTORY OF PERSIA.

On the dissolution of the Macedonian empire, after the death of Alexander (323), the Seleucidæ ruled over Persia until 246 B.C. They were succeeded by the Arsacidæ, who founded the empire of the Parthians, which existed until 229 A.D. Ardshir Babegan (Artaxerxes) then obtained the sovereignty of Central Asia, and left it to his descendants the Sassanidæ, who ruled 407 years. With them begins, according to Hammer, the romantic character of Persian chivalry; and the six most renowned rulers of this dynasty, among whom are Behramgur, Chosroes, Parwis, and Nushirvan, are the subjects of Persian romances. Ardshir, son of Sassan, ruled from 218 to 241.* The wars which he carried on with the Romans were continued under his successor, Sapor I., against Gordian and Valerian (the latter of whom fell into the hands of Sapor, and was treated in a most revolting manner), and were not terminated until the peace of king Narses with Diocletian (303).

When Sapor the Great had become of full age, the empire again recovered strength. He punished the Arabs for their incursions, took the king of Yemen prisoner; and demanded from the emperor of Constantinople the cession of all the country to the Strymon, as Ardshir had once done. Constantine the Great, Constantine II., and Julian resisted his demands; but Jovian purchased peace by a cession of the five provinces in question and the fortress of Nisibis. Sapor also extended his conquests into Tartary and India. War and peace successively followed, without any important events, after the death of Sapor.

Under Artaxerxes II., Sapor III., and Varanes IV. (until 399), the empire flourished. Arabs, Huns, and Turks successively appear on the field, as allies or enemies of Persia.

Yezdegerd I., a friend of the Christians, conquered Armenia in 412. In the year 420, Varanes V. ascended the throne by the aid of the Arabs. He was victorious against Theodosius II., defeated the Huns who invaded his empire, and conquered the kingdom of Yemen. He was succeeded by Varanes VI. and Hormisdas III. In the year 457, Firoz (Pheroses) ascended the throne by the assistance of the Huns; but afterwards made war against them, and lost his life in battle, in 483. Valens, or Balash, was stripped of a part of his territories by the Huns, and obliged to pay them a tribute for two years. The Sassanidæ, however, soon regained their greatness and power. Kobad subdued the Huns; and though he had recovered his throne, in 498, by their assistance, yet, at a later period, he waged a successful war against them and Justinian I.

His youngest son and successor, Chosrou Nushirvan, was distinguished for his uncommon wisdom and valour. Under him the Persian empire extended from the Mediterranean to the Indus, from the Iaxartes to Arabia and the confines of Egypt. He waged successful wars with the Indians and Turks, with Justinian and Tiberius, and with the Arabs, whom he delivered from the oppression of petty tyrants; he also suppressed the rebellions of his brother and his son. The Lazians in Colchis, wearied with the Greek oppression, submitted themselves to him; but when he attempted to transfer them into the interior of Persia, they again placed themselves under the dominion of Justinian, whose arms were now victorious. Nushirvan died of grief during the negotiations for peace. War continued under Hormuz (Hormisdas IV.) until the reign of Chosrou II., under whom the Persian power reached its highest pitch. By successful wars he extended his conquests on the one side to Chalcedon (616), on the other over Egypt to Lybia and Æthiopia, and finally to Yemen. But the fortune of war was suddenly changed by the victorious arms of the emperor Heraclius. Chosrou lost all his conquests, and his own son Sirhes made him prisoner, and put him to death (628).

The decline of Persia was hastened by continued domestic feuds. Sirhes, or Kabad Shirujeh, was murdered in the same year. His son Ardshir (Artaxerxes III.), but seven years old, succeeded him, and was murdered, in 629, by his general Serbas (Sheheriar). The chief Persians prevented Serbas from ascending the throne: and after numerous revolutions succeeding each other so rapidly that historians have confounded the names, Yezdegerd III., a nephew of Chosrou, ascended the throne in 632, at the age of sixteen. He was attacked by the caliph Omar, in 636, and Persia became a prey to the Arabs and Turks. Yezdegerd lost his life in 651.

With the conquest of Persia by the caliphs begins the history of the Modern Persian empire. The dominion of the Arabs lasted 585 years, from 636 to 1220. As some of the Arab governors made themselves independent, and Persian and Turkish princes possessed themselves of single provinces, Persia continued to be divided into numerous petty states. Among the principal dynasties were, in the north and northeast, 1, The Turkish house of the Thaherids in Khorasan, from 820 to 872;—2. The Persian dynasty of the Soffarides, which dethroned the one last named, and ruled

* For this wonderful resuscitation of the Persian Empire, see more at length Gibbon's *Roman Empire*, chapter viii.

over Khorasan and Farsistan until 902;—3. The Samanide dynasty, which established its independence on Khorasan in 874, under Ahmed, in the province Mavaralnar, and lasted to 999. Ishmael, Ahmed's son, dethroned the Soffarides, and became powerful; and under his descendants originated—4. The Gaznavides, in 977, when Sebektechin, a Turkish slave and governor of the Samanides at Gazna and Khorasan made himself independent at Gazna. His son Mahmood subdued, in 999, Khorasan, and in 1012, Farsistan, and thus put an end to the dominion of the Samanides. He subsequently conquered Irak Agemi (1017) from the Boulides, and even extended his conquests into India. But his son Masud was stripped of Irak Agemi and Khorasan by the Seljooks (from 1037 to 1044); and the Gaznavides, weakened by domestic divisions, became under Malek Shah (1182), a prey to the Gourides;—5. The sultans of Gour (Gourides) became powerful in 1150, by means of Aladdin Hosain, but lost their ascendancy, after several important reigns, partly by the encroachments of the princes of Khowaresm, and partly by domestic dissensions;—6. The dynasty of Khowaresmian Shahs (from 1097 to 1230) was founded by Aziz, governor of the Seljooks in Khowaresm, or Karasm, where he rendered himself independent. Tagash (1192) destroyed the empire of the Seljooks, and took Khorasan from the Gourides. His son Mohammed conquered Mavaralnar, subdued the Gourides and Gazna, and occupied the greater part of Persia. But, in 1220, the great khan of the Monguls, Genghis-khan, and his heroic son Gelaleddin Mankbern, deprived him of his dominions; and he died in 1230, after a struggle of ten years, in a lonely hut in the mountains of Kurdistan. In western and north-eastern Persia reigned —7. Mardawig, a Persian warrior, who founded a kingdom at Dilem, in 928, which soon extended over Ispahan, but was destroyed by the Boulides;—8. The Boulides (sons of Boula, a poor fisherman, who derived his origin from the Sassanidæ), by their valour and prudence, extended their sway over the greater part of Persia, and, in 945, even over Bagdad. They were chiefly distinguished for their virtues and love of science, and maintained themselves until 1056, when Malek Rahim was obliged to yield to the Seljooks;—9. The Seljooks, a Turkish dynasty, as is supposed, driven by the Chinese from Turkestan, first became powerful in Khorasan, with the Gaznavides. Togrulbeg Mahmood, a brave and prudent warrior, drove out the son of Mahmood, the Gaznavide sultan, in 1037; extended his dominion over Mavaralnar, Aderbijan, Armenia, Farsistan, Irak Agemi, and Irak Arabi, where he put an end to the rule of the Boulides at Bagdad, in 1055, and was invested with their dignity, as *Emir el Omrah* by the caliphs. Some of his descendants were distinguished for great activity and humanity. The most powerful of them, Melak Shah, conquered also Georgia, Syria, and Natolia. But the empire gradually declined, and was divided into four kingdoms, which were destroyed by the shahs of Khowaresm, the atabeks of Aleppo, and the Monguls.

Genghis-khan established the power of the Tartars and Monguls in Persia (1120 to 1405). Those Persian provinces which had been acquired by Genghis-khan fell to his younger son, Tauli, in 1229, and then to the son of the latter, Hulaku, at first as governors of the Mongolian khans, Kajuk and Mangu. Hulaku extended his dominion over Syria, Natolia, and Irak Arabi. He or his successor became independent of the great khan, and formed a separate Mongolian dynasty in those countries, and sat on the throne till the death of Abusaid, without heirs, in 1345. His successors, also descendants of Genghis-khan, had merely the title of khans of Persia. The empire was weak and divided. Then appeared (1387) Timurlenk (Tamerlane) at the head of a new horde of Monguls, who conquered Persia, and filled the world, from Hindostan to Smyrna, with terror. But the death of this famous conqueror was followed by the downfall of the Mongul dominion in Persia, of which the Turkomans then remained masters for a hundred years.

These nomadic tribes, who had plundered Persia for two centuries, wrested, under the reigns of Kara Jossuf and his successors, the greatest part of Persia from the Timurides, were subdued by other Turkoman tribes under Usong Hassan (1468), and incorporated with them. They sunk before Ismail Sophi (1505), who artfully made use of fanaticism for his political purposes, and whose dynasty lasted from 1505 to 1722.

Ismail Sophi, whose ancestor, Sheikh Sophi, pretended to be descended from Ali, took from the Turkomans of the white ram, Aderbijan and part of Armenia, slew both their princes, and founded upon the ruins of their empire, after having conquered Shirvan, Diarbeker, Georgia, Turkestan, and Marvaralnar, an empire which comprised Aderbijan, Diarbeker, Irak, Farsistan, and Kerman. He assumed the name of a shah, and introduced the sect of Ali into the conquered countries. His successors, Thamas, Ishmael II., Mahommed, Hamzeh, and Ishmael III. (from 1523 to 1587), carried on unsuccessful wars against the Turks and the Usbecks.

But Shah Abbas the Great (1587 to 1629), reestablished the empire by his conquests He took from the Turks Armenia, Irak Arabi, Mesopotamia, the cities of Tauris, Bagdad, and Bassora; Khorasan, from the Usbecks; Ormuz from the Portuguese, and Kandahar from the Monguls; and humbled Georgia, which had refused to pay tribute. He introduced absolute power into Persia, transferred his residence to Ispahan, and instituted the pilgrimage to Meshid, in order to abolish that to Mecca among the Persians.

The following rulers, Shah Saffi and Abbas II. (from 1629 to 1666) had new wars with the Turks and Indians; with the former on account of Bagdad, which was lost; and with the latter on account of Kandahar, which was reconquered in 1660. Under Shah Solyman, however (1666 to 1694), the empire declined, and entirely sunk

under his son Hussein. The Affghans in Kandahar revolted, in 1709, under Mirwels; and his son, Mir Mahmud, conquered the whole empire, in 1722. A state of anarchy followed. Mahmud having become insane, was dethroned by Asharf in 1725; the latter was subdued by Thamas Kuli Khan, who, with the assistance of the Russians and Turks, placed Thamas, son of Hussein, on the throne in 1729.

But when the latter ceded Georgia and Armenia to the Turks, Kuli Khan dethroned him, and placed the minor son of Thamas, Abbas III., on the throne. He recovered, by conquest or treaties, the provinces ceded to the Russians and Turks, and ascended the throne under the title of *Nadir Shah*, Abbas III. having died in 1736. He restored Persia to her former importance by successful wars and a strong government. The booty carried off by Nadir has been estimated at 70 millions sterling. The emperor and all the principal noblemen were obliged to make up the sum demanded with their jewels and richest furniture. Amongst the most remarkable of the latter articles was the throne of the emperors of Delhi, made in the shape of a peacock, and richly ornamented with precious stones.

After his return from India, Nadir subdued the northern kingdoms of Khwarasm and Bokhara, and settled at Meshed, which he made his capital: entertaining suspicions of his eldest son, he had his eyes put out, and remorse for the crime made him ferocious. Vast numbers of people, of every rank, fell victims to his rage, until some of his officers conspired against, and assassinated him, A.D. 1747.

The death of Nadir Shah was followed by a period of confusion. Ahmed Shah, one of his officers, seized upon Khorasan and Cabul, and established the kingdom of the Affghans. Mohammed Hussein Khan, a Persian chief, occupied the eastern shore of the Caspian; and Ali, the nephew of Nadir, was for a short time king of Persia.

Four kingdoms were now formed; 1. Khorasan and Segistan; 2. Kandahar, or the eastern provinces; 3. Farsistan, or the western provinces; and, 4. Georgia. The latter, for the most part, retained its own princes, who, at length submitted to Russia. In Kandahar and the East, Ahmed Abdallah founded the empire of Affghanistan. He was victorious at Panniput, and ruled with absolute sway in India. His residence was Cabul. He was succeeded, in 1753, by Timur; the latter by Zeman.

In the two other kingdoms, the Curd Kerim Khan, who had served under Nadir, and was of low extraction, succeeded in establishing tranquillity, after long and bloody wars, by subduing Mohammed Khan, who fled, and perished in Mazanderan. His wisdom, justice, and warlike skill gained him the love of his subjects and the esteem of his neighbours. He did not call himself *khan*, but *vekil* (regent). He fixed his residence at Shiraz, in 1765, and died in 1779.

New disturbances arose after his death. His brothers attempted to get possession of the throne to the exclusion of his sons. A prince of the blood, Ali Murat, occupied it in 1784; but a eunuch, Aga Mohammed, a man of ancient family and uncommon abilities, had made himself independent in Mazanderan. Ali Murat, who marched against him, died in consequence of a fall from his horse, and left the sceptre to his son Yafar, who was defeated by Aga Mohammed at Jezd Kast, and fled to Shiraz, where he perished in an insurrection. His son Luthf Ali made several desperate efforts to recover his throne; but Aga Mohammed was victorious, and appointed his nephew Baba Khan his successor, who reigned under the name of *Feth Ali Shah*. He fixed his residence at Teheran, in order to be nearer the Russians, who threatened him in Georgia and the neighbouring provinces.

By the peace of 1812, the Persians were obliged to cede to Russia the whole of Daghestan, the Khanats of Kuba, Shirvan, Baku, Salian, Talishah, Karaachh, and Gandsha, resigning all claims to Shularegi, Kartli, Kachethi, Imeritia, Guria, Mingrelia and Abchasia, and were obliged to admit the Russian flag on the Caspian sea.

Feth Ali (born in 1768), a Turkoman of the tribe of Kadshar Shah, was induced by the heir-apparent, Abbas Mirza, and his favourite, Hussein Kuli Khan, who believed Russia to be involved in domestic troubles to attack that power in 1826. The Persians invaded the Russian territories without a declaration of war, instigated part of the Mohammedan population to insurrection, and advanced as far as Elizabethpol; but they were defeated in several battles, and the Russians under Paskewitch conquered the country to the Araxes, which, by the treaty of Tourkmantchai, in 1829, was ceded to Russia.

On the death of Futteh Ali Shah, in 1835, his grandson, son of the prince-royal, Abbas Mirza, succeeded to the throne; and, profiting by the dear-bought experience of his predecessors, considered it prudent to keep on good terms with a neighbour who had it so much in his power to injure him. The late Abbas Mirza had, with the consent of the East India Company, raised and disciplined a body of troops in Azerbijan, with a view of opposing the Russians; but on the commencement of the war with Turkey in 1822, as British officers could not serve against a power on friendly terms with Great Britain, they were dismissed; but the regular Persian army marched against the Russians, and were successful until they were disabled by the cholera. Yet it is clear that their army is still very inefficient, compared with what it formerly was; for when, in 1837, Mohammed Mirza, made every effort to bring a large force against Herat, the besieging army did not exceed 35,000 men of every description, which was considerably less than half the number of efficient troops engaged with the Russians in the previous war.

Towards the close of 1855, a rebellion broke out in Herat; Syud Mahommed, the reigning prince, was killed, and Yuzoof Khan became ruler of Herat. About this time, Dost Mahommed, king of Cabul, took Candahar; and the Persians held that this justified them in besieging Herat, which

surrendered on the 25th of October 1836. The British government immediately declared war on Persia on the ground that the latter was pledged not to send troops to Herât, unless it should be invaded by foreign troops, and not to hold the city for themselves after the invasion had been repelled. On the 29th of November a British squadron appeared off Bushire, which was taken after a bombardment of four hours, and declared to be a military post under British rule. The traffic in slaves was declared to be abolished, and newly imported negroes were to be set free. On the 27th of January 1857, sir James Outram reached Bushire from Bombay. A few days afterwards he defeated the Persian army at Burazjoon, about forty miles from Bushire, and again at Mahoummerah, from which place he expelled them by the aid of general Havelock. But the further progress of the campaign was arrested by the declaration of peace. The shah gave up all claims to sovereignty over Herat, and promised never to interfere with the internal affairs of Affghanistan. The troops which had been employed against him were soon recalled to go through sterner work in India.

The present government of Persia is an absolute monarchy: but the right of succession, as in ancient times, and as in all Asiatic monarchies, is undefined, and generally rests with the strongest, whence a perpetual recurrence of bloodshed and anarchy arises. The religion is Mohammedan, and the Persians are zealous followers of the Sheah persuasion, or those who look upon Ali, the son-in-law of the prophet, as his legitimate successor. The people consist of four classes: the first are the native tribes, who live in tents, and are migratory with the seasons—as the Zend, Affshar, and others; the second are similar tribes, of Mongol or Turkoman origin, settled in the country, of which the Kajar, or royal tribe, is one; the third are the inhabitants of the towns, and those of the country who follow agriculture; and the fourth are Arab tribes, who occupy the country towards the Persian Gulf.

When the Arabs overran Persia, about the middle of the seventh century, three languages were spoken in the country, the Parsee, Pehlvi, and Deri, exclusive of the Zend, or language dedicated to religion. The Persians make high claims to ancient literature; but the greater part of that which escaped destruction in the time of Alexander, was destroyed under the caliphs. Persian civilisation declined during the first period of the Arabian dominion. But learning revived in Persia in the time of the Abassides, and learned men and poets were encouraged by personal favours and distinctions, till the time of Genghis Khan, in the thirteenth century. Under Timur, in the fourteenth century, and the Turks in the fifteenth, it continually declined, and in the sixteenth was almost entirely extinct. The oppressions and disturbances to which Persia has since been continually subject, have prevented the revival of learning. No oriental nation possesses richer literary treasures of the earlier periods, particularly in poets and history; but their acquaintance with useful science, or the fine arts, is most crude and limited indeed

THE HISTORY OF ARABIA.

VARIOUS are the tribes that peopled this country; from three of these the present Arabians are supposed to be descended—two of them from the race of Ishmael, and the third from Cush, the son of Ham. Of the early history of these wandering people, it may truly be said, in the language of Scripture, respecting Ishmael, 'he has been a wild man; his hand has been against every man, and every man's hand against him; and he has dwelt in the presence of all his brethren.' In vain have the respective powers of the successive empires of the world attacked this wonderful people. The Egyptians, the Greeks, the Persians, the Romans, especially the conqueror of Jerusalem, have in turn failed in their gigantic efforts to subdue them. Their subjugation has never been effected; they have never been led captive as a nation; they occupy the same seats, cultivate the same soil, and retain very much the old habits and customs of their patriarchal founders.

The religion of the early Arabs partook, to a considerable extent, of that of the Hebrews, but so far from being strict observers of the laws of Moses, they came under the denomination of idolators, for, although they acknowledged one supreme God, they worshipped the sun, moon, and stars as subordinate deities. This religion has been called *Sabianism*, from Sabi, a supposed son of Seth. The Arabs also worshipped images, and had their tutelary guardians for appointed times and seasons of the year. After the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, many of the Jews took refuge in Arabia, where they made no inconsiderable number of proselytes; so that, in a century or two, the Jewish Arabs became a very powerful section of the whole people. In a similar way, converts to Christianity were made; for in the persecution which the followers of Christ suffered in the third century, many fled to Arabia, where they preached their doctrines with such zeal and success, that in a short time they had made great progress there. The faith of the Persian Magi, of which Zoroaster was the founder, had long before been embraced by numerous Arab tribes; so that, in the sixth century, the population of Arabia was divided into Sabians, Magians, Jews, and Christians.

As the propagator of a new code of religion, falsely ascribed to divine revelation, the celebrated Mahomet stands conspicuous in their annals. Amongst them he made many converts, and his successors have for centuries maintained the ascendancy he founded. In many respects this new religion was but little more than the adaptation of various parts of the religions previously existing in Arabia (if we except the idolatrous worship of the Sabian); the people in general, therefore, were in some measure fitted to receive it; and, when the sensual character of the Mohammedan paradise is considered, its rapid promulgation is less surprising than would otherwise at first sight appear. But, besides the delights which were to attend upon all who perished in battle in the cause of the 'true faith,' he made it incumbent upon all his followers to spread his doctrines by the sword, or to pay tribute for their unbelief. The attractions of plunder had charms which the Arabs could not withstand, consequently great numbers flocked to his standard. No caravan dared approach the place of his resort, without the danger of being pillaged; and by making a trade of robbing, he learned insensibly how to conquer. Having now become a great general and an eloquent preacher, he took Mecca; and the greater part of the strong places and castles of Arabia fell under the power of his arms.

Mahomet was assisted in his wars by Abubeker, his father-in-law: by Ali, his cousin and son-in-law; and by Omar and Othman; and in twenty-three years from the commencement of his career, he found all Arabia had embraced his doctrine, and submitted to his government.

Mahomet intended Ali, who had married his daughter Fatima, as his successor; but Abubeker, on account of his age, and by the interest of Omar and Othman, was chosen. This election of Abubeker gave birth to the schisms and civil wars which followed.

The successors of Mahomet took the title of caliphs, or vicars of the prophet. Full of that fire or zeal which generally accompanies and inspires a new religion, they spread into different countries their doctrine and their power. Persia and Greece were among the first to suffer; Damascus, Antioch, and all Syria followed. They then penetrated into Palestine, and took Jerusalem. They destroyed entirely the monarchies of Persia, and the Medes of Korasan, of Diarbekr, of Bactriana, and of Mesopotamia: nor was their progress less successful in Africa; they subdued all the coast to the west of Egypt; and Egypt itself submitted to their government, together with the islands of Cyprus, Rhodes, Candia, Sicily, Malta, and many others.

It appears that in Asia and Africa, at different times, there were upwards of fifty caliphs, successors of Mahomet, every one of whom pretended to be his descendants, and the true interpreters of the law. The greater part of these caliphs, sunk into luxury and effeminacy, confided the management of the government to their emirs, and

the principal officers of the palace. The caliph had at last little more to do than to take cognisance of matters of religion, and in all public prayers his name was first used. Thus had the enormous power of these rulers become weak by their indolence, so that it degenerat d into a mere title, and ended in annihilation

By imposture and fanaticism the Arabian dominion suddenly rose into importance, and, like other gigantic empires, it fell by its own unwieldiness. Spain, Egypt, and Africa were soon engaged in effecting their independence. Ere long the caliphs found it necessary to call to their aid those wild hordes of Tartars and Turks who had partially received the doctrines of the prophet, and from them they chose a body of mercenary troops to guard their frontiers and protect their persons. For a few generations they by this means held together their tottering power; but their auxiliaries coveted the possessions of those whom they assisted, and the overgrown empire gradually crumbled away, till a Tartar army, in 1258, captured Bagdad, and put an end to the nominal existence of the caliphate. The religion of Mahomet was untouched; but the power of the 'commander of the faithful' was transferred from the caliphs of Bagdad to the Turkish sultans; while the heads of the different tribes still continued to govern their subjects as they had governed them before.

In the eighteenth century, a reformation was commenced by a sheik, called Mahomet Ibu Abdoulwahab, who converted to his views the sheik of the Arabians, Ebn Saaoud. The reformation was extended, and its progress was marked by the demolition of several towns, and the massacre of thousands of people. The son of Ebn Saaoud, Abdelazis, sent an expedition against Mecca, which he completely destroyed, excepting the sacred temple. He captured also Medina, where he was assassinated—a deed which his son Saaoud avenged by seizing the accumulated treasures of ages stored in that city, by means of which he made himself master of all Arabia.

The Rise, Progress, and Establishment of

MAHOMETANISM.

A SUBJECT so curious and important as the religion established by Mahomet, which has been professed for more than eleven centuries by many millions of the human race, and which at present prevails from the Ganges to Morocco, exclusive of a vast number of very populous islands, and every country where the tribes of Malays settle in one direction, and from the southern extremity of Arabia to the borders of Hungary, in another, deserves to be particularly noticed in this place.

Mahomet, or more properly Mohammed, the founder of this singular and spreading faith, was born in the year 569 of the Christian era; he belonged to the tribe of Koraish, and the family of Hashem; his grandfather, uncles, and lineal ancestors were princes; his family possessed by hereditary right the custody of the Caaba at Mecca, which was a place of worship resorted to by the Arabians long before the time of Mahomet. Notwithstanding the respectability of his descent, being left an orphan when very young, and being in low circumstances, he was recommended to Khadijah, a noble rich widow, for her factor, he having been bred to merchandise; in which capacity he acquitted himself so well, that he gained the affections of his mistress, and by marrying her, became as rich a merchant as any in Mecca: his kindness, attachment, and strict fidelity to his wife, who was much older than himself, are frequently alluded to by writers as proofs of a susceptible heart and a generous and noble nature. His natural strength of mind, and intrepidity of spirit, prompted him to form great designs when his fortunes improved, although it is said that he was so illiterate as not to be capable of reading or writing. This want of learning was so far from proving an impediment to him in effecting his designs, that it very strongly promoted them; for the crafty Arab, who must unquestionably have merely affected this gross ignorance, insisted that the writings which he produced as revelations from God, were cleared of all imputation of being forgeries, for such elegance of style and excellence of doctrine could not originate from a man incapable alike of writing or reading: for this reason his followers, instead of being ashamed of their master's ignorance, glory in it, as an evident proof of his divine mission, and scruple not to call him, as he is called in the Koran itself, 'the illiterate prophet.' Sir William Jones relates a traditional story concerning the celebrated poet Lebid, who was contemporary with Mahomet, and being an avowed enemy to his new doctrine at its first promulgation, to express his opposition to it, hung a poem on the gate of the temple, as was then customary to be done, which poem contained a strong implied contempt of the new religion. This piece appeared so sublime that none of the poets chose to attempt an answer to it, till Mahomet, who was likewise a poet, having composed a chapter of the Koran, placed the exordium of it by the side of Lebid's poem; who no sooner read it, than he declared it to be something divine, confessed his own inferiority, tore his verses from the gate, embraced the religion he had stigmatised, and became afterwards essentially serviceable in replying to the satires of Amraikeis, who was unwearied in his attacks upon the doctrine of Mohammed.

The state of the world at that time was highly favourable to the introduction of a new religion: it had been the will of Heaven to permit the purity and simplicity of the doctrines of Christ to be contaminated and perverted by the artful wiles of priestcraft, which caused the grossest impositions to be practised upon an ignorant laity; pomp, splendour, an unintelligible worship, were substituted for the devotion of the heart, whilst the prayers offered up to imaginary and fictitious saints had effaced all just notions of the attributes

of the Deity. Mohammed had made two journeys into Syria, where he had informed himself of the principles of Judaism, and the jargon which bore the name of Christianity: it is probable, indeed, that his mind was naturally prone to religious enthusiasm, and that he was a devotee before he became an impostor. His first design seems to have extended no farther than to bring the wild, intractable, and ardent Arabs to acknowledge one God and one king; and it is probable that for a considerable time his ambition extended no farther than to become the spiritual and temporal sovereign of Arabia. He began his eventful project by accusing both Jews and Christians of corrupting the revelations which had been made to them from heaven, and maintained that both Moses and Jesus Christ had prophetically foretold the coming of a prophet from God, which was accomplished in himself, the last and greatest of the prophets; thus initiated, he proceeded to deliver detached sentences, as he pretended to receive them from the Almighty, by the hand of the angel Gabriel. These pretensions to a divine mission drew on him a requisition from the inhabitants of Mecca that he would convince them by working a miracle; but he replied, 'God refuses those signs and wonders that would depreciate the merit of faith, and aggravate the guilt of infidelity.' The unity of God was the grand and leading article in the creed he taught, to which was closely joined his own divine mission; *Allah il allah, Muhamed resoul Allah*, is their preface to every act of devotion, and the sentence continually in their mouths: which is, 'there is but one God, and Mohammed is his prophet.'

The Arabian tribes, who occupied the country from Mecca to the Euphrates, were at that time known by the name of Saracens; their religion was chiefly gross idolatry, Sabianism having spread almost over the whole nation, though there were likewise great numbers of Christians, Jews, and Magians interspersed in those parts. The essence of that worship principally consisted in adoring the planets and fixed stars: angels and images they honoured as inferior deities, whose intercessions with the Almighty in their favour they implored: they believed in one God; in the future punishment of the wicked, for a long series of years, though not for ever; and constantly prayed three times a day; namely, at sunrise, at its declination, and at sunset: they fasted three times a year, during thirty days, nine days, and seven days; they offered many sacrifices, but ate no part of them, the whole being burnt; they likewise turned their faces, when praying, to a particular part of the horizon: they performed pilgrimages to the city of Harran in Mesopotamia, and had a great respect for the temple of Mecca and the pyramids of Egypt, imagining the latter to be the sepulchres of Seth, also of Enos and Sabi, his two sons, whom they considered as the founders of their religion. Besides the book of Psalms, they had other books which they esteemed equally sacred, particularly one, in the Chaldee tongue, which they called 'the book of Seth.' They have been called 'Christians of St. John the Baptist,' whose disciples also they pretend to be, using a kind of baptism, which is the greatest mark they bear of Christianity: circumcision was practised by the Arabs, although Sale is silent on that practice, when describing the religion of the Sabians; they likewise abstained from swine's flesh. So that in this sect we may trace the essential articles of the creed of Mussulmans.

Mahomet was in the 40th year of his age when he assumed the character of a prophet; he had been accustomed for several years, during the month of Ramadan, to withdraw from the world, and to secrete himself in a cave, three miles distant from Mecca; 'conversation,' says Mr. Gibbon, 'enriches the understanding, but solitude is the school of genius.' During the first three years, he made only fourteen proselytes, among which were his wife Khadijah; his servant, or rather slave, Zeid Ali, who afterwards married the prophet's favourite daughter Fatima, and was surnamed 'the lion of God;' Abubeker, a man distinguished for his merit and his wealth; the rest consisted of respectable citizens of Mecca. The Koreishites, although the tribe to which he belonged, were the most violent opposers of the new religion. In the tenth year of his prophetic office his wife died; and the next year, his enemies formed a design to cut him off. Being seasonably apprised, he fled by night to Medina on the 16th of July 622, from which event the Hegira commenced: he was accompanied only by two or three followers, but he made a public entry into that city, and soon gained many proselytes, on which he assumed the regal and sacerdotal characters. As he increased in power, that moderation and humility, which had before distinguished his conduct, were gradually erased, and he became fierce and sanguinary; he began to avow a design of propagating his religion by the sword, to destroy the monuments of idolatry, and, without regarding the sanctity of days or months, to pursue the unbelieving nations of the earth. The Koran inculcates, in the most absolute sense, the tenets of faith and predestination. The first companions of Mahomet advanced to battle with a fearless confidence, their leader having fully possessed their minds with the assurance that paradise awaited those who died fighting for the cause of their prophet, the gratifications of which were held out to be such as best suited the amorous complexions of the Arabians: black-eyed Houries, resplendent in beauty, blooming youth, and virgin purity: every moment of pleasure was there to be prolonged to a thousand years, and the powers of the man were to be increased a hundredfold to render him capable of such felicity: to those who survived, rich spoils and the possession of their female captives were to crown their conquests. Mahomet was present at nine battles or sieges; and fifty enterprises of war were achieved in ten years by himself or his lieutenants. Seven years

after his flight from Mecca he returned to that city, where he was publicly recognised as a prince and a prophet: the idolatrous worship of the Cauba was immediately abolished and succeeded by the simplicity of the Mahometan establishment. This Arab lawgiver retained both his mental and bodily powers unimpaired till he reached his 60th year, when his health began to decline, and he himself suspected that a slow poison had been administered to him by a Jewess, under the effects of which he languished; but his death was caused by a fever, in the 63rd year of his age, the 632nd of the Christian era, and 10th of the Hegira. There are some particulars told respecting Mahomet, which have gained general belief, although void of all foundation: such is the story of the tame pigeon, which the people were taught to believe imparted religious truths to the ear of the prophet; the epileptic fits, which have been said to cause him to fall down as in a trance, he is not supposed to have been subject to; and the suspension of his iron coffin at Mecca is a most absurd falsehood, it being well known that he was buried at Medina, in a stone coffin.

Of the chapters of the Koran, which are 114 in number, the Sieur du Ryer makes ninety-four to have been received at Mecca, and twenty at Medina; but, according to Mr. Sale, a much better authority, the commentators on the Koran have not fixed the place where about twenty of these revelations were imparted; so that no inference can be drawn how far the prophet had proceeded in his pretended inspirations when he fled from Mecca; neither does the order in which they stand point out the time when they were written, for the 74th chapter is supposed to have been the first revealed, and the 68th to have immediately followed it.

The most marked feature of this religion is its strict assertion of the Unity of God. A general resurrection of the dead is another article of belief reiterated in the Koran. The pilgrimage to Mecca, praying toward that place, and the ablutions which are enjoined on the most ordinary acts and occasions, together with the adoption of that religious sophism predestination, in its most extravagant extent, seem to comprehend the superstitious parts of this religion; but it has other characteristics which betray its spurious origin, and prove its destructive tendency.

Besides the Koran, which is the written law to the Mahometans, alike as to the belief and practice of religion and the administration of public justice, there is the Sunnah, or oral law, which was selected, two hundreds years after the death of Mahomet, from a vast number of precepts and injunctions which had been handed down from age to age, as bearing the stamp of his authority. In this work the rite of circumcision is enjoined, concerning which the Koran was silent; nor was it necessary to be there commanded, as the Arabians adhered to it before the establishment of Mahometanism.

Their children are not circumcised, like those of the Jews, at eight days old, but at eleven or twelve, and sometimes at fourteen or fifteen years of age, when they are able to make a profession of their faith. When any renegado Christian is circumcised, two basins are usually carried after him, to gather the alms which the spectators freely give. Those who are uncircumcised, whether Turkish children or Christians, are not allowed to be present at their public prayers; and if they are taken in their mosques, they are liable to be impaled or burnt.

The fast of Ramadan is observed by the Turks exactly in the same manner as by the Persians. The feast of Bairam begins with the next new moon after that fast, and is published by firing of guns, bonfires, and other rejoicings. At this feast the houses and shops are adorned with their finest hangings, tapestries, and sofas. In the streets are swings ornamented with festoons, in which the people sit, and are tossed in the air, while they are at the same time entertained with vocal and instrumental music performed by persons hired by the masters of the swings. They have also fireworks; and during the three days of this festival, many women, who are in a manner confined the rest of the year, have liberty to walk abroad. At this time they forgive their enemies, and become reconciled to them; for they think they have made a bad Bairam, if they harbour the least malice in their hearts against any person whatsoever. This is termed the Great Bairam, to distinguish it from the Little Bairam, which they keep seventy days after. They have also several other festivals, on all which the steeples of the mosques are adorned with lamps placed in various figures.

They regularly pray three times a day, and are obliged to wash before their prayers, as well as before they presume to touch the Koran. As they make great use of their fingers in eating, they are required to wash after every meal, and the more cleanly among them do it before meals. After every kind of defilement, in fact, ablution is enjoined.

By the Mahometan law a man may divorce his wife twice, and if he afterwards repents, he may lawfully take her again; but Mahomet, to prevent his followers from divorcing their wives upon every slight occasion, or merely from an inconstant humour, ordained, that if any man divorces his wife a third time, it is not lawful for him to take her again, till she has been married and bedded by another, and divorced from that husband. The Koran allows no man to have more than four wives and concubines, but the prophet and his successors are laid under no restriction.

Church government, by the institutions of Mahomet, appears to have centred in the mufti, and the order of the moulahs, from which the mufti must be chosen. The moulahs have been looked upon as ecclesiastics, and the mufti as their head; but the Turks consider the first rather as expounders of the law, and the latter as the great law officer. Those who really

act as divines are the imaums, or parish priests, who officiate in, and are set aside for, the service of the mosques. No church revenues are appropriated to the particular use of the moulahs; the imaums are the ecclesiastics in immediate pay. Their scheiks are the chiefs of their dervises, (dervishes) or monks, and form religious communities, or orders, established on solemn vows; they consecrate themselves merely to religious offices, domestic devotion, and public prayer and preaching: there are four of these orders, the Bektoshi, Mevelevi, Kadri, and Seyah, who are very numerous throughout the empire.

The monks of the first of those orders are permitted to marry, but are obliged to travel through the empire. The Mevelevi, in their acts of devotion, turn round with velocity for two or three hours incessantly. The Kadri express their devotion by lacerating their bodies; they walk the streets almost naked, with distracted and wild looks. The Seyahs, like the Indian fakirs, are little better than mere vagabonds.

The Turks appropriate to themselves the name of Moslemim, which has been corrupted into Mussulman, signifying persons professing the doctrine of Mahomet. They also term themselves Sounites, or observers of the oral traditions of Mahomet and his three successors: and likewise call themselves true believers, in opposition to the Persians and others, the adherents of Ali, whom they call a wicked and abominable sect. Their rule of faith and practice is the Koran. Some externals of their religion, besides the prescribed ablutions, are prayers, which are to be said five times every twenty-four hours, with the face turned towards Mecca; and alms, which are both enjoined and voluntary: the former consists of paying two and a half per cent. to charitable uses out of their whole income. Their feasts have been already spoken of; and every Mahometan must, at least, once in his lifetime, go in pilgrimage, either personally or by proxy, to the Caaba, or house of God at Mecca.

THE HISTORY OF

THE OTTOMAN OR TURKISH EMPIRE.

THE Turks are of Tartarian or Scythian extraction; and this appellation was first given them in the middle ages as a proper name; it being a general title of honour to all the nations comprehended under the two principal branches of Tartar and Mongol, who therefore never use it as a proper name of any particular nation. The Scythian or Tartarian nation, to which the name of Turks has been peculiarly given, dwelt betwixt the Black and Caspian seas, and became first known in the seventh century, when Heraclius, emperor of the East, took them into his service; in which they so distinguished themselves, by their fidelity and bravery in the conquest of Persia, that the Arabian and Saracen caliphs had not only select bodies of them for guards, but their armies were composed of them. Thus gradually getting the power into their hands, they set up and dethroned caliphs at pleasure. By this strict union of the Turks with the Saracens or Arabs, the former were brought to embrace the Mahometan religion, so that they are now become intermixed, and have jointly enlarged their conquests; but as the Turks became superior to the Saracens, they subdued them.

The following account has been given of the origin of the Ottoman empire. Genghis-khan, at the head of his horse, issued out of Great Tartary, and made himself master of a vast tract of land near the Caspian Sea, and even of all Persia and Asia Minor. Incited by his example and success, Shah Solyman, prince of the town of Nera, on the Caspian Sea, in the year 1214, passed Mount Caucasus with 50,000 men, and penetrated as far as the borders of Syria; and though his career was stopped there by Genghis-khan, yet in the year 1219 he penetrated a second time into Asia Minor, as far as the Euphrates. Othman, his grandson, made himself master of several countries and places in Lesser Asia, belonging to the Grecian empire; and having, in the year 1300, assumed the title of emperor of the Othmans, called his people after his own name.

This prince, among many other towns, took, in the year 1326, Prusa, in Bithynia, now called Bursa, which Orchan, his son and successor, made the seat of his empire. Orchan sent Solyman and Amurath, his two sons, on an expedition into Europe; the former of whom reduced the city of Callipolis, and the latter took Tyrilos. Amurath succeeded his father in the government, in 1360; took Ancyra, Adrianople, and Philippopolis; and, in 1362, overran Servia, and invaded Macedonia and Albania.

Bajazet, his son and successor, was very successful both in Europe and Asia, defeating the Christians near Nicopolis; but, in 1401, he was routed and taken prisoner by Tamerlane. His sons disagreed; but, Mahomet I. enjoyed the sovereignty, and his son Amurath II. distinguished himself by several important enterprises, and particularly in the year 1444 gained a signal victory over the Hungarians near Varna.

The Byzantine empire was already cut off from the west, when Mahomet II., the son of Amurath, and his successor, at the age of twenty-six, completed the work of conquest. It is said that the reading of ancient historians had inspired him with the ambition of equalling Alexander. He soon attacked Constantinople, which was taken, May 29, 1453; and the last Palæologus, Constantine XI., buried himself under the ruins of his throne.

Mahomet now built the castle of the Dardanelles, and organised the government of the empire, taking for his model Nushirvan's organisation of the Persian empire. In 1456, he subdued the Morea, and in 1461, led Comnenus, emperor of Trebizond, prisoner to Constantinople. Pius II. called in vain upon the nations of Christendom to take up arms.

Mahomet conquered the remainder of Bosnia in 1470, and Epirus in 1465, after the death of Scanderberg. He took Negropont and Lemnos from the Venetians, Caffa from the Genoese, and, in 1473, obliged the khan of the Crim Tartars, of the family of Genghis-khan, to do him homage. In 1480, he had already conquered Otranto, in the kingdom of Naples, when he died, in the midst of his great projects against Rome and Persia. His grandson, Selim I., who had dethroned and murdered his father, drove back the Persian power to the Euphrates and the Tigris. He defeated the Mamelukes, and conquered, in 1517, Egypt, Syria, and Palestine. During fifty years, the arms of the Ottomans, by sea and by land, were the terror of Europe and Asia, especially under Solyman II. the Magnificent, also called the Lawgiver, who reigned between 1519 and 1566. In 1522, he took Rhodes from the knights of St. John, and by the victory of Mohacz, in 1526, subdued half of Hungary. He exacted a tribute from Moldavia, and was so successful against the Persians in Asia as to make Bagdad, Mesopotamia, and Georgia subject to him. He was already threatening to overrun Germany, and to plant the standard of Mahomet in the west, when he was checked before the walls of Vienna, in 1529. But as Hungary had placed its king, John Zapo-

lya, under the powerful protection of the padishah, and the successful corsair Barbarossa was master of the Mediterranean, had conquered Northern Africa, and laid waste Minorca, Sicily, Apulia, and Corfu, the sultan Solyman might have conquered Europe, had he known how to give firmness and consistency to his plans. He was resisted at sea by the Venetians, and the Genoese under Andrew Doria, by the grand master Lavalette in Malta, and by Zriny, under the walls of Zigeth.

Twelve sultans, all of them brave and warlike, and most of them continually victorious, had now, during a period of two centuries and a half, raised the power of the Crescent; but the internal strength of the state was yet undeveloped. Solyman, indeed, by his laws, completed the organisation begun by Mohammed II., and in 1538 united the priestly dignity of the caliphate to the Ottoman Porte; but he could not incorporate into a whole the conquered nations. He also imprisoned his successor in the seraglio.

From this time, the race of Osman degenerated, and the power of the Porte declined. From Solyman's death, in 1566, to our own time, most of the Ottoman sovereigns have ascended the throne from a prison, and lived in the seraglio until, as it not unfrequently happened, they again exchanged a throne for a prison. Several grand viziers have, at different periods, alone upheld the falling state, while the nation continued to sink deeper into the grossest ignorance and slavery; and pachas, more rapacious and more arbitrary than the sultan and his divan, ruled in the provinces. In its foreign relations, the Porte was the sport of European politicians, and more than once was embroiled by the cabinet of Versailles in a war with Austria and Russia. While all Europe was making rapid progress in the arts of peace and of war, the Ottoman nation and government remained inactive and stationary. Blindly attached to their doctrines of absolute fate, and elated by their former military glory, the Turks looked upon foreigners with contempt, as infidels. Without any settled plan, but incited by hatred and a thirst for conquest, they carried on the war with Persia, Venice, Hungary, and Poland. The revolts of the janissaries and of the governors became dangerous. The suspicions of the despot, however, were generally quieted with the dagger and the bowstring; and the ablest men of the divan were sacrificed to the hatred of the soldiery and of the ulema. The successor to the throne frequently put to death all his brothers; and the people looked with indifference upon the murder of a hated sultan, or the deposition of a weak one.

Mustapha I. was twice dethroned: Osman II. and Ibrahim were strangled, the former in 1622, the latter in 1648. Selim II., indeed, conquered Cyprus in 1571, but in the same year, Don John of Austria defeated the Turkish fleet at Lepanto. A century after, under Mahomet IV., in 1669, Candia was taken, after a resistance of thirteen years; and the vizier Kara Mustapha gave to the Hungarians, who had been oppressed by Austria, their general, count Tekeli, for a king, in 1682; but, the very next year, he was driven back from Vienna, which he had besieged, and, after the defeat at Mohacz, in 1687, the Ottomans lost most of the strong places in Hungary. The exasperated people threw their sultan into prison; but, in a short time, the grand vizier, Kiuprili Mustapha, restored order and courage, and recalled victory to the Turkish banners; but he was slain in the battle against the Germans near Salankemen, in 1691. At last, the sultan Mustapha II. himself took the field; but he was opposed by the hero Eugene, the conqueror at Zentha, in 1697; and, on the Don, Peter the Great conquered Asoph. He was obliged, therefore, by the treaty of Carlowitz, in 1699, to renounce his claims upon Transylvania and the country between the Danube and the Theiss, to give up the Morea to the Venetians, to restore Podolia and the Ukraine to Poland, and to leave Asoph to the Russians.

Thus commenced the fall of the Ottoman power. A revolt of the janissaries who abandoning their ancient rigid discipline, wished to carry on commerce, and live in houses, obliged the sultan to abdicate. His successor, the imbecile and voluptuous Achmet III., saw with indifference the troubles in Hungary, the war of the Spanish succession, and the great northern war. Charles XII., whom he protected after his defeat at Poltowa, finally succeeded in involving him in a war with Peter; but the czar, although surrounded with his whole army, easily obtained the peace of the Pruth, by the surrender of Asoph, in 1711. In 1715, the grand vizier attacked Venice, and took the Morea; but Austria assisted the republic, and Eugene's victories at Peterwardein and Belgrade in 1717, obliged the Porte to give up, by the treaty of Passarowitz, in 1718, Temeswar, Belgrade with a part of Servia and Wallachia, but still it retained the Morea.

Equally unsuccessful were Achmet's arms in Persia; in consequence of which an insurrection broke out, and he was thrown into prison in 1730. In 1736, the Russian general Munmich humbled the pride of the Ottomans; but Austria, the ally of Russia, was not successful, and the French ambassador in Constantinople effected the treaty of Belgrade, by which the Porte regained Belgrade, with Servia and Wallachia.

Catherine, empress of Russia, soon after her elevation, began to make it a favourite object in her plan of politics to gain a dictatorial ascendancy over the king and diet of Poland. This she effected partly by the intrigues and persuasive bribes of her minister at the court of Warsaw, and partly by marching a powerful army into that kingdom: but as soon as this hostile step was taken, the Porte took the alarm, and, stimulated by jealousy of its northern rival, resolved to support the liberties and independence of the Poles.

These resolutions being formed in the divan of Constantinople, M. Obreskow, the

Russian resident there, was, according to the constant practice of the Turks on such occasions, committed a prisoner to the castle of the seven towers (Oct. 5, 1768). War was declared against the empress of Russia, and the most vigorous preparations were made to collect the whole force of the empire. The court of Russia was far from seeking a rupture with the Porte, being fully employed in important objects nearer home; but being unable to prevent a war, two armies, amounting together to 150,000 men, were formed, at the head of the largest of which prince Gallitzin crossed the Dniester, and entered Moldavia, with a view of becoming master of Choczin; but the prudent measures taken by the Turkish vizier frustrated all his attempts, and obliged him to repass the river. The impatience of the Turks to pursue these advantages, and to transfer the seat of war into Podolia, excited a general disgust at the cautious and circumspect conduct of their leader; in consequence of which he was removed, and Maldovani, Ali Pacha, a man precipitate and incautious, appointed in his stead; who, by repeated attempts to cross the Dniester in sight of the Russian army, lost in the short space of a fortnight 24,000 of his best troops. This spread such general discontent through the army, that, renouncing all subordination, the troops retreated tumultuously towards the Danube, and no less than 40,000 men are said to have abandoned the standard of Mahomet in this precipitate flight. The Turkish provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia were overrun by the Russians, and most of the places of strength became easy preys to the conqueror. The campaign, which opened so auspiciously for the Ottomans, by the rashness and folly of their general ended in their disgrace and ruin. The vizier was degraded and banished.

The czarina, who almost from the commencement of her reign had endeavoured to establish an efficient naval force, which, under the skilful superintendence of sir Charles Knowles, had been successfully effected, now caused a large fleet of Russian men-of-war, commanded by count Orlow, to proceed from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, to annoy the Turks on their extensive coasts in the Levant. The unskilfulness of the Russians in maritime affairs greatly retarded the progress of their fleet; and it was not until the spring of 1770, that it arrived at the scene of action, although many experienced British officers were volunteers in the expedition. The Turks, to whom the sea has ever proved a fatal element, for some time had no force capable of opposing the enemy, so that the Morea was exposed to their ravages, and several places of strength were taken; the Greek inhabitants everywhere joyfully received the invaders; but at length an army of Albanians being collected, they drove the Russians to their ships, and having recovered the whole country, chastised the revolt of its inhabitants by the lawless vengeance of a licentious soldiery.

The Russians, now driven from the Morea, had advanced in full force into the Ægean sea, and, passing the straits which divide the island of Scio from the coast of Asia Minor, were met by a Turkish fleet of superior force. A furious engagement ensued on the 5th of July, in which the Russian admiral Spiritof encountered the captain pacha, in the Sultana of 90 guns, yard-arm and yard-arm. The two ships running close together, grappled each other. The Russians, by throwing hand grenades, set the enemy's ship on fire, which rapidly spread, and soon reached the Russian ship. This dreadful spectacle suspended the action between the two fleets, until both ships blew up. Only twenty-four Russians were saved, among whom were the admiral, his son, and count Theodore Orlow; the ship carried 90 brass guns, and had on board a chest containing 500,000 roubles (112,500l. sterling).

Although each fleet was equally affected by this event, yet it infused a panic among the Turks, which the Russians did not partake of. During the remainder of the day the Turks maintained the action; but on the approach of night, the capitan pacha, contrary to the advice of his officers, gave orders for each ship to cut its cables, and run into a bay on the coast near a small town anciently called Cyssus, but now known by the name of Chisme. Hossein bey, who had raised himself by his talents for war to be second in command, saved his ships by bravely forcing his way through the enemy's fleet. Here the Russian fleet soon after blocked them up, and began a furious cannonade; which being found ineffectual, a fire-ship was sent in at midnight, on the 7th of July, which, by the intrepid behaviour of lieutenant Dugdale, grappled a Turkish man-of-war, and the wind at that moment being very high, the whole Ottoman fleet was consumed, except one man-of-war and a few galleys which were towed off by the Russians. The Russians the next morning entered the harbour, and bombarded the town and castle that protected it; and a shot happening to blow up the powder magazine, both were reduced to a heap of rubbish. Thus, through the fatal misconduct of a commander, there was scarce a vestige left, in a few hours, of a town, a castle, and a fine fleet, which had all been in existence the day before. It is somewhat remarkable that this place was rendered famous by a great victory which the Romans gained there over the fleet of Antiochus, in the year before Christ 191.

The Turkish fleet consisted of fifteen ships of the line, from sixty to ninety guns, beside a number of xebecs and galleys, amounting in the whole to near thirty sail. The Russians had only ten ships of the line, and five frigates. The Turkish fleet being thus annihilated, it might have been expected that the Russian admiral would have shaken the Ottoman empire to its very foundations: that he would have put it to the proof how far the Dardanelles were effectual for the defence of the Hellespont. Had he proved successful against those celebrated barriers, Constantinople

itself, the seat of empire, must have fallen into his hands. It seems evident that the views of Russia did not extend to the effecting such a purpose; her fleet during the remainder of the war, was only employed in making descents on the Turkish islands, and with little or no success.

In that space of time the great Russian army having passed the Danube, found its progress in Bulgaria stopped by the range of mountains which intersects that country, whilst it was continually harassed by detachments from the Turkish camp. The expenses of the war were severely felt by each empire, and although that of Russia had gained the ascendancy, no beneficial consequences had been realised. In this state of affairs, the sultan, Mustapha III., died January 21, 1774, in the fifty-eighth year of his ago, and seventeenth of his reign; he appointed his brother Abdulhamet to succeed him on the throne. The war was continued with spirit; but a large Turkish army, commanded by the reis effendi, being most disgracefully defeated by general Kamenski, the Porte, no longer able to maintain the war, was compelled to receive terms from the conqueror. A peace was signed on the 21st of July 1774, at Kainardji, to ratify which the mufti issued his fetfa, or ordinance, in which, to the great degradation of Ottoman pride, it was said, that, 'seeing our troops will no longer fight the Russians, it is necessary to conclude a peace.'

The treaty of peace consisted of twenty-eight articles, by which, among other advantages, the Russians obtained a free navigation in all the Turkish seas, together with the passage through the Dardanelles. Russian consuls were likewise to reside in the Turkish seaports.

Although peace was, upon these conditions, restored, yet it soon became apparent that the latent ambition of Catherine caused her to meditate the utter subversion of the Turkish empire, and to indulge in the hope that she herself would effect it. To bring forward this grand design she made a progress from Moscow to the Crimea, with all the pageantry of imperial state. Whilst on this journey she received a visit from the emperor of Germany, Joseph II., and, as the visits of potentates are generally fatal to the peace of the world, there was good ground to suppose that this was portentous to the Ottoman empire, and had for its chief objects to settle the mode of attacking it, and how it should be divided when conquered. The Porte took the alarm, and, determined not to await the maturation of its enemy's councils and force, published a manifesto, dated the 7th of August 1787, and commenced hostilities against the empress of Russia. The emperor of Germany, soon after, led a formidable army against the Turkish fastnesses on the frontiers of Hungary, not doubting but that everything would fall before him with the rapidity which Cæsar exulted in; but his progress was opposed, and his measures frustrated by the surprising valour and conduct of the Turks.

The war with Russia was chiefly maritime, and the seat of it the Black sea; but here neither success nor glory accrued to the Turkish arms. The Russians became masters of Oczakow, and in every conflict at sea were decisively superior.

This unequal war was not looked upon with indifference by some other of the great powers of Europe. The subjugation of the Turkish empire, and the vast increase of power which Russia would acquire, by possessing the most valuable, because the most commercial parts of it, were considered as revolutions in which the other powers of Europe were deeply interested. In consequence of which a close alliance was formed between Great Britain and Prussia, having for its chief object the rescuing the Turks from that destruction which hung over them, by restoring peace to that part of Europe. The losses and disgraces which the emperor sustained, and the death of Laudohn, the only general who had effected anything, rendered that prince anxious to terminate the war; and the empress of Russia, through the mediation of the British court, at length acceded to terms of peace, by the conditions of which very important towns and districts were added to her dominions; which, however, her arms had previously obtained.

Buonaparte's campaign in Egypt finally raised the indignation of the Porte, which, on the 1st of September 1798, declared war for the first time against France. By its alliance with Russia, in December 1798, and with England and Naples, in January 1799, it now fell under the direction of the cabinets of St. Petersburg and St. James's. A Russian fleet sailed through the Dardanelles, and a Turkish squadron, in cooperation with it, conquered the Ionian islands. Paul I. and Selim III., by a treaty at Constantinople, formed the republic of the Seven Islands, which, as well as Ragusa, was to be under the protection of the Porte. In the following year, this country restored Egypt to the Porte; but the Mameluke beys and the Arnaouts filled the land with tumult and bloodshed, until, on the 1st of March 1811, the new governor, Mehemet Ali Pacha, entirely exterminated the Mamelukes by treachery, and after this ruled over Egypt almost independently.

The union with the European powers had, however, made Selim and some of the chiefs of the empire sensible that, if the Porte would maintain its power, it must introduce into its armies the modern tactics, and give to the divan a form more suited to the times. The Nizan Dshedid laboured, therefore, to form a Turkish army on the European model, which should supersede the janissaries. But after the peace with France, in 1801, there were in the divan two parties, a Russian and British, and a French. The superiority of Russia pressed upon the Porte in the Ionian islands and in Servia; it was accordingly inclined to favour France. When, therefore, Russia, in 1806, occupied Moldavia and Wallachia, the old hostility broke out anew, and (Dec. 30, 1806), the Porte, at

the instigation of France, declared war against Russia, which was already engaged with Persia and France. The weakness of the Ottoman empire was now evident. An English fleet forced the passage of the Dardanelles, and, on the 20th of February 1807, appeared before Constantinople; but the French general Sebastiani directed with success the resistance of the divan and of the enraged people. On the other hand, the Russians made rapid advances. The people murmured; and Selim III., on the 29th of May 1807, was deposed by the mufti, and Mustapha IV. was obliged to put a stop to the hated innovations. But, after the Turkish fleet had been entirely beaten by the Russians at Lemnos, Selim's friend, Mustapha Bairaktar, the brave pacha of Ruschuk, took advantage of the terror of the capital to seize it. The unhappy Selim lost his life; and Bairaktar, in the place of the deposed Mustapha IV., raised to the throne the sultan Mahmoud II. As grand-vizier of Mahmoud, he restored the new military system, and concluded a truce with Russia; but the fury of the janissaries again broke out, and destroyed him in the latter end of 1808.

Mahmoud now alone supported the throne; for he was, since the death of Mustapha IV., the only prince of the family of Osman, and he soon displayed an extraordinary degree of courage and prudence. One of his first acts was to conclude peace with Great Britain, in 1809; he then continued, with redoubled vigour, the war against the Russians, who already threatened the passes of the Balkan. Twice the Russians were obliged to retreat beyond the Danube; nevertheless their policy conquered the French party in the divan. In vain did the French emperor, in his treaty with Austria, March 14, 1812, declare that he would maintain the integrity of the Turkish territory. Notwithstanding this, before the French army had passed the Niemen, the sultan bought peace with Russia, at Bucharest, by ceding that part of Moldavia and Bessarabia which lies beyond the Pruth, with the northern fortresses on the Dniester and at the mouths of the Danube, and the southern gates of the Caucasus on the Kur.

The Servians, left to themselves, again became subjected to Turkey. They retained, however, by their treaty with the Porte, in November 1815, the administration of the government.

In 1817, Mahmoud was obliged to give up the principal mouth of the Danube to Russia. But the Greek insurrection again disturbed the relations of the two powers, and has produced important changes in the situation of the Porte. The Porte believed that Russia secretly favoured the insurrection and therefore seized Moldavia and Wallachia, and restricted its marine commerce. Both were open violations of the peace of Bucharest. After an interchange of notes, the Russian ambassador left Constantinople. The mediation of the English and Austrian courts, together with the emperor Alexander's desire for peace, prevented the outbreak of a war; but the divan, under various pretexts, refused all satisfaction to the Russian cabinet, until, at last, the emperor Nicholas declared the Russian ultimatum; upon which the Porte, in 1826, granted all the demands of the Russian court, and promised that in Moldavia and Wallachia (where, in three years, it had raised 37,000,000 of piastres, which were employed in the war against the Greeks) everything should be replaced on its former footing, and sent commissioners to Ackerman. Here a final term was again fixed for the decision of the divan, and on the 6th of October 1826, eighty-two articles of the Russian ultimatum were accepted. The Porte surrendered to the Russians all the fortresses in Asia which it had hitherto held back, and acknowledged the privileges granted by Russia to Servia, Moldavia, and Wallachia. The treaty was executed in 1827.

In the meanwhile the Porte had begun its internal reform, and it was utterly resolved to exterminate the janissaries, who burnt the suburb of Galata, between the 3rd and the 5th of January 1826. An army was formed upon the European system, and in June 1826, the janissaries were destroyed, after a bloody struggle. The violence employed in the execution of this and other measures, caused an insurrection, in which 6,000 houses were burnt in Constantinople. Instead of military insubordination, the most rigid military despotism began, which did not spare even the ulema. At the same time, the Porte, in June 1827, firmly refused the offered mediation of Russia, England, and France, in its war with the Greeks; and the sultan called all his subjects (Christians included) to arms, to fight, if necessary, against all Europe.

For the events of the period which intervened between this time and the outbreak of the war with Russia in 1853, we refer the reader to the latter portions of our histories of Greece, Russia, and England.

In the year 1853 it became more than probable that the general peace, which lasted from 1815, would be disturbed by a quarrel arising out of a rivalry for the possession of the holy places in Jerusalem and Palestine. Into the details of the conflicting claims on the part of the Greek and Latin Christians, it is not necessary to enter at any length. Little interest can attach to disputes, extended over centuries, for the privilege of holding or repairing certain buildings or portions of buildings; it is only when, from special circumstances, they acquire a political importance that it becomes necessary to examine them at all. In 1851 the French government undertook to withdraw the exclusive claim of the Latins, and to adopt the principle of joint occupation of the disputed places. To this the Russians were ready to assent, provided the arrangement should be applied to those places also of which the Latins had exclusive use. This was refused; and the question was then referred by the sultan to a special council of state, which decided that the Greeks, Latins, and Armenians

should each have keys of the sacred places, while the claim of the Latins to exclusive possession of the tomb of the Virgin was pronounced inadmissible. The question was now made to turn on the right of the Latins to a key to the church at Bethlehem, and the efforts of the Russian envoy were directed to the withdrawal of this privilege from the Latins. At the same time the emperor of Russia made a distinct claim, by virtue of the treaty of Kainardji in 1774, to exercise a protectorate over all the Greek or orthodox Christians who might be subjects of the sultan. Meanwhile the conflicting demands of the Greeks and Latins, supported respectively by the Russian and French governments, placed the Turks in great perplexity, and led them into a series of contradictions. At the end of February prince Menschikoff arrived at Constantinople as a special envoy from St. Petersburg for the settlement of the dispute, and his coming was followed by a change in the Turkish ministry, which induced the French government to move a fleet from Toulon into the Greek waters. Prince Menschikoff proceeded to propose to the Turks a secret treaty, securing to the emperor of Russia the right of interfering for the protection of the Christian subjects of the sultan. This was refused, but the Porte expressed its willingness to repair the cupola of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and to comply with other demands. On the 5th of May, prince Menschikoff presented an ultimatum, demanding an answer in three days, and insisting on the guarantee of the protectorate. After some negotiation, and changes in the ministry, the Turkish cabinet resolved almost unanimously to reject the demand, and prince Menschikoff left Constantinople, holding out warnings of harder measures on the part of the Russian government.

Meanwhile it would seem that the emperor of Russia was not, or professed not to be, fully aware of the real intentions of the British government as to its duty in the event of certain issues growing out of this eastern question. The course of the quarrel led to the publication in England of a long series of negotiations, which had been going on since 1844, in which year the emperor of Russia spent some time in London and had frequent interviews with the duke of Wellington and lord Aberdeen, on the condition of the Turkish empire, and on the line of action to be adopted by the two governments in the event of the dissolution of that empire, and on his return to Russia he drew up a memorandum which was transmitted to London, and deposited in the archives of the foreign office. Early in 1853 the emperor again entered into conversation with sir H. Seymour, on the subjects treated in that memorandum, and expressed his conviction that the Turkish empire could not last long, and his anxiety that the British and Russian governments should be agreed as to what ought to be done in case of its dissolution. He said that while he would never allow England to occupy Constantinople, he would also bind himself never to hold it except in *deposit*, if such a course should be rendered absolutely necessary from unforeseen circumstances. This conversation was reported by sir H Seymour; and the British government, in reply, said that no treaty could be kept secret from the other European powers, and that while the imminent ruin of Turkey was a matter of great doubt, nothing was more sure to bring about that ruin than constant predictions of it. They added, however, that the sultan should be advised to deal more equitably with his Christian subjects, and, if he could be prevailed on to do so, there would be no need for the Russian emperor to exercise a power which was 'prescribed by duty and sanctioned by treaty.' These last words were held to be a recognition of the emperor's claim, and involved the question in greater difficulty. But in a later conversation with sir H. Seymour, the emperor got rid of one part of the perplexity by saying that he was anxious to determine not so much what should be done in case the Turkish empire should collapse, as what should not be done; and on this negative side, he added that he would not allow the reconstruction of a Byzantine empire, or any extension which would make Greece a powerful state; or of the breaking up of Turkey into a number of little republics. In a confidential memorandum, which he caused on the 7th of March to be placed in the hands of sir H. Seymour, he expressed his satisfaction with the concurrence of the British government in his views, while he spoke of the pressure which France exercised on the Porte, by intruding a ship of the line within the Dardanelles, and expressed his hope that England would no longer permit the exercise of any such influence.

If in subsequent negotiations the British government saw no reason for admitting the protectorate of Russia as a *right*, it could not be denied that the treatment of the Christians by the Turks furnished not only grave cause of complaint, but an apparent justification of Russian policy. The English ambassador had already had to complain repeatedly of the contempt with which the sultan's rescripts on this subject were regarded by his Mussulman subjects, and to urge that a continuation of such atrocious treatment would stir up to revolt a Christian population which in Europe was in the proportion of nearly eight to one to its Mahometan conquerors.

Early in July two divisions of Russian troops crossed the Pruth, and took possession of the Danubian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, as a guarantee for the concession of the Russian demands, and the act was construed as one of deliberate hostility on the part of the czar. The news of this fact caused great excitement at Constantinople, and a protest was drawn up by the Turkish government, which at the same time expressed its readiness to send an envoy extraordinary to St. Petersburg for the arrangement of differences. This occupation of the Danubian principalities was caused, as the Russians alleged, by the entry of the French and English fleets into Besika bay near the straits of the

Dardanelles. It was asserted, however, on the other hand, that no orders were given to the admirals of the fleets until more than ten days after count Nesselrode had notified the intention of the Russian emperor to occupy the principalities, and that, in any case, the two movements were dictated by a very different meaning and intention. Yet in the hope of averting a war at the last moment, a conference of the four great powers was held at Vienna, and a note was drawn up, which acknowledged (among other things) the solicitude of the Russian emperor for the 'maintenance of the immunities and privileges of the orthodox Greek church in the Ottoman empire.' To these words the Turkish cabinet took exception, while the note was eagerly accepted by the czar. The refusal of the Porte was received at first with strong feelings of disapprobation by the four powers, but they soon saw reason for coming to a different conclusion. They had, however, placed themselves at a disadvantage; for although their words had been made to bear a meaning which was never intended, and to justify the political interference of the czar in the management of the Ottoman empire, yet, as the czar had accepted their note in its integrity, they appeared to withdraw from their own self-chosen position when they afterwards advised the Turks to insist on the modifications which they proposed. These modifications were peremptorily rejected by Russia, and on the 5th of October the Porte formally declared war, which was soon followed by another from St. Petersburg. On the 14th the fleets of France and England entered the Dardanelles at the request of the sultan; and later in the same month the Turks crossed the Danube in four places. From Widdin they passed on to Kalafat, which they occupied with a large force, and several engagements took place along the left bank of the river, in which the Turks generally had the advantage, under their leader Omar Pacha, a Christian renegade whose original name was Lattas.

But while the war was thus practically begun, the four powers still kept up the negotiations at Vienna, and some hope was entertained that they might not be without success, when news was received of the destruction of the Turkish fleet within the harbour of Sinope, a town about half way between Constantinople and Trebizond on the southern or Asiatic coast of the Black sea. This fleet, consisting of eleven vessels, was driven in by stress of weather, and news of the fact was conveyed to the Russian admiral at Sebastopol, who despatched a force of six sail of the line and three steamers. These vessels succeeded in destroying the whole of the Turkish fleet and their crews, consisting of about 4,000 men, with the exception of one steamer, which contrived to make its escape and conveyed the news to Constantinople.

These tidings caused the greatest indignation throughout Europe, and by the English and French governments it was regarded as a direct insult to themselves, and a strong remonstrance was sent to the czar, by lord Clarendon, who complained that 'the sultan's squadron was destroyed while at anchor in a Turkish harbour, and where, consequently, the English and French fleets, if they had been present, would have protected it and have repelled the attack.' The war, thus begun on the southern shore of the Black sea, was carried on also in the mountains of Circassia and Georgia; but in this part the loss of the Russians was confined to that of the fort of St. Nicholas, a small outpost near the river Kour.

It became now more and more evident that matters had drifted too far in the direction of a general war to leave much chance that peace would yet be maintained by means of diplomacy. The opposed governments were unable or unwilling to understand each other; and the alleged motives on either side were perhaps not altogether those which really determined their respective lines of conduct. After some ineffectual negotiations with the czar, who endeavoured in vain to win the active assistance of Austria and Prussia, a treaty was signed on the 12th of March 1854, by which the governments of Great Britain and France bound themselves to send an army to aid in preserving the integrity of the Ottoman empire. Lord Raglan, long well known as lord Fitzroy Somerset, was appointed the commander-in-chief of the English forces, the four divisions of infantry being commanded by sir George Brown, the duke of Cambridge, sir De Lacy Evans, and sir Richard England, while the earl of Lucan commanded one division of cavalry. The first detachment left England on the 28th of February, and (after some stay at Malta) landed on the 5th of April at Gallipoli at the entrance to the Propontis or sea of Marmora. The French expedition was under the command of marshal St. Arnaud, the first division being commanded by general Canrobert, the second by general Bosquet. The character of the Turkish soldiers, and their proved inferiority in the field, determined the allied generals to fortify the peninsula between Gallipoli and the gulf of Saros on the western side; it was expected that, if Russian troops should cross the Balkan and march on Constantinople, they would be deterred from making any attack on that city by the allied army, which would thus be on their flank. These works were nearly finished by the allied armies, which were then moved on to the Bosphorus, where the British were encamped on the eastern side, and the French near Constantinople.

Meanwhile an active campaign had been going on between the Turks and the Russians on the banks of the Danube. The great object of the former was to dislodge the Turks from their other posts, and then to make a final effort against Kalafat. If victorious there, they would be able to drive the Turks across the river, and to retain the principalities as a guarantee for the concessions demanded from the Porte. But the resistance of the Turks was greater than the Russians had anticipated, and the results of some severe engagements were

not decisive on either side. On the 23rd of March the Russians crossed the Danube at Ismail, Galatz, and Machin, and soon occupied all the small forts on the Dobrudscha; but the Russian commanders failed to carry out with vigour the plan of a campaign which might have determined the issue of the war at Constantinople, before the forces of England and France could be in the field.

But before the land forces were able to take any active share in the war, the fleets were engaged, in retaliation for a Russian violation of a flag of truce, in an attack on Odessa, which ended in the destruction of the batteries which defended that city. The bombardment caused terrible fires in the town, and out of a population of about 80,000, it was supposed that nearly half lost everything that they possessed.

The Russian attack on Silistria, in June, was not so successful. The Turks were aided in the siege by lieut. Nasmyth and captain Butler, the latter of whom was the first English officer who fell in this war. In the middle of May a council of war was held by the generals of the allied armies at Varna, at which it was decided to bring up all the disposable forces to that place; and this resolve ultimately determined the Russians to abandon the siege of Silistria. The tactics of the enemy were in fact changing from a strictly defensive position to operations which were more and more offensive, while the Russian army was paying a fearful penalty for its occupation of the pestilential wastes of the Dobrudscha. As soon as the siege of Silistria was raised, the Turkish troops recrossed the Danube, and a battle was fought at Giurgevo, about forty-five miles from Bucharest, which was abandoned soon afterwards by the Russians, and occupied by the Turks, until the Austrian army came up and made it their headquarters. This step was taken in fulfilment of the convention entered into by the emperor of Austria with the allies; and if it prevented any further conflict between the Russians and the Turks under Omar Pacha, it left the former free to send vast reinforcements from Bessarabia to the Crimea; and some of the troops so sent took part in the battle of the Alma.

In the month of June, captain Hyde Parker of the Firebrand, assisted by the Fury, destroyed the Russian batteries at the Sulina mouth of the Danube, but he was himself killed in the moment of victory. Not long after, the allied troops at Varna began to suffer severely from the climate: cholera broke out on the 21st of July, and to the horrors of disease were added those of a terrible fire, which nearly destroyed the town on the 11th of August. The depression of the men was increased by a forced inactivity, which was broken only by an ineffectual expedition of cavalry under lord Cardigan, to discover the position of the Russian army in the Dobrudscha.

Negotiations still went on with the hope of bringing the war to an end, but to the Austrian demand that the Russians should first evacuate the principalities, it was replied that the late movements and operations of the allies made their occupation a mere military position, and its abandonment would deprive them of all hopes of making any peace which would not be humiliating and dishonourable. Yet the Russian government agreed to certain conditions which were considered satisfactory both to Austria and Prussia; their rejection was the act of the allies, who declared that they could no longer content themselves with permitting the restoration of the *status quo ante bellum*. There could be little doubt in the minds of the Russians, that the allies had determined to transfer the seat of war to the Crimea, and that the great effort would be made against Sebastopol. Their expectations were soon realised: but the progress and result of that attempt belongs to the history of Russia, to which the reader is therefore referred.

The campaign for this year on the southern side of the Black sea, ended in utter ignominy for the Turks, and but for the advice of general Guyon, their forces would probably have been destroyed. Early in July it became known that the Russians would advance towards Kars, and make an attempt on Erzeroum, where an army of Turks was gathered supposed to number 50,000 men. Their commanders had thought of nothing but plundering their soldiers and enriching themselves. Had they been under the command of Guyon, the result might have been different; but, unlike Omar Pacha, that officer had refused to become a renegade, and therefore he could according to Mahomedan law, accompany the army only as an adviser; and in this respect he was completely set at nought by the ignorant and self-conceited Zarif Pacha, who suffered himself to be lured into unfavourable ground by the Russians, and defeated with a loss of 1,800 men. In terror, he sent for Guyon, who was known by the name of Kurshid Pacha, and asked his advice, which was to the effect that he should try to surprise the 8,000 Russians who were on their way to Erzeroum, but that, if this was done at all, it must be done at once. The attack was, however, for superstitious reasons, deferred for three days, and the issue was a wretched and total defeat. The retreat was a flight of the wildest confusion, and the walls of Kars were lined, not with men, but with women, who, with unveiled faces, filled the air with their shrieks. At this moment the Russians might have taken Kars without firing a single shot, but they could place no reliance on the mountain tribes in the neighbourhood, and they knew by experience that behind cover the Turkish soldiers were very different from what they were in the field. These fears which the Russians entertained of the wild Circassian chief Schamyl enabled the Turks to gather their forces and strengthen their position about Kars, but it was apparently to little purpose. Zarif Pacha had gone to Constantinople to complain that the late disasters were wholly caused by general Guyon, whereas the only hope for the Turks in this quarter was that they would do away

with the old Mussulman exclusiveness and give him the command.

In the following year the Turks received even a better adviser in the English commissioner, general Williams. He had found the Turkish troops, at first at Erzeroum and then at Kars, in a wretched condition, their pay being in arrears for periods varying from fifteen to nineteen months. General Williams was urgent for reinforcements and supplies, and complained bitterly of the remissness of lord Stratford de Redcliffe. Meanwhile, the troops in Kars were becoming hard pressed by the Russian army under general Mouravieff; and to relieve the place it was determined that Omar Pacha should take a body of Turkish troops to Redoute Kaleh, on the south-east shore of the Black sea, and thence march on the rear of the Russian army. Having reached that place, he gained possession (after several engagements) of the whole of the left bank of the Ingour; but the fate of Kars was already decided. Towards the close of September general Williams began to fear that the stores of food must fail, and by his advice the cavalry left the town at night, and with but little loss succeeded in forcing their way through the Russian lines. On the 29th, the Russians made a violent attack, but were bravely repulsed, leaving near 5,000 dead on the field. Still they showed no intention of abandoning the siege; and they cut off all hopes of aid from Erzeroum by throwing out a large force to keep the garrison there in check; and they knew that in Kars famine must very soon do its work. The besieged were indeed reduced almost to the last extremity. The remaining cavalry horses were killed, as being too weak to carry their riders; while the women and children moaned with the pains of hunger. It was clear that the struggle could not be continued, and general Williams accordingly negotiated a capitulation by which the Turks agreed to give up the place with everything in it uninjured, and not to serve again during the whole course of the war against the emperor of Russia. On the 28th of November the garrison marched out of Kars with military honours, and general Mouravieff congratulated his soldiers, that the whole army of Anatolia, 30,000 strong, had thus vanished like a shadow. General Williams, and the other English officers who had aided him in the siege, were carried prisoners into Russia, where they were treated with the utmost kindness.

The fall of Kars was perhaps a fortunate thing, as it enabled Russia to offer and accept the proposals of peace which were made about this time, without any wound to her own dignity and self-respect.

From this time Turkey sunk back into its former security, and apparently into its former careless if not tyrannical misgovernment; and the Syrian massacres of Christians in 1860 furnished a singular comment on the oaths and protestations with which the sultan swore to administer for all his subjects equal justice between man and man without reference to his religion. In the opinion of lord Dufferin, who was appointed British commissioner in Syria to examine into the cause of these massacres, it was the deliberate intention of the Turkish government to prove that the scheme adopted by the great powers in 1845 was impossible, and that with this purpose they exasperated the 'chronic animosity existing between the Maronites and the Druses.' In May 1860 a monk was found murdered in a convent between Beyrout and Deir-el-Kammar. Suspicion fell on the Druses, and one was killed in retaliation. This led to reprisals; and on the 28th the Druses attacked some Maronite villages in the neighbourhood of Beyrout and burnt them. Hasbeya was next attacked; but the Turkish commander, Othman Bek, told the Christians that if they would lay down their arms he would protect them from all violence. They did so, and Othman Bek went away, leaving the town open to the Druses, who rushed in and commenced an indiscriminate massacre of the Christians; in fact, neither here nor elsewhere did the Turkish officers make the least effort to protect the victims. When Zahleh was threatened, the European consuls at Beyrout went to Kurshid Pacha, and begged him to send troops to defend the town. He promised to do so, and never sent them, while the troops which were there turned their artillery against the Christians. The Druses then burst again into Deir-el-Kammar and began a massacre far more fearful than that of Hasbeya. Early in July like outrages were commenced at Damascus. As a set-off against the infamous connivance of the Turkish officers may be mentioned the noble conduct of Abd-el-Kader, who sheltered not less than 1,500 Christians from the fury of their enemies. When these tidings were brought to Europe, wide indignation was roused. The French emperor resolved at once to act promptly, and he was fully borne out by the general feeling of the country. The sultan found himself in the meshes of a net, and the only way was to punish, where he had failed to prevent. Fuad Pacha was sent out on the errand, and, if shooting and hanging could prove it, he showed conclusively how very anxious the sultan was that no harm should be done to his Christian subjects. To make up for the murder of thousands, Fuad Pacha arrested some hundreds, and sent to the gibbet or shot every one who was condemned. The Turkish government could afford to kill some three or four hundred Mussulmen, who were convinced that their murders had secured their entrance into Paradise; and meanwhile they had the satisfaction of remembering that anyhow the thousands of slaughtered Christians could not be recalled to life.

During the next two years the history of the Turkish empire exhibits the usual course of reforms proposed and not carried out, of laws passed and not administered, while the operations of Russia in Servia point to fresh efforts to bring about the fall of the Turk before the growth of the Greek kingdom should bring a restoration of the Byzantine empire within the compass of possibility

THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS.

The State of the Jews since the Destruction of Jerusalem.

THE Jews, obliged to quit their country, irritated and provoked by the cruel treatment they had received, meditated to avenge themselves of their enemies. They began to put their murderous designs into execution at the city of Cyrene, in Lybia, and in the island of Cyprus, where, since their flight, they had increased considerably. They were headed by an enterprising but artful man, named Andrew, under whom they not only committed the greatest excesses, but also gained some advantages over the Egyptians, and even over the Romans. The emperor Trajan found himself obliged to march an army against them; but they were not reduced until after several engagements, maintained with the greatest obstinacy; they were at length overcome, and were treated by the Romans rather as enemies of the human race, than as rebels against the power of Rome. Lybia became so far depopulated in this conflict, that the Romans thought it necessary to send a colony to repeople the waste.

The Jews, notwithstanding their recent misfortunes in Palestine, again revolted. Hadrian, the successor of Trajan, sent Julius Severus against them. This general (according to Dion) killed 580,000 in different battles; and, he further asserts, they could not reckon those that perished by famine or otherwise: so that very few Jews escaped in this war. They razed (continues Dion) fifty fortified castles, pillaged and burnt 985 cities and towns, and made such a general massacre of the inhabitants through the country, that all Judea was in a manner converted into a desert. Before this massacre, the number of Jews, according to the calculations of the priest made under Nero, and estimating those destroyed under Titus, amounted to 2,546,000 persons.

Hadrian, after having ruined and massacred the greatest part of the remaining number, prohibited, by a solemn edict, confirmed in the senate, any of those that had escaped the sword, from returning into their own country; and from that time this unfortunate people have been entirely dispersed.

Notwithstanding the prodigious numbers which perished in the successive overthrows of the Jewish nation, it is clear that very considerable colonies of them settled in different countries, as the travels of the apostles alone amply testify. In Rome, Alexandria, and many other places, there were flourishing communities. Some devoted themselves to the cultivation of the arts and sciences, others pursued handicraft trades, many practised as physicians but most of them turned their attention to commercial speculations, and soon became notorious for their wealth and overreaching cupidity.

In the fifth century they were banished from Alexandria, where they had been established from the time of Alexander. They rendered themselves the ridicule of all nations by their enthusiasm in favour of a false Messiah, who appeared at that time in Candia. This impostor, who was named Moses, and pretended to be the ancient legislator of the Jews, asserted that he had descended from heaven, in order to enable the children of Abraham to enter the Land of Promise.

A new revolt in Palestine, in the sixth century, served to show the turbulent disposition of the Jewish race, and the increase of the massacres of that people.

While some of the scattered families of Jews resorted to Egypt, Babylon, and other polished countries in the East, there were others who settled in Arabia, penetrated to China, or wandered over the European continent. But many still remained in Palestine. After the conversion of the Roman empire to Christianity, Judea became an object of religious veneration, and the empress Helena repaired hither in pilgrimage, and built various splendid temples. A crowd of pilgrims resorted thither subsequently from every part of the world; the most numerous arriving from the west, over which the church of Rome had fully established its domination. In the commencement of the sixth century, however, an entire change took place. Judea was among the countries first exposed to the fanatical followers of Mahomet, and soon fell under their sway. But when the Turks poured in from the north, they no longer observed the same courtesy. They profaned the holy places, and the intelligence of their outrages being conveyed to Europe, roused the religious spirit of the age into those expeditions called the crusades. All Europe seemed to pour itself upon Asia: the Saracen armies were routed, Jerusalem taken by storm, and its garrison put to the sword. The leader of the first crusade, Godfrey of Boullon, was made king; and a petty Christian sovereignty established, which endured for above eighty years; the Holy Land continually streaming with the blood of Christian and Saracen. The Mahometan states, whose resources were all at hand, gradually, however, regained the ascendancy. In 1187 Judea was conquered by Saladin; on the decline of whose kingdom it passed through various hands, till, in the 16th century it was eventually swallowed up in the Turkish empire.

Great calamities to the Jews occurred

during the crusades. Wherever the fanatical soldiers who were on their march to Palestine passed, they pillaged and murdered the scattered inhabitants of the once happy land of Canaan, and the people of the nations among whom they dwelt robbed them of their valuables without remorse. The persecution was general, their furious enemies endeavouring, as it were, to extirpate the very name of Israel. It should be observed, however, that both Mahometans and Jews being animated by a like hatred of the Christians, we often find them acting in concert, especially during the Saracenic conquest of Africa and Spain. Nay, under the rule of the Spanish Moslems, the condition of the Jews not only enjoyed complete toleration, but they cultivated science, and were intrusted with the highest offices of the state.

In the twelfth century, Philip Augustus, king of France, banished them twice from his kingdom; and during the reign of Philip le Bel, they were accused, and not without justice, of cruel exactions and usurious extortions. They were also charged with having committed outrages against the host, of having crucified children on Good Friday, of having insulted the image of Jesus Christ, &c. They were put into the hands of the judges; and, although no proof whatever was brought forward to substantiate their guilt, they were delivered over to the populace to be dealt with according to their pleasure. Philip banished them entirely from France in 1308, and confiscated all their effects. Louis X., his successor, permitted them to reestablish themselves in his kingdom, on condition of their paying him a large sum of money. In the reign of Philip the Long, brother and successor of Louis, they were massacred and pillaged. In 1395, Charles V. banished them, and confiscated all their property. This was their fourth and last banishment.

In 1393 they experienced in Germany a treatment similar to that which they had received in France. In Castile they purchased their peace at a high price; but in Catalonia, Arragon, and the other parts of Spain, they were most horribly persecuted, and nearly two hundred thousand of them were compelled to embrace the Christian religion, or at least appear so to do.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Jews established in Portugal were treated with horrible injustice. In 1506, during three days successively, they were barbarously murdered at Lisbon: yet, as if not content with taking away their lives, they took those among them whom they had mutilated or mortally wounded, and burnt them by heaps in the public squares. Two thousand perished in this manner. The fathers not daring to weep for their children, nor the children for their fathers, they were mutually overcome by despair on seeing each other dragged away to torment.

We are unable to state the precise period of their arrival in this country; but in the eighth century we find them reckoned among the property of the Anglo-Saxon kings, who seem to have exercised absolute power over both their lives and goods. In this abject state they remained under the Norman princes and the early Plantagenets, who harassed them by the most cruel exactions, and often treated them with great barbarity. In proof of this, we need only refer to the reigns of Richard I., John, Henry III., and Edward I. If we pursue their history in other European countries, we shall find that, if we except the Italian republics, and Spain while under the dominion of its Arab conquerors, the Jews everywhere found themselves the objects of persecution. On the introduction of the Inquisition into Spain and Portugal, that dread tribunal condemned thousands to the flames, before it commenced its diabolical proceedings against those Christians who differed from the see of Rome: and it was not until the Protestant states were strong enough to break asunder the shackles of religious intolerance, that the Jew had any chance of insuring his personal safety.

We thus see that in different ages the Jews have suffered the most dreadful persecutions and massacres; but though the annihilation of the race seemed to be inevitable, their numbers were still very considerable, and they exercised then, as they do at the present time, no little influence in the affairs of civilised nations. Since arts and learning have revived in Europe, they have felt the benefit of that humane enlightenment which has extended all over the globe. France, Holland, Austria, and most of the German states, allow them the rights of citizenship; England and Prussia tolerate and protect them; in many of the British colonies they are among the principal merchants and traders; and in Italy, Spain, and Portugal they are at least suffered to reside unmolested. The attention of the British nation has of late years been particularly directed towards the improvement of their political condition and their conversion to Christianity. But upon the latter topic, as well as the probable restoration of the Jews to the land of their fathers, it is unnecessary to offer an opinion: both are concealed from mortal ken by the impenetrable veil which enwraps futurity.

ARMENIA.

THE ancient history of this large and warlike people is connected with that of the several mighty nations who in turn filled the world with the terror of their names. Its first king appears to have been Scython, the next Barzanes, after whose death the kingdom was divided into several petty kingdoms. The Medes under Astyages subsequently subdued Armenia, which was reduced to a province under Persian governors. It was afterwards divided into Major and Minor by Artarias and Zadriades, who having united their forces, established each himself in his respective province, independent of his master; the former possessing Armenia Major, the other Minor. Assisted by the Roman alliance, these usurpers maintained their power in despite of the several attacks of their former master, Antiochus. After their death, the Armenians suffered considerable loss in a war with the Parthians. Marc Antony put Artavardes, the sovereign of Armenia, to death, to make room for Alexander, his own son by Cleopatra; others say that he led him captive to Rome in golden chains. Trajan reduced Armenia to a Roman province; but in the reign of Constantine the Great and his successor, it had its own kings, dependent indeed on the emperor. St. Bartholomew is said to have introduced Christianity into Armenia; but there can be no doubt that it was Christian in the beginning of the fourth century. Sapor, the Persian conqueror, reduced it to a province at the end of the fourth century. The Saracens subdued it in A.D. 687, who gave way to the Turks about a century afterwards. It was then called Turcomonia.

Armenia partially recovered its independence, but was again subdued by Octai, son of Genghis, first khan of the Tartars A remnant of the royal family of Armenia still remained; and we find one of them, Leo, came to England to solicit the aid of Richard II. against the Turks, by whom he had been expelled from his throne. Armenia was again made a province of the Persian empire, in 1472. Selim II. reduced it to a Turkish province in 1522; the greater part of which still remains subject to the Crescent.

ALBANIA.

ALBANIA was nominally a province of the Turkish empire. Its history is diversified, and mixed up with the various fortunes of the surrounding nations. Looked upon as barbarous by the Greeks and Romans, because very slightly explored by them, Albania, better known to those celebrated people as Illyricum and Epirus, still retains much of the simplicity of primitive habits, so that it is emphatically called the Scythia of the Turkish empire. The ancient historians describe the inhabitants of this country as peculiarly fierce and untractable. The remoteness of its situation, and want of union amongst the several tribes which inhabited the country of Albania, rendered the valour of its people of little consequence to the general affairs of Greece, and accordingly we find them but slightly mixed up with Grecian politics. Under the conduct of Pyrrhus II., one of the most consummate generals of antiquity, who waged a bloody war with the Romans in Italy, the Albanians, or Epirotes, routed Antigonus, king of Macedonia, and held that country in subjection; but their conquest ended with the death of their commander, and they in turn fell under the power of the Macedonians.

The Romans made some settlements in their country, and availed themselves of the many fine harbours to be found along its coast. At their decline, with other portions of that once mighty empire, Albania fell a prey to Alaric and the Goths, although some of their descendants afterwards retained possession of the northern district. Sigismund, one of its kings, was celebrated for his alliance with Theodoric, the victor of Clovis, and Odoacer, A.D. 526. Albania now became the prey of the Sclavonian nations, till it was settled within its present limits, under the Bulgarians, in 870. As the Greek empire declined, the Albanians again rose to distinction, and at last reestablished their independence, in spite of the most strenuous exertions of the Bulgarians, who were masters of all the neighbouring districts of Greece.

During the period of the crusades, there were several settlements on their coasts by the Sicilians, Franks, and other nations. After the conquest of Constantinople, 1204, Michael Angelus established an independent government in this district.

Albania has cut some figure in the annals of the last forty years, chiefly through the enterprising spirit and politic conduct of Ali Pacha, who raised himself to a degree of power which long kept the Turks, who were nominally his masters, in a state of fear to attack him. After amassing immense treasures, and keeping up independent alliances with the European powers, he was, in 1822, finally cut off by the Turkish officers. The modern name of Albania is Arnaut.

THE MODERN HISTORY OF EGYPT.

(WITH SYRIA.)

ACCORDING to M. Volney, the Mamelukes came originally from Mount Caucasus, and were distinguished by the flaxen colour of their hair. The expedition of the Tartars, in 1227, proved indirectly the means of introducing them into Egypt. These merciless conquerors, having slaughtered till they were weary, brought along with them an immense number of slaves of both sexes, with whom they filled all the markets in Asia. The Turks purchased about 12,000 young men, whom they bred up in the profession of arms, which they soon excelled in; but, becoming mutinous, they deposed and murdered the sultan Malek, in 1260. The Mamelukes having thus got possession of the government, and neither understanding nor valuing anything but the art of war, every species of learning decayed in Egypt, and barbarism was introduced. Neither was their empire of long duration, notwithstanding their martial abilities: for as they depended upon the Christian slaves, chiefly brought from Circassia, whom they bought for the purpose of training to war, and thus filling up their ranks, these new Mamelukes, or Borgites as they were at first called, in time rose upon their masters, and transferred the government to themselves, about A. D. 1382.

They became famous for ferocious valour; were almost perpetually engaged in wars either foreign or domestic; and their dominion lasted till 1517, when they were invaded by Selim I., the Turkish sultan. The Mamelukes defended themselves with incredible bravery; but overpowered by numbers, they were defeated in almost every engagement. Cairo, their capital, was taken, and a terrible slaughter made of its defenders. The sultan, Tuman Bey, was forced to fly; and, having collected all his forces, he ventured a decisive battle. The most romantic efforts of valour, however, were insufficient to cope with the innumerable multitude which composed the Turkish army. Most of his men were cut in pieces, and the unhappy prince was himself taken and put to death. With him ended the glory of the Mamelukes.

The sultan Selim commenced his government of Egypt by an unexampled act of wholesale butchery. Having ordered a theatre to be erected on the banks of the Nile, he caused all the prisoners (upwards of 30,000) to be beheaded in his presence, and their bodies thrown into the river. He did not, however, attempt the total extermination of the Mamelukes, but proposed a new form of government, by which the power, being distributed among the different members of the state, should preserve an equilibrium; so that the dependence of the whole should be upon himself. With this view, he chose from among those Mamelukes who had escaped the general massacre, a divan, or council of regency, consisting of the pacha and chiefs of the seven military corps. The former was to notify to this council the orders of the Porte, to send the tribute to Constantinople, and provide for the safety of government both external and internal; while, on the other hand, the members of the council had a right to reject the orders of the pacha, or even to depose him, provided they could assign sufficient reasons. All civil and political ordinances must also be ratified by them. Besides this, he formed the whole body into a kind of republic; for which purpose he issued an edict, stating, 'Though, by the help of the Almighty, we have conquered the whole kingdom of Egypt with our invincible armies, nevertheless our benevolence is willing to grant to the twenty-four sangiacs of Egypt a republican government,' &c. The conditions and regulations then follow, the most important of which are those which make it incumbent on the republic to provide 12,000 troops at its own expense in time of peace, and as many as may be necessary for its protection in time of war; and also to send to the Sublime Porte a certain sum in money annually as tribute, with 600,000 measures of corn and 400,000 of barley. Upon these conditions the Mamelukes were to have a free government over all the inhabitants of Egypt, independent of the Turkish lieutenant.

Thus the power of the Mamelukes still continued in a very considerable degree, and gradually increased so much as to threaten a total loss of dominion to the Turks; but singular as it may seem, notwithstanding a residence of nearly six centuries, they never became naturalised in the country. They formed no alliance with the females of Egypt, but had their wives brought from Georgia, Mingrelia, and the adjacent countries; so that, according to Volney, their offspring invariably became extinct in the second generation: they were therefore perpetuated by the same means by which they were first established: that is, their ranks were recruited by slaves brought from their original country. Indeed, as many writers have remarked, the Circassian territories have at all times been a nursery of slaves.

Towards the end of last century, when they constituted the whole military force

and had acquired the entire government of Egypt, the Mamelukes, together with the Serradijes, a kind of mounted domestics, did not exceed 10,000 men. Some hundreds of them were dispersed throughout the country and in the villages, to maintain the authority of their corps and collect tribute; but the main body constantly remained at Cairo. Strangers to each other, bound by no ties as parents or children, placed amongst a people with whom they had nothing in common, despised as renegades by the Turks, ignorant and superstitious from education, ferocious, perfidious, seditious, and corrupted by every species of debauchery, the disorders and cruelties which accompanied their licentious rule may be more easily imagined than described. Sovereignty was to them to have the means of possessing more women, toys, horses, and slaves, than others; of managing the court of Constantinople, so as to elude the tribute or the menaces of the sultan: and of multiplying partisans, countermining plots, and destroying secret enemies by the dagger or poison. But with all this, they were brave in the extreme. Their beys, and even the common soldiers, distinguished themselves by the magnificence and costliness of their accoutrements, though these were in general clumsy and heavy. Being trained from infancy to the use of arms and horsemanship, they were admirable horsemen; and used the scimitar, carbine, pistol, and lance with almost unequalled skill and vigour.

About the year 1746, Ibrahim, an officer of the janissaries, rendered himself in reality master of Egypt, having managed matters so well, that of the twenty-four beys, or sangiacs, eight were of his household; so that by this means, as well as by attaching the officers and soldiers of his corps to his interest, the pacha became altogether unable to oppose him, and the orders of the sultan were less respected than those of Ibrahim. At his death, in 1757, his family continued to rule in a despotic manner; but waging war among each other, Ali Bey, who had been a principal actor in the disturbances in 1766, overcame the rest, and for some time rendered himself absolute master of Egypt. This remarkable man was a Syrian by birth, and had been purchased when a youth in the slave-market at Cairo; but being possessed of great talents and of a most ambitious turn of mind, he, after a variety of extraordinary adventures, was appointed one of the twenty-four beys of Egypt.

The Porte, being at that time on the eve of a dangerous war with Russia, had not leisure to attend to the proceedings of Ali Bey; so that he had an opportunity of vigorously prosecuting his designs. His first expedition was against an Arabian prince named Hammam; against whom he sent his favourite Mohammed Bey, under pretence that the former had concealed a treasure intrusted with him by Ibrahim, and that he afforded protection to rebels. Having destroyed this unfortunate prince, he next began to put in execution a plan proposed to him by a young Venetian merchant, of rendering Gedda, the port of Mecca, an emporium for all the commerce of India; and he even imagined he should be able to make the Europeans abandon the passage to the Indies by the Cape of Good Hope. With this view, he fitted out some vessels at Suez; and, manning them with Mamelukes, commanded the bey Hassan to sail with them to Gedda, and seize upon it, while a body of cavalry under Mohammed Bey advanced against the town. Both these commissions were executed according to his wish, and Ali became quite intoxicated with his success. Nothing but ideas of conquest now occupied his mind, without considering the immense disproportion between his own force and that of the grand seignior. Circumstances were then indeed very favourable to his schemes. The sheik Daher was in rebellion against the Porte in Syria, and the pacha of Damascus had so exasperated the people by his extortions, that they were ready for a revolt.

Having made the necessary preparations, Ali Bey despatched about 500 Mamelukes to take possession of Gaza, and thus secure an entrance into Palestine. Osman, the pacha of Damascus, however, no sooner heard of the invasion than he prepared for war, while the troops of Ali Bey held themselves in readiness to fly on the first attack. Sheik Daher hastened to their assistance, while Osman fled without even offering to make the least resistance; thus leaving the enemy masters of Palestine. The combined army of Ali Bey and sheik Daher afterwards marched to Damascus; where the pachas waited for them, and on the 6th of June 1771, a decisive action took place; the Mamelukes and Safadians (the name of Daher's subjects) rushed on the Turks with such fury, that, terrified at their courage, the latter immediately fled; and the allies became masters of the country, taking possession of the city without opposition. The castle alone resisted. Its ruinous fortification had not a single cannon; but it was surrounded by a muddy ditch, and behind the ruins were posted a few musqueteers; and these alone were sufficient to check this army of cavalry.

As the besieged, however, were already conquered by their fears, they capitulated on the third day, and the place was to be surrendered next morning, when, at daybreak, a most extraordinary revolution took place. This was no less than the defection of Mohammed Bey himself, whom Osman had gained over in a conference during the night. At the moment, therefore, that the signal of surrender was expected, this treacherous general sounded a retreat, and turned towards Egypt with all his cavalry, flying with as great precipitation as if he had been pursued by a superior army. Mohammed continued his march with such celerity, that the report of his arrival in Egypt reached Cairo only six hours before him. Thus Ali Bey found himself at once deprived of all his expectations of conquest, and, what was indeed galling, he found a traitor, whom he durst not punish, at the head of his forces. A sudden reverse of fortune now took place. Several vessels laden with

corn for sheik Daher were taken by a Russian privateer: and Mohammed Bey, whom he designed to have put to death, not only made his escape, but was so well attended that he could not be attacked. His followers continuing daily to increase in number, Mohammed soon became sufficiently strong to march towards Cairo: and, in April 1772, having defeated the troops of Ali in a rencontre, entered the city sword in hand, while the latter had scarcely time to make his escape with 800 Mamelukes. With difficulty he was enabled to get to Syria by the assistance of sheik Daher, whom he immediately joined with the troops he had with him. The Turks under Osman were at that time besieging Sidon, but raised the siege on the approach of the allied army, consisting of about 7,000 cavalry. Though the Turkish army was at least three times their number, the allies did not hesitate to attack them, and gained a complete victory.

Their affairs now began to wear a more favourable aspect; but the military operations were retarded by the siege of Yaffa (the ancient Joppa), which had revolted, and held out for eight months. In the beginning of 1773 it capitulated, and Ali Bey began to think of returning to Cairo. For this purpose sheik Daher had promised him succours, and the Russians, with whom he had now contracted an alliance, made him a similar promise. Ali, however, ruined everything by his own impatience. He set out with his Mamelukes and 1,500 Saffdians given him by Daher; but he had no sooner entered the desert which separates Gaza from Egypt, than he was attacked by a body of 1,000 chosen Mamelukes, who were lying in wait for his arrival. They were commanded by a young bey, named Mourad; who, being enamoured of the wife of Ali Bey, had obtained a promise of her from Mohammed, in case he could bring him her husband's head. As soon as Mourad perceived the dust by which the approach of Ali's army was announced, he rushed forward to the attack and took prisoner Ali Bey himself, after wounding him in the forehead with a sabre. Being conducted to Mohammed Bey, the latter pretended to treat him with extraordinary respect, and ordered a magnificent tent to be erected for him; but in three days he was found dead of his wounds, as was given out; though some, with equal probability, affirm that he was poisoned.

Upon the death of Ali Bey, Mohammed took upon himself the supreme dignity. At first he pretended to be only the defender of the rights of the sultan, remitted the usual tribute to Constantinople, and took the customary oath of unlimited obedience; after which he solicited permission to make war upon sheik Daher, against whom he had a personal pique. In February 1776, he appeared in Syria with an army equal to that which he had formerly commanded under Ali Bey. Daher's forces despairing of being able to cope with such a formidable armament, abandoned Gaza, of which Mohammed immediately took possession, and then marched towards Yaffa, which defended itself so long that Mohammed was distracted with rage, anxiety, and despair. The besieged, however, whose numbers were diminished by the repeated attacks, became weary of the contest: and it was proposed to abandon the place on the Egyptians giving hostages. Conditions were agreed upon, and the treaty might be considered as concluded, when in the midst of the security occasioned by this belief some Mamelukes entered the town; numbers of others followed their example and attempted to plunder. The inhabitants defended themselves and the attack recommenced: the whole army then rushed into the town, which suffered all the horrors of war; women and children, young and old men, were all cut to pieces, and Mohammed, equally mean and barbarous, caused a pyramid, formed of the heads of the unfortunate sufferers, to be raised as a monument of his victory. By this disaster the greatest terror and consternation were diffused everywhere. Sheik Daher himself fled, and Mohammed soon became master of Acre also. Here he behaved with his usual cruelty, and abandoned the city to be plundered by his soldiers. But his career was soon stopped, his death just at the time occurring through a malignant fever, after two days' illness.

Soon after Mohammed's death a contest arose among several of the beys, as to who should succeed him. But the chief struggle lay between Mourad and Ibrahim, who, having ultimately overcome the rest, agreed, in 1785, to share the government between them, and continued to rule as joint pachas for many years. From that time we have no account of any remarkable transaction in Egypt, till the French invaded that country in 1798.

When Selim III. ascended the Ottoman throne, the French revolution was just breaking out; but until Buonaparte's memorable invasion of Egypt and Syria, its effects were not much felt in that quarter of the globe. The two Mameluke beys, Mourad and Ibrahim, were at that time at the head of the government.

The French landed near Alexandria on the first of July 1798; and that city was taken by assault on the 5th, and plundered by the soldiery. They then marched to Cairo, but were met by an army of Mamelukes in the plains near the pyramids, where the French gained a signal victory, which was followed by their occupation of the capital, and the submission, in general, of the inhabitants.

The destruction of the French fleet, by the English under Nelson, in the bay of Aboukir, was the next event of importance; yet, notwithstanding this great calamity, Buonaparte was not deterred from pursuing his original design, but set out at the head of 10,000 men to cross the desert which separates Egypt from Palestine. On his arrival in Syria he conquered several towns, one of which was Yaffa, where an act of atrocity was committed by him, which, notwithstanding all the sophistry that has been employed to palliate it, will ever remain as a foul and infamous blot on the French commander: this was the deli-

berate murder of a large body of prisoners, chiefly Albanians, who had surrendered to the French, and for whose sustenance, it was pleaded, the latter had not sufficient provisions!

We shall not enter into a detail of the memorable siege of Acre, undertaken by Buonaparte, who, after putting every engine into operation that skill could dictate, or disappointed ambition suggest, was compelled to retire, humbled and discomfited, by sir Sidney Smith and his gallant fellows, who had been sent to the Syrian coast for the express purpose of assisting to expel the French. In both our histories of 'England' and 'France,' the subject, down to the expulsion of the French from Egypt, will be found: be it sufficient, therefore, in this place to say, that the noble defence of Acre in reality put an end to all his hopes of conquest in the East, and that the British army, under the brave Abercrombie, completed, in 1801, that overthrow which had so well been begun by a handful of British sailors.

The most remarkable person connected with Egypt after the period of which we have been speaking, was Mehemet Ali, the Turkish pacha of that country. This chief, who has since become so prominent in Egyptian and Syrian history, was ambitious of making himself independent of the Ottoman Porte; but as this could not be effected while the Mameluke beys retained their power and influence, he determined on their extirpation by a cold-blooded act of treachery. He accordingly invited them to a grand festival, to be given in honour of his son Ibrahim, who had just been appointed commander-in-chief of an expedition against the Wahabees of Arabia. Wholly unsuspicious of the treacherous design of Mehemet Ali, the beys arrived at the castle on the appointed day (March 1st, 1811), each attended by his suite; but they had no sooner entered than they were seized and beheaded. The execution of all the chief Mamelukes throughout the country immediately followed; and Mehemet now, though nominally a vassal of the Turkish empire, exercised all the functions and privileges of an absolute sovereign prince.

In the histories of 'Turkey' and 'Greece,' will be seen how large a share Mehemet Ali and Ibrahim had in fomenting and carrying on the war between those countries. It will also be seen in its proper place in the history of 'England,' that Mehemet Ali had provoked the insurrection in Syria, and but for the interference of England and her continental allies, would have wrested Egypt and Syria from the Turks. But the allied fleet, under the command of Sir R. Stopford and commodore Napier, bombarded and captured the whole line of fortified places along the coast of Syria, ending their operations with the destruction of St. Jean d'Acre. This place, so renowned of old for scenes of desperate valour — scenes in which British heroism had been so strikingly conspicuous — was doomed again to witness the prowess of our arms. A heavy cannonade for nearly three hours was kept up, by which time the guns of the forts were silenced; when, owing to one of the bomb-shots falling on the enemy's powder-magazine, an awful explosion took place, and 1,200 human beings were blown into the air. This decided the fate of the war; and Mehemet Ali, after a long negotiation, in which the allied powers of Europe took part, was reinstated in his viceroyship of Egypt, the government of that country to descend in a direct hereditary line, A.D. 1841. Mehemet Ali, from mental decay, became incapable of government in June 1848, and his son Ibrahim was invested with the pashalic of Egypt by the Turkish sultan. Ibrahim dying in the November following, he was succeeded by Abbas Pacha, son of Toussour. The celebrated Mehemet Ali, whose extraordinary career had rendered Egypt and himself objects of European interest, died July 2, 1849, aged 80.

Under Abbas Pacha the work of reform was continued on a mitigated principle. Mehemet Ali centred everything in himself, but Abbas judiciously sought to lighten his responsibilities by giving more freedom to the people. Thus the fellahs have been restored to the right from which the military system of the former ruler had degraded them; and the practice of disposing of that part of the produce paid as rent has been altered for the benefit of the dealers. Under the old administration, the produce of the soil thus extorted by government was monopolised and distributed by favour at arbitrary prices. It is now disposed of fairly by public sale, to the highest bidder, and former causes of complaint with the foreign merchant have been removed. Such liberal policy has borne its natural fruit. The exports of Egypt have greatly increased. That of cotton wool has risen from 200,000 to 400,000 cwt.; that of flax has doubled; of wheat, more than double; and, in sum, the value of the entire exports has risen, since Abbas Pacha's accession in 1848, from one to upwards of two millions sterling. By the adoption of such measures, and by rendering Egypt the safe and rapid highway of traffic between the East and the West, the career of prosperity on which the country has entered may be indefinitely augmented.

ALEXANDRIA.

ALEXANDRIA, now called Scanderia, the ancient capital of Lower Egypt, occupies a prominent position in the annals of history even from its first foundation. Founded by the great Alexander, whose mind was comprehensive as his valour was unequalled, the very cause of its existence was commercial, and its history for 1,800 years shows how well the Macedonians appreciated the advantages of maritime resources. Amidst the convulsions which shook his empire to pieces after his death, Alexandria continued to rise in greatness and magnificence under the fostering protection of the enlightened Ptolemies, the friends of commerce and science. But the brutality of Ptolemy Physcon made Alexandria almost a desert about 130 years before Christ. An inhuman massacre of all the young men of the city shortly afterwards took place, and Alexandria was for some time the scene of commotion and anarchy.

In B.C. 48 the conqueror of the West visited the city of the victor of the East, in pursuit of his defeated rival, where he arbitrated between Ptolemy XII. and Cleopatra. His military conduct was no less conspicuous here than it had been previously in Gaul, Britain, and the plains of Pharsalia. With a small band of Romans, assisted by some forces of the Jews, he defeated the whole army of Ptolemy. Whilst history records with exultation the exploit of Cæsar, who swam across the Nile bearing his Commentaries aloft safe from the waters, she droops over the conflagration which accidentally consumed the celebrated library, which consisted of 400,000 volumes. For it must be remembered that the city of Alexandria was originally designed, and actually proved, to be the mart of philosophy and science.

The emperor Caligula had designed Alexandria as the seat of his empire, in the event of his massacring the chief senators and knights of Rome. In the year A.D. 40, the Jews, who, to the amount of a million, had for many years enjoyed a variety of privileges, were, by an edict of Flaccus, now declared strangers in Alexandria—and underwent, as one of the signs of the time of their approaching destruction and complete dispersion of their nation, grievous privations, losses, and cruelty. It was within a few years after this, that the gospel of Jesus Christ was promulgated in Alexandria, and received by many. The names of Pantænus, St. Clement, and Origen are found as presidents of a Christian school of considerable eminence founded in this city. The admixture, however, of the philosophy which distinguished Alexandria with the tenets of Christianity and the dogmas of Judaism, tended materially to corrupt both truth and wisdom; and the eclectic philosophy proved the foundation of the Jewish cabbala and many corruptions of the Christian faith. Under Claudius, Alexandria again reckoned the Jews as citizens. It was the first place which hailed Vespasian emperor, A.D. 69; and here he abode whilst his generals and armies were deciding his cause against Vitellius. The account which Hadrian, who visited the city A.D. 130, gives of it, is characteristic of the industry and enterprise of commerce, as well as of its worst and most pernicious effects upon the inhabitants who thrive under its riches. Under the emperor Severus, Alexandria obtained several immunities and privileges, A.D. 202; a grateful sense of which was manifested by a monument erected to him. Different, however, was their fortune under the despicable Caracalla, who rewarded their entertainment of him by a general massacre of the inhabitants, A.D. 215; by abolishing the societies of learned men, who were maintained in the museum; by the plunder of temples and private houses; and by separating different parts of the city from one another by walls and towers. During the reign of Gallienus, Alexandria suffered most severely both by war and pestilence. But history, here, records with admiration the conduct of two Christian bishops, Eusebius and Anatolius, who, like the good Samaritan, bound up the wounds of the wretched, and, like their heavenly Master, were unwearied in alleviating the distresses of their suffering fellow-creatures. Their conduct sheds a lustre over the annals of this city, far transcending the most brilliant exploits which emblazon its heraldry. Alexandria was now almost depopulated. It, however, again recovered somewhat of its former greatness, again to feel the unsparing havoc of war and dissension, in the reign of Diocletian, who having captured it from Achilleus, the usurper of Egypt, gave it up to indiscriminate pillage and plunder A.D. 296. He made some retribution for this severity by establishing certain salutary regulations, amongst which may be reckoned his establishment for the perpetual distribution of corn, for the benefit of this city, A.D. 302. Under Constantine Alexandria again flourished by its trade and commerce. A dreadful and almost universal earthquake, July 21, 365, shook this city to its very foundation, and swallowed up 50,000 of its inhabitants. Although the second capital of the Roman empire, Alexandria was captured by the Moslems, under Amrou, the general of the caliph Omar, Dec. 22, A.D. 640. Bloody and obstinate was the siege: amply supplied with provisions, and devoted to the defence of their dearest rights and honours, its inhabitants bravely withstood the astonishing efforts and unwearied bravery of their enemies; and had Heraclius as promptly seconded their resolution, the crescent of Mahomet had not then reigned in bloody supremacy over the Christian cross. It was

invaluable to Heraclius, and its loss was a source of great inconvenience to Byzantium, to which it had been the storehouse. Since, in the short space of five years, the harbours and fortifications of Alexandria were occupied by a fleet and army of Romans, twice did the valour of its conqueror, Amrou, expel them; but his policy had been to dismantle several walls and towers, in pursuance of a vow he had made of rendering Alexandria as accessible as the home of a prostitute. In the year 642 the library of Alexandria was destroyed by order of the caliph Omar; and so extensive was it, that its volumes of paper or parchment sufficed to light the fires of the 4,000 baths which were in the city, for more than six months!

So waned the splendour and glory of this mighty city. The dominion of the Saracens withered its energies, and Alexandria gradually sunk from its high estate, so that in the year 875 its extent was contracted to half its former dimensions. Mournful, but still majestic in its decline, it still retained the Pharos, and part of its public places and monuments. In 920 its great church, called Cosarea, which had formerly been a pagan temple, erected by Cleopatra, in honour of Saturn, was destroyed by fire; and two years after, this second, or Arabic Alexandria, was taken by the Magrebians, who, after various vicissitudes, at length finally lost it to the Moslems, A.D. 928, when more than 200,000 of the wretched inhabitants perished. The discovery of the Cape of Good Hope in 1499 completed the ruin which had, for some centuries, been advancing under the Turkish dominion; and Alexandria ceases from that time to possess any particular interest for the historian, until the close of the last century. The first consul of France, whose name will be reckoned up with the Macedonian Alexander and the Roman Cæsar, like these two great prototypes of his ambition, displayed in Alexandria his skill and progress. It fell to his army July 4, 1798, after a defeat of the Arabs and Mamelukes. The thunders of the British navy bearing defeat and discomfiture through the ships of France, at Aboukir, were heard at Alexandria, and the British ensign waved triumphant over its walls in the year 1801, as again in 1806. Amongst the names of various heroes connected with this once mighty city, that of Abercrombie, who died here in the arms of victory, shall live enrolled in the annals of history.

ANTIOCH.

THIS city was founded by Antigonus, and by him called Antigonia, a name which it soon after changed for Antiochia, in honour of Antiochus, father of Seleucus. The seat of empire for the kings of Syria, and of government for the Roman officers, Antioch was a place of considerable importance. It contained four distinct cities, and was therefore called Tetrapolis. Another city, built in its suburbs, called Daphne, superseded it in magnificence and luxury so much that, not only did 'to live after the manner of Daphne' become proverbial, but Antioch was termed Antioch near Daphne.

Its history is confined pretty much to the various calamities of war and pestilence which, at different times, have visited and scourged the city. By the assistance of Jonathan, the leader of the Maccabees, king Demetrius punished the contumacy of his dissatisfied subjects by slaying 10,000 of them, B.C. 145. An extraordinary earthquake laid it in ruins in the reign of Trajan, A.D. 115; the emperor himself being with difficulty saved from destruction. Antioch rose from its ashes under the auspices of Trajan, and was again nearly consumed by fire in 155. It was restored by Antoninus Pius, but was dispossessed, A.D. 177, by a severe edict of his, of all its ancient rights and privileges, as a punishment for abetting the faction of Ovidius Cassius, governor of Syria, a measure, however, which was soon annulled. In 194 Severus, to punish the part which its natives took in the faction between him and Niger, passed a similar edict, and subjected Antioch, reduced to the level of a village, to Laodicea, but the next year he revoked his sentence. In the meanwhile Antioch had been distinguished for some events connected with the spread of Christianity, which, it is said, was established here by St. Peter, in the year 38. It was here the followers of the Redeemer were first called Christians, and an assembly of the apostles was held, in 56. There have also been several councils convened in Antioch at different periods.

From its situation, it was necessarily exposed to severe attacks during the wars between the Persians and the Romans, when the power of the latter began to decline. It was three times taken by the Persian monarch, Sapor, who, after its last capture, plundered it and laid all its public buildings prostrate. In 331 it was visited by a severe famine. Sixteen years afterwards its importance was increased by Constantine II., who, at an immense expense, formed the harbour of Seleucia for

its convenience. During the residence of the emperor Julian here, on his way to the Persian empire, there occurred throughout the Roman provinces a severe famine, which visited Antioch more severely than other places, from the establishment of a corn-law by the emperor. In 381, two great scourges appeared, plague and famine; the former soon subsided, but on the continuance of the latter, Libanius, the bishop, entreated assistance from Icarius, prefect of the East, who answered the entreaty with brutality and insult. A commotion ensued, which, however, terminated without bloodshed. Six years afterwards, a tremendous tumult took place, in consequence of a tax imposed upon the people by the emperor Theodosius, in commemoration of the tenth year of his own reign, and the fifth of that of his son Arcadius. The governor of the city with difficulty escaped the frenzy of the populace; and great indignities were offered to the emperor's statues by the people, who were made to atone for this offence by the most cruel punishments. St. Chrysostom distinguished himself on this occasion by preaching homilies to the people, which tended very much to reform their dissolute and corrupt practices. Severe measures were on the point of being executed against Antioch by command of Theodosius, when they were averted by the united entreaties of St. Chrysostom, some hermits, and Flavianus, bishop of Antioch. But there was no defence to this ill-fated place in the year 526 against the awful visitation of an earthquake, which, on Sept. 19, laid desolate the most beautiful quarter of the city. A similar visitation occurred in 525, in the reign of Justin.

Neither was the fury of man long withheld from working utter destruction to Antioch. In 540 it was captured by Cosrhoes, king of Persia. The churches were pillaged, and, like another Nebuchadnezzar, he appropriated their gold and silver to his own use. Antioch had not a dwelling left; her people were scattered, slain, or carried into captivity. Once more, phœnix-like, it rose from its ruins, to experience another earthquake in 580, which destroyed 30,000 persons.

A new enemy now appears on the page of history. The Saracens took Antioch in the year 634, and retained possession of it till 858, when again it was annexed to the Roman empire. The Turks next became masters of it; and they in turn lost it to the Crusaders, who made a principality of Antioch, in 1098, under Bohemond, prince of Tarentum. He was taken prisoner by the Turks in 1101, but liberated in 1103. Meanwhile Antioch had been governed by Tancred, who died the year after his appointment. The whole of the principality of Antioch, excepting the city, was overrun by the sultan Noureddin in 1148, who in the year 1160 took Bohemond III. prisoner. On his liberation in 1175, he was created knight by Louis VI. of France, and died in 1201. The principality of Antioch was dissolved in 1268 by the capture of the city by Bibars, sultan of Babylon. It then became a portion of the Turkish empire, which it has since continued, having experienced during that period two earthquakes—one in 1759, and the other in 1822.

THE HISTORY OF INDIA.

As the Hindús (or Hindoos) never had any historical writings, all the information to be obtained respecting the *original* inhabitants of India is gleaned from popular poems or the accounts of foreigners. How vague and unsatisfactory such accounts always are, and how mixed with fabulous invention, the result of all researches in such labyrinths most abundantly proves: we shall, therefore, make but a brief analysis of it.

Under the name of *India* the ancients included no more than the peninsula on this side the Ganges, and the peninsula beyond it, having little or no knowledge of the countries which lie farther eastward. By whom these countries were originally peopled is a question which has given rise to much speculation, but which, in all probability, will never be solved. Certain it is, that some works in these parts discover marks of astonishing skill and power in the inhabitants; such as the images in the island of Elephanta, the observatory at Benares, and many others. Whatever may have been the cause, the western nations knew not even of the existence of India, but by obscure report; while the inhabitants of the latter, ignorant of their own origin, invented a thousand idle tales concerning the antiquity of their tribes.

According to Hindú tradition, and the popular legends of their bards, their country was at first divided between two principal families; called in oriental phraseology, 'the families of the sun and moon.' These were both said to be descended from Brahma originally, through the patriarchs Daksha and Atri, his sons. Vaiwaswat (the sun) had Daksha for his father; and Soma (the moon) sprung from Atri.

The first prince of the family of the sun was named Ikshwaku, who was succeeded by his grandson, named Kakutstha. But the most celebrated prince was Rama, the son of Dasaratha, who was banished to the forests by his father for fourteen years, and was accompanied there by Sita, his wife.

Sita having been carried off by Ravana, (or the giant with ten heads), who was king of Lanka, or Ceylon, Rama, assisted by Sugriva and Hanuman (who are described as monkies), pursued him to his capital, took it, put him to death, and placed his brother Vibhishna on the throne. The traditions of the south of India add, that upon Rama's victory, colonists came from Ayodhya, or Oude, cleared and tilled the ground, and introduced the arts of civilised life. Rama returned to Ayodhya, over which he ruled for many years; and was succeeded by his son Kusa, whose posterity inherited the throne after him.

Pururaves, the son of Budda, the son of the moon, was the first prince of the *lunar* dynasty. His capital was Pratishthána, at the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna. To him is attributed the discovery of the art of kindling fire. His eldest son, Ayus, succeeded him.

Ayus had two sons, Nahusha, who succeeded him; and Kshetravtiddha, who established a separate principality at Kasi or Benares. Nahusha's successor was Yayati, who had five sons, the youngest of whom, Puru, he named as his successor. To the other four, whose names were Yadu, Turvasu, Druhya, and Anu, he gave the viceroyship, under Puru, of certain provinces of the paternal kingdom.

One of the descendants of Druhya was Gandhar, from whom the province now called Candahar received its name. The posterity of Anu established themselves from the south of the province of Behar to the upper part of the Coromandel coast. In fact, it appears that the descendants of Yayati colonised and introduced civilisation throughout the greater part of southern and western India.

Among the descendants of Puru there were several celebrated princes; one of whom, named Bharata, the son of Dushyanta, ruled over a very extensive territory, so that India has been sometimes called after his name, Bharata Versha, the country of Bharata. The most material facts that we next notice in these annals are, that some centuries after this, Hasti, a descendant of Puru, removed the capital further north, on the banks of the Ganges; which city was called after him, Hastinapur: also that, four descents after Hasti the sovereign of Hastinapur was Kuru, from whom the country to the north-west was called Kurukshetra, a name it still retains.

From what we have already produced as a specimen of the Hindú annals, it will be admitted that a further analysis of them, unless we had space sufficient to make suitable comments as we proceeded, would be both uninteresting and an unprofitable occupation of time.

'The whole course of the political history of ancient India,' as professor Wilson observes, 'shows it to have been a country divided amongst numerous petty rajahs, constantly at variance with one another, and incapable of securing their subjects from the inroads of their neighbours, or the invasions of foreign enemies.

'The early religion of the Hindús, as represented in the Vedas, seems to have been little more than the adoration of fire and the elements. The attributes of a Supreme Being, as creator, preserver, and destroyer, were afterwards personified, and

worshipped as the deities Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva. Philosophical notions of matter and spirit were next embodied; and celebrated individuals, like the demigods of Greece, added to the Pantheon: other modifications, some as recent as four or five centuries, were subsequently introduced.

'The division of the Hindús into castes is a peculiarity in their social condition which early attracted notice; but such an arrangement was not uncommon in antiquity, and it prevailed in Persia and Egypt. In these countries it gradually ceased; but in India it has been carried far beyond the extent contemplated in the original system.

'The original distinction was into Brahmm, religious teacher; Kshetruja, warrior; Vaisya, agriculturist and trader; and Sudra, servile: but from the intermixture of these and their descendants, arose numerous other tribes or castes, of which the Hindús now chiefly consist; the Brahman being the only one of the four original divisions remaining.'

The first among the western nations who distinguished themselves by their application to navigation and commerce, and who were of consequence likely to discover these distant nations, were the Egyptians and Phœnicians. The former, however, soon lost their inclination for naval affairs, and held all seafaring people in detestation; though to the extensive conquests of Sesostris, if we can believe them, must this feeling in a great measure be attributed. He is said to have fitted out a fleet of 400 sail in the Arabian gulf or Red sea, which conquered all the countries lying along the Erythrean sea to India; while the army, led by himself, marched through Asia, and subdued all the countries to the Ganges; after which he crossed that river, and advanced to the Eastern ocean. Strabo rejected the account altogether, and ranks the exploits of Sesostris in India with the fabulous ones of Bacchus and Hercules.

Soon after the destruction of the Babylonian monarchy by the Persians, we find Darius Hystaspes undertaking an expedition against the Indians. Herodotus informs us, that he sent Scylax of Caryanda to explore the river Indus; who sailed from Caspatyrus, a town at its source, and near the territories of Pactya, eastward to the sea; thence, turning westward, he arrived at the place where the Phœnicians had formerly sailed round Africa, after which Darius subdued the Indians, and became master of that coast. His conquests, however, were not extensive, as they did not reach beyond the territory watered by the Indus; yet the acquisition was very important, as the revenue derived from the conquered territory, according to Herodotus, was near a third of that of the whole Persian empire.

According to major Rennel, the space of country through which Alexander sailed on the Indus was not less than 1,000 miles, and as, during the whole of that navigation, he obliged the nations on both sides of the river to submit to him, we may be certain that the country on each side was explored to some distance. An exact account, not only of his military operations but of everything worthy of notice relating to the countries through which he passed, was preserved in the journals of his three officers, Lagus, Nearchus, and Aristobulus; and these journals Arrian followed in the composition of his history. From these authors we learn that, in the time of Alexander, the western part of India was possessed by seven very powerful monarchs. The territory of Porus, which Alexander first conquered and then restored to him, is said to have contained no fewer than 2,000 towns; and the king of the Prasii had assembled an army of 20,000 cavalry, 2,000 armed chariots, and a great number of elephants, to oppose the Macedonian monarch on the banks of the Ganges.

The country on each side the Indus was found, in the time of Alexander, to be in no degree inferior in population to the kingdom of Porus. The climate, soil, and productions of India, as well as the manners and customs of the inhabitants, are exactly described, and the descriptions found to correspond in a surprising manner with modern accounts. The stated change of seasons, now known by the name of monsoons, the periodical rains, the swellings and inundations of the rivers, with the appearance of the country during the time they continue, are particularly mentioned. The descriptions of the inhabitants are equally particular; their living entirely upon vegetables; their division into tribes or castes, with many of the particularities of the modern Hindoos. The military operations, however, extended but a very little way into India properly so called; no further, indeed, than the modern province of Lahore, and the countries on the banks of the Indus, from Moultan to the sea.

On the death of Alexander, the eastern part of his dominions devolved first on Pitho, the son of Agenor, and afterwards on Seleucus. The latter was sensible of the advantages of keeping India in subjection. With this view, he undertook an expedition into that country, partly to confirm his authority, and partly to defend the Macedonian territories against Sandracotus, king of the Prasii. The particulars of his expedition are very little known, Justin being the only author who mentions them. Plutarch tells us that Seleucus carried his arms farther into India than Alexander; and Pliny, whose authority is of considerably greater weight than either, in this instance, corroborates the testimony of Plutarch.

The career of Seleucus in the east was stopped by Antigonus, who prepared to invade the western part of his dominions. The former was, therefore, obliged to conclude a treaty with Sandracottus; but Dr. Robertson is of opinion, that during the lifetime of Seleucus, which continued forty-two years after the death of Alexander, no diminution of the Macedonian territories took place. With a view of keeping up a friendly intercourse with the Indian prince, Seleucus sent Megasthenes, one of Alexander's officers, to Palibothra, capital of the

kingdom of the Prasii, on the banks of the Ganges. This city is by Dr. Robertson thought to be the modern Allahabad, but major Rennel supposes it to be Patna. As Megasthenes resided in this city for a considerable time, he made many observations relative to India in general, which he afterwards published. But he mingled with his relations the most extravagant fables; such as accounts of men with ears so large that they could wrap themselves up in them; of tribes with one eye, without mouths or noses, &c., if the extracts from this book, given by Arrian, Diodorus, and other ancient writers, can be credited. After the embassy of Megasthenes to Sandracottus, and that of his son to Allitrochidas, the successor of Sandracottus, we hear no more of the affairs of India with regard to the Macedonians until the time of Antiochus the Great, who made a short incursion into India, about 197 years after the death of Seleucus. All that we know of this expedition is, that the Syrian monarch, after finishing a war he carried against the two revolted provinces of Parthia and Bactria, obliged Sophagasenus, king of the country which he invaded, to pay a sum of money, and give him a number of elephants. It is probable that the successors of Antiochus were obliged, soon after his death, to abandon all their Indian territories.

After the loss of India by the Syrians, an intercourse was kept up for some time betwixt it and the Greek kingdom of Bactria. This last became an independent state about sixty-nine years after the death of Alexander; and, according to the few hints we have concerning it in ancient authors, carried on a great traffic with India. Nay, the Bactrian monarchs are said to have conquered more extensive tracts in that region than Alexander himself had done. Six princes reigned over this new kingdom in succession; some of whom, elated with the conquests they had made, assumed the title of the great king, by which the Persian monarchs were distinguished in their highest splendour. Strabo informs us, that the Bactrian princes were deprived of their territories by the Scythian nomades, known by the names of Asii, Pasiani, Tachari, and Scaurauli. This is confirmed by the testimony of the Chinese historians, quoted by M. de Guignes. According to them, about 126 years before the Christian era, a powerful horde of Tartars, pushed from their native seats on the confines of China, and obliged to move farther to the west, poured in upon Bactria like an irresistible torrent, overwhelmed that kingdom, and put an end to the dominion of the Greeks, after it had lasted nearly 130 years.

From this time to the close of the fifteenth century, all thoughts of establishing any dominion in India were totally abandoned by the Europeans. The only object now was to promote a commercial intercourse with that country; and Egypt was the medium by which that intercourse was to be promoted. Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, first raised the power and splendour of Alexandria, by carrying on a trade with India. His son Ptolemy Philadelphus prosecuted the same plan very vigorously. In his time the Indian commerce once more began to centre in Tyre; but, to remove it effectually thence, he attempted to form a canal between Arsinoe on the Red sea, near the place where Suez now stands, and the Pelusiac, or eastern branch of the Nile. This canal was about 100 cubits broad, and thirty deep; so that by means of it the productions of India might have been conveyed to Alexandria entirely by water.

On the conquest of Egypt by the Romans, the Indian commodities continued, as usual, to be imported to Alexandria in Egypt, and from thence to Rome; but the most ancient communication betwixt the east and west parts of Asia seems never to have been entirely given up. Syria and Palestine are separated from Mesopotamia by a desert; but the passage through it was much facilitated by its affording a station which abounded in water. Hence the possession of this station became an object of such consequence, that Solomon built upon it the city called in Syrian Tadmor, and in Greek Palmyra. Both these names are expressive of its situation in a spot adorned with palm trees. Though its situation for trade may to us seem very unfavourable, being sixty miles from the Euphrates, by which alone it could receive the Indian commodities, and 200 miles from the nearest coast of the Mediterranean, yet the value and small bulk of the goods in question, rendered the conveyance of them by a long carriage overland not only practicable, but lucrative and advantageous. Hence the inhabitants became opulent and powerful, and this place long maintained its independence after the Syrian empire became subject to Rome.

The excessive eagerness of the Romans for Asiatic luxuries of all kinds, kept up an unceasing intercourse with India during the whole time that the empire continued in its power; and, even after the destruction of the western part, it was kept up between Constantinople and those parts of India which had been visited formerly by merchants from the west. Long before this period, however, a much better method of sailing to India had been discovered, it is said, by the commander of an Indian ship, who lived about eighty years after Egypt had been annexed to the Roman empire. This man having observed the periodical shifting of the monsoons, and how steadily they blew from the east to west during some months, ventured to leave the coast, and sail boldly across the Indian ocean, from the mouth of the Arabian gulf to Musiris, a port on the Malabar coast. Pliny gives a very particular account of the manner in which the Indian traffic was now carried on, mentioning the particular stages and the distances between them.

While the Seleucidæ continued to enjoy the empire of Syria, the trade with India continued to be carried on by land. The Romans, having extended their dominions as far as the Euphrates, found this method of conveyance still established, and the trade was by them encouraged and pro-

tected. But the progress of the caravans being frequently interrupted by the Parthians, particularly when they travelled towards those countries where silk and other of the most valuable manufactures were procured, it became an object to the Romans to conciliate the friendship of the sovereigns of those distant countries.

Dr. Robertson takes notice, that, from the evidence of an Arabian merchant who wrote in 852, it appears, that not only the Saracens, but the Chinese also, were destitute of the mariner's compass; contrary to a common opinion, that this instrument was known in the east long before its discovery in Europe. Notwithstanding this disadvantage, they penetrated far beyond Siam, which had set bounds to the navigation of Europeans. They became acquainted with Sumatra and other Indian islands; extending their navigation as far as Canton in China. A regular commerce was now carried on from the Persian gulf to all the countries lying betwixt it and China: and even with China itself. Many Saracens settled in India, properly so called, as well as in the countries beyond it. In the city of Canton they were so numerous that the emperor permitted them to have a cadi or judge of their own religion; the Arabian language was understood and spoken in every place of consequence; and ships from China even are said to have visited the Persian gulf.

According to the Arabian accounts of those days, the peninsula of India was at that time divided into four kingdoms. The first was composed of the provinces situated on the Indus and its branches, the capital of which was Moultan. The second had the city of Canoge, which, from its remaining ruins, appears to have been a very large place. The Indian historians relate, that it contained 30,000 shops in which betel nut was sold, and 60,000 sets of musicians and singers who paid a tax to government. The third kingdom was that of Cachemire, first mentioned by Massoudi, who gives a short description of it. The fourth kingdom, Guzerat, is represented by the same author as the most powerful of the whole. Another Arab writer, who flourished about the middle of the fourteenth century, divides India into three parts: the northern comprehending all the provinces on the Indus; the middle extending from Guzerat to the Ganges; and the southern, which he denominates Comar, from Cape Comorin.

From the relation of the Arabian merchant above mentioned, explained by the commentary of another Arabian who had likewise visited the eastern parts of Asia, we learn many particulars concerning the inhabitants of these distant regions at that time, which correspond with what is observed among them at this day. They take notice of the general use of silk among the Chinese, and the manufacture of porcelain, which they compare to glass. They also describe the tea-plant, with the manner of using its leaves: whence it appears, that in the ninth century the use of this plant in China was as common as it is at present. They mention likewise the great progress which the Indians had made in astronomy; a circumstance which seems to have been unknown to the Greeks and Romans; they assert, that in this branch of science they were far superior to the most enlightened nations of the west, on which account their sovereign was called the king of wisdom.

The superstitions, extravagant penances, &c., known to exist at this day among the Indians, are also mentioned by those writers: all which particulars manifest that the Arabians had a knowledge of India very far superior to that of the Greeks or Romans.

The industry of the Mohammedans, in exploring the most distant regions of the east, was rivalled, however, by the Christians of Persia, who sent missionaries all over India and the countries adjoining, as far as China itself. But, while the western Asiatics thus kept up a constant intercourse with these parts, the Europeans had in a manner lost all knowledge of them. The port of Alexandria, from which they had formerly been supplied with the Indian goods, was now shut against them; and the Arabs, satisfied with supplying the demands of their own subjects, neglected to send any by the usual channels to the towns on the Mediterranean. The inhabitants of Constantinople and some other great towns were supplied with Chinese commodities by the most tedious and difficult passage imaginable.

In spite of every difficulty, however, this commerce flourished, and Constantinople became a considerable mart for East Indian commodities; and from it all the rest of Europe was chiefly supplied with them for more than two centuries. The perpetual hostilities in which the Christians and Mohammedans were during this period engaged, contributed still to increase the difficulty; but, the more it increased, the more desirous Europeans seemed to be of possessing the luxuries of Asia.

About this time the cities of Amalfi and Venice, with some others in Italy, having acquired a great degree of independence, began to exert themselves in promoting domestic manufactures, and importing the productions of India.

About the end of the tenth century, a considerable revolution took place in India, by the conquests of Mahmud Gazni, who erected the empire of Gazna. And it is at this period that the authentic history is generally reckoned to commence.

Mahmud's kingdom had arisen out of that of the Saracens, who had extended their conquests immensely, under the caliph Al-Walid, both to the east and west. He possessed great part of the ancient Bactria. Gazna, near the source of the Indus, and Balkh, were his chief cities. After conquering the rest of Bactria, he invaded Hindostan A. D. 1000, and reduced the province of Moultan, which was inhabited by the Kuttry and Rajpoot tribes (the Catheri and Malli of Alexander), who still retained their ancient bravery, and made a very formidable resistance. Mahmud being equally influenced by

a love of conquest and a superstitious zeal to exterminate the Hindoo religion, a league was at last formed against him among all the Indian princes, from the Ganges to the Nerbudda. Their allied troops were, however, defeated; and in 1008 the famous temple of Nagracut in the Punjab was destroyed. In 1011 Mahmud destroyed the city and temple of Tanafar, and reduced Delhi. In 1018 he took Canoge, and demolished the temples of that and several other cities; but failed in his attempts on Ajmere. In his twelfth expedition, in 1024, he reduced the whole peninsula of Guzerat, and destroyed the famous temple of Sumnaut, as well as those of all the other cities he conquered. At his death, in 1028, he possessed the east and largest part of Persia, with the Indian provinces from the west part of the Ganges to Guzerat, and those between the Indus and the mountains of Ajmere. But in 1158 this extensive empire began to fall to pieces. The west and largest part was seized by the Gauri, while the east contiguous to the Indus remained in the possession of Cosroe, whose capital was Lahore. In 1184 his sons were expelled by the Gauri, and in 1194 Mohammed Gori penetrated into Hindostan as far as Benares, committing as great devastation as Mahmud Gazni had done. He also reduced the south part of Ajmere, and the territory south of the Jumna, the fort of Guallor, &c. On his death (1205), the empire of Gazna was again divided, and the Patan empire was founded by Cattub, who had the Indian part, the Persian remaining to Eldoze. Cattub made Delhi his capital; and in 1210 his successor, Altumish, reduced the greatest part of Hindostan Proper. One of his sons obtained the government of Bengal, and, from this period, one of the emperor's sons had always that government. During his reign, the bloody Jenghiz Khan put an end to the other branch of the Gaznian empire, but Hindostan was left undisturbed.

From this period the most dreadful confusion and massacres followed almost to the time that the British government commenced. The empire being subdivided among a set of rapacious governors, the people were reduced to the greatest degree of misery. To add to their distress, the Moguls made such frequent and formidable invasions, that at last the emperor Ferose II. allowed them to settle in the country in 1292. The emperor was incited by Alla, governor of Gurrah, to attempt the conquest of the Deccan; and Alla being employed in that business, wherein he amassed an immense quantity of treasure, no sooner accomplished it, than he deposed and murdered Ferose, and assumed the sovereignty of Hindostan.

In 1306 the conquest of the Deccan was undertaken; and in 1310 Alla carried his army into Dowlatabad and the Carnatic. But all this usurper's expeditions, and those of his general, Cafoor, seem to have been made more with a view of plunder than of permanent conquest.

Under Mohammed III., the inhabitants of the Deccan revolted, and drove the Mohammedans completely out of all their territories, except the city of Dowlatabad.

Ferose III., who succeeded Mohammed in 1351, was a wise prince, who preferred the improvement of his empire by the arts of peace to the extension of it by war and conquest. In his reign, which lasted thirty-seven years, agriculture, commerce, and manufactures were encouraged. But upon his death in 1388, a civil war broke out which continued five years, till Mahmud III. succeeded, in 1393. During this period Hindostan exhibited the uncommon phenomenon of two emperors residing in the same capital, yet at war with each other. In this unfortunate situation of affairs, Tamerlane, after subduing all the west of Tartary and Asia, turned his arms against Hindostan, and made an easy conquest of it. But the cruel monster, not contented with his victory, ordered a general massacre of the inhabitants, in consequence of which, it is said, that 100,000 of them were murdered in one hour. In January 1399, he defeated the Indian army with great slaughter, and soon after took Delhi, which then consisted of three cities, surrounded by walls.

Though no resistance was made, and of course there was no pretence for bloodshed, yet a quarrel was fomented within a few days by his Tartar soldiers, who pillaged the city, massacred most of the people, and sold the rest for slaves. The spoils, in plate and jewels, were immense. After this dreadful carnage, Tamerlane marched through the other provinces of Hindostan, defeating the Indians everywhere, and slaughtering the worshippers of fire. On the 25th of March this insatiable conqueror retired, leaving Mahmud in possession of the throne, and reserving only Punjab to himself.

The death of Mahmud III., in 1413, put an end to the Patan dynasty. He was succeeded by Chizer, a descendant of Mahomet, and his posterity continued to reign until 1450, when Alla II. abdicated the throne, and Beiloli, an Affghan, took possession of it. Under him a prince who resided at Jionpour became so formidable, that he left him only the shadow of authority. Beiloli's son, however, recovered a great part of the empire, about 1501, when he made Agra his residence. In the reign of Ibraham II. sultan Baber, a descendant of Tamerlane, conquered a considerable part of the empire. His first expedition was in 1518; and in 1525 he took Delhi. On the death of Baber, who reigned only five years, his son Humaioon was driven from the throne, and obliged to take shelter among the Rajpoot princes of Ajmere. The sovereignty was usurped by Sheer Khan, who in 1545 was killed at the siege of Cheitou. His territories extended from the Indus to Bengal; but the government was so unsettled, that no fewer than five sovereigns succeeded within nine years after his death. This induced a strong party to join in recalling Humaioon, who is said to have been a prince of great virtue and abilities; but he lived only one year after his return. Upon his death, in 1555, his son Ackbar, one of the greatest princes that ever reigned in

Hindostan, succeeded. He was then only fourteen years of age; but, during his long reign of fifty-one years, he established the empire on a more sure foundation than it had probably ever been before.

We are now come to a period when the European powers began to be interested in the affairs of Hindostan. The Cape of Good Hope had been doubled in the reign of John II., king of Portugal; Emanuel, his successor, equipped four ships, for the discovery of the Indian coast, and gave the command to Vasco de Gama; who, having weathered several storms in his cruise along the eastern coast of Africa, landed in Hindostan, after a voyage of thirteen months.

This country, which has since been almost entirely reduced by war under a foreign yoke, was, at the time of the arrival of the Portuguese, divided between the kings of Cambaya, Delhi, Bisnagur, Narzingua, and Calicut, each of which reckoned several sovereigns among their tributaries. The last of these monarchs, who is better known by the name of *zamorin*, which signifies emperor, possessed the most maritime states, and his empire extended over all Malabar.

Vasco de Gama having informed himself of these particulars when he touched at Melinda, hired an able pilot to conduct him to that port, in which trade was the most flourishing. Here he fortunately met with a Moor of Tunis, who understood the Portuguese language, and he put himself under his direction. He procured Gama an audience of the zamorin, who proposed an alliance and a treaty of commerce with the king his master. This was upon the point of being concluded, when the Mussulmen so far swayed the monarch from his purpose, that he resolved to destroy the adventurers, to whom he had just before given so favourable a reception.

The zamorin, who wanted neither power nor inclination, wanted courage to put his design into execution; and Gama was permitted to return to his fleet: he sailed for Lisbon, which he reached in safety, and was received with rapturous joy by the people. The pope gave to Portugal all the coasts they should discover in the east: and a second expedition soon after took place, under the command of Alvarez Cabral, consisting of thirteen vessels. They first visited Calicut, where fifty Portuguese were massacred by the inhabitants, through the intrigues of the Moors. Cabral, in revenge, burnt all the Arabian vessels in the harbour, cannonaded the town, and then sailed to Cochin, and from thence to Cananor. The kings of both these towns gave him spices, gold, and silver, and proposed an alliance with him against the zamorin, to whom they were tributaries. Other kings followed their example; and this infatuation became so general, that the Portuguese gave the law to almost the whole country of Malabar.

The port of Lisbon had now become the grand mart of Indian commodities. To secure and extend these advantages, it was necessary to establish a system of power and commerce. With a view to these objects, the court of Portugal wisely reposed its confidence in Alphonso Albuquerque, the most discerning of all the Portuguese that had been in India. The new viceroy acquitted himself beyond expectation. He fixed upon Goa, where there was a good harbour and wholesome air, as an establishment, being situated in the middle of Malabar, belonging to the king of the Deccan, and which soon after became the metropolis of all the Portuguese settlements in India.

As the government soon changed its schemes of trade into projects of conquest, the nation, which had never been guided by the true commercial spirit, soon assumed that of rapine and plunder. In reference to this we may observe, that of all the conquests made by the Portuguese in India, they possess at present only Macao, Diu, and Goa: and the united importance of these three settlements in their intercourse with India and Portugal is very inconsiderable.

Towards the close of the sixteenth certury, Drake, Stephens, Cavendish, and some other English navigators, by doubling Cape Horn, and the Cape of Good Hope, reached India. The success attending these first voyages was sufficient to determine some of the principal merchants in London to establish a company in 1600, which obtained an exclusive privilege of trading to the East Indies for fifteen years.

The funds of this company were in the beginning inconsiderable. They fitted out four ships, which sailed in 1601, under Lancaster, an able man, who arrived with them, in 1602, at the port of Achen, at that time a celebrated mart. He was received by the king with the highest marks of respect, and had every favour shown him that could be wished for, to facilitate the establishment of an advantageous commerce. The English admiral was received at Bantam in the same manner as at Achen; and a ship, which he had despatched to the Molucca islands, brought him a considerable cargo of cloves and nutmegs; with these valuables, and pepper, which he took in at Java and Sumatra, he returned safe to England.

The company now determined to form settlements, but not without the consent of the natives. They applied to James I. for assistance, but obtained none. They, however, out of their small funds, erected forts, and founded colonies, in the islands of Java, Poleron, Amboyna, and Banda. They likewise shared the spice trade with the Dutch, who soon became jealous of their rising prosperity. They at first proceeded by accusations, equally void of truth and decency, to make the English odious to the natives of the country; but these expedients not meeting with success, they resolved to proceed to acts of violence; and the Indian ocean became the scene of the most bloody engagements between the maritime forces of the two nations. In 1619, the two companies signed a treaty, signifying that the Molucca islands, Amboyna, and Banda should belong in com

mon to both nations. The Dutch, however, not only soon found means to render the treaty ineffectual, but to drive the English from Amboyna. This latter transaction was replete with so much cruelty, that it will remain a lasting stigma on the Dutch nation. The English, harassed in every mart by the Dutch, who were bent on their destruction, were obliged to give way to their power. India was totally forgotten; and the company was greatly reduced at the death of Charles I.

Cromwell, proud of his success, and sensible of his own strength, was piqued that the republic of the United Provinces should pretend to the dominion of the sea, and declared war against the Dutch. Of all the maritime wars which have been recorded in history, none were conducted with more knowledge and bravery; none have abounded with more obstinate and bloody engagements. The English gained the superiority, and peace ensued.—But to return:

Under Ackbar's successor, Jehan Guire, the war was faintly carried on, the empire being disturbed by his rebellious son Shah Jehan, and his councils distracted by the influence of his mistress Noor Jehan. In this monarch's reign sir Thomas Roe, the first British ambassador to the court of Hindostan, arrived. Jehan Guire died in 1627, and was succeeded by his son Shah Jehan, who pushed the conquest of the Deccan with vigour, but in so destructive a manner that most of the princes submitted. A war next broke out with the Portuguese, which ended in their expulsion from Hoogly.

Shah Jehan was a debauched prince; and his rebellion against his father was retaliated by that of his son Aurungzebe, who dethroned him, disguising his ambition under the mask of religion, and committing the greatest crimes under that pretence. He engaged in a war with his brothers Morad and Dara, whom he defeated and put to death, and then pretended to lament their misfortune. He, however, treated his father with tenderness till his death in 1666. From 1660, when Aurungzebe attained full possession of the throne, till 1678, a profound tranquillity prevailed throughout the empire; but from a jealousy of Sevagee, the founder of the Mahratta state, he undertook the conquest of the Deccan; and having quelled a rebellion of the Patans beyond the Indus, he persecuted the Hindoos so severely, that the Rajpoot tribes in Ajimere commenced a war against him.

At his death in 1707, his empire extended from 10° to 35° latitudes, and nearly as many degrees in longitude. 'His revenue,' says major Rennel, 'exceeded 35,000,000*l.* sterling, in a country where provisions are about four times as cheap as in England. But so weighty a sceptre could be wielded only by a hand like Aurungzebe's; and, accordingly, in fifty years after his death, a succession of weak princes and wicked ministers reduced this astonishing empire to nothing.'

He left four sons; Mausum, Azem, Kaum-Bush, and Ackbar. This last had rebelled against his father, and been obliged to fly to Persia thirty years before. A civil war commenced between Mausum and Azem; and a decisive battle was fought, wherein 300,000 men were engaged on each side, and Azem was defeated and killed. Mausum then assumed the title of Bahader Shah, and, during his short reign of five years, gave proofs of considerable abilities. He defeated and killed his brother Kaum-Bush; after which he reduced the Sikhs, a new set of religionists, who, in the reign of Shah Jehan, had silently established themselves along the eastern mountains, and had now taken up arms in Lahore, ravaging the country to the banks of the Jumnah.

About this time the English East India Company obtained the famous firman, or grant, by which their goods of export and import were exempted from duties. Furroksere was deposed and murdered by the brothers Houssein and Abdoollah, who set up another emperor, whom they also deposed and murdered in the same year; and thus, in eleven years after Aurungzebe's death, eleven of his posterity, who had either possessed or been competitors for the throne, were exterminated; and the government declined so rapidly that the empire seemed ready to fall to pieces.

In 1718 the two brothers raised to the throne Mohammed Shah, the grandson of Bahader; who, warned by the fate of his predecessors, soon rid himself of these two powerful subjects, though at the expense of a civil war. But new enemies started up. Nizam Al Mulck, viceroy of the Deccan, in 1722, had been offered the place of vizier, or prime minister, but did not accept it. Independence was his aim, and the increasing power of the Mahrattas furnished him with a pretence for augmenting his army. Persuaded that he had a party at court, he, in 1738, came thither, with a great body of armed followers; but, finding that the interest of the emperor was still too powerful for him, he invited the famous Persian usurper, Nadir Shah, or Kouli Khan, to invade Hindostan.

This invitation was readily accepted, and Nadir entered the country without opposition; yet, when far advanced into Hindostan, he considered the issue of matters to be so uncertain, that he offered to evacuate the country and retire for fifty lacs of rupees, about 500,000*l.* sterling. The intrigues of the Nizam and his party hindered the emperor from complying with this demand; instead of which he threw himself upon the usurper's mercy, who then took possession of Delhi, and demanded a ransom of 30,000,000*l.* sterling. After a conference with the emperor, Nadir seized upon 200 cannon, with some treasure and jewels, which he sent off to Candahar. He then marched back to Delhi, where a commotion arose about the price of corn. While Nadir endeavoured to quell it, a shot was fired at him, and narrowly missed him; upon which the barbarian ordered a general massacre of the inhabitants, and slaughtered 120,000, or, according to some, 150,000 persons. This was followed by a seizure of all the jewels, plate, &c., which

could be found; besides exacting the 30,000,000*l.*, which was done with the utmost rigour.

In the midst of these scenes Nadir caused the marriage of his son to be celebrated with a grand-daughter of Aurungzebe, and then took leave of the emperor with professions of friendship, on the 6th of May 1739. He is said to have carried off goods and treasure to the value of 135,000,000*l.* sterling. Mohammed had also ceded to him all the provinces of Hindostan west of the Indus.

About the same time the Rohillas, a tribe from the mountains between India and Persia, erected an independent state on the east of the Ganges, eighty miles from Delhi. The empire seemed now to be running fast to its dissolution. Nadir Shah being murdered, Abdallah, one of his generals, seized on the east part of Persia, and the adjacent Indian provinces which Mohammed Shah had ceded to Nadir, and formed them into the kingdom of Kandahar.

In 1739 Mohammed Shah died, and was succeeded by his son Ahmed; during whose reign, which lasted only six years, the division of the remainder of the empire took place: and nothing remained to the family of Tamerlane but a small tract of territory round Delhi.

In 1748 the Nizam Al Mulck died, at the age of 104, and was succeeded by his son Nazir Jung, to the prejudice of his elder brother Gazi, vizier to the nominal emperor. The contest that followed on this occasion, for the throne of the Deccan and the nabobship of Arcot, first engaged the British and French to act as auxiliaries on opposite sides. Immediately after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, the French commandant, M. Dupleix, began to sow dissension among the nabobs, who had by this time usurped the sovereignty of the country.

On this occasion Mr. (afterwards lord) Clive first appeared in a military capacity. He had been employed before as a writer, but seemed very little qualified for that department of civil life. He now marched towards Arcot at the head of 210 Europeans and 500 sepoys; and in his first expedition displayed the qualities of a great commander. His movements were conducted with such secrecy and despatch, that he made himself master of the enemy's capital before they knew of his march; and gained the affections of the people by his generosity, in affording protection without ransom. In a short time, however, he found himself invested in Fort St. David's by Rajah Saib, son to Chunda Saib, an Indian chief, pretender to the nabobship of Arcot, at the head of a numerous army; the operations of the siege being conducted by European engineers. But Mr. Clive, having intelligence of the intended attack, defended himself with such vigour, that the assailants were everywhere repulsed with loss, and obliged precipitately to raise the siege. He then marched in quest of the enemy; and, having overtaken them in the plains of Arani, attacked and entirely defeated them. This victory was followed by the surrender of the forts of Timery, Conjaveram, and Arani; after which, he returned in triumph to Fort St. David's. In the beginning of 1752, he marched towards Madras, where he was reinforced by a small body of troops from Bengal. Though the whole did not exceed 300 Europeans, with as many natives as were sufficient to give the appearance of an army, he boldly proceeded to a place called Koveripank, about fifteen miles from Arcot, where the enemy lay to the number of 1,500 sepoys, 1,700 horse, with 150 Europeans, and eight pieces of cannon. Victory was long doubtful, until Mr. Clive having sent round a detachment to fall upon the rear of the enemy, while the English attacked the entrenchments in front with their bayonets, a general confusion ensued, the enemy was routed with considerable slaughter, and only saved from total destruction by the darkness of the night. The French to a man threw down their arms on this occasion, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war; all the baggage and cannon falling at the same time into the hands of the victors.

M. Dupleix, mortified at this bad success, proclaimed rajah Saib, son of Chunda Saib, nabob of Arcot; and afterwards produced forged commissions from the Great Mogul, appointing him governor of all the Carnatic from the Kristnah to the sea. To carry on this deception, a messenger pretended to come from Delhi, and was received with all the pomp of an ambassador from the Great Mogul. Dupleix, mounted on an elephant and preceded by music and dancing women, after the oriental fashion, received his commission from the hands of this impostor; after which he affected the state of an eastern prince; kept his durbas at court, appeared sitting cross-legged on a sofa, and received presents as sovereign of the country, from his own council as well from the natives. Thus the forces of the English and French East India Companies were engaged in a course of hostilities, under the title of auxiliaries to the contending parties at a time when no war existed between the two nations.

Next year both parties received considerable reinforcements; the English by the arrival of admiral Watson with a squadron of ships of war, having on board a regiment commanded by colonel Aldercroon; and the French by M. Gadeheu, commissary and governor-general of all their settlements, on whose arrival M. Dupleix departed for Europe; and a provisional treaty and truce were concluded, on condition that neither of the two companies should for the future interfere in any of the differences that might take place in the country.

Matters, however, did not long continue in a state of tranquillity. Early in 1755 it appeared that the French were endeavouring to get possession of all the Deccan. M. Bussy, the successor of Dupleix, demanded the fortress of Golconda from Salabat Zing; and M. Leyrit encouraged the governor who rented Velu to take up arms against the nabob. He even sent 300 French and as many sepoys from Pondicherry to support this rebel, and oppose the English

employed by the nabob to collect his revenues from the tributary princes.

Aliverdi Khan, an able and prudent subahdar, who had for fifteen years been nabob of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, having died in 1756, Surajah Dowla succeeded to the nabobship. He was congratulated on his accession by Mr. Drake, the English president at Calcutta, and readily promised protection to his countrymen; but he soon after took offence at the imprisonment of Omichund, an eminent Gentoo merchant who had lived several years under the protection of the English government. Of this circumstance, however, Surajah did not directly complain; but founded his pretence of war upon the conduct of the English in repairing the fortifications of Calcutta; which indeed was absolutely necessary, on account of the great probability of a war with the French. The nabob, however, threatened an attack if the works were not instantly demolished. With this requisition the president and council pretended to comply; but they nevertheless went on with them. Surajah Dowla took the field on the 30th of May 1756, with an army of 40,000 foot, 30,000 horse, and 400 elephants; and on the 2nd of June, detached 20,000 men to invest the fort at Cassumbaza, a large town on an island formed by the west branch of the Ganges. This fort was regularly built, with sixty cannon, and defended by 300 men, principally sepoys. The nabob pretending a desire to treat, Mr. Watts, the chief of the factory, was persuaded to put himself in his power; which he had no sooner done than he was made a close prisoner, along with Mr. Batson, a surgeon, who accompanied him. The two prisoners were treated with great indignity, and threatened with death: but two of the council who had been sent for by the tyrant's command were sent back again, with orders to persuade the people of the factory to surrender at discretion. This proposal met with great opposition; but was at last complied with, though very little to the advantage of the prisoners; for they were not only deprived of everything they possessed, but stripped almost naked, and sent to Hoogly, where they were closely confined. The nabob, encouraged by this success, marched directly to Calcutta, which he invested on the 15th.

It was impossible that the garrison could long defend themselves against the great force brought against it; little or no attempt was therefore made at resistance: the fort was consequently soon taken, and the effects of the factory destroyed. Many of the English escaped in boats and ships down the river, but many were taken; of these, 146 were confined for the night in a room twenty feet square, named the Black Hole, and which the English had made for a place of confinement. The dreadful heat and want of air quickly deprived some of existence; others lost their reason, and expired raving mad; their entreaties and offers of money to their guards to give them water, or to remove them, were mocked at or disregarded; and when the door of the dungeon was opened next morning, only twenty-three were taken out alive. Having plundered the town, Surajah Dowla departed, leaving in it a garrison of 3,000 men.

The news of this disaster put an end to the expedition projected against M. Bussy; and colonel Clive was instantly despatched to Bengal with 400 Europeans and 1,000 sepoys, on board of the fleet commanded by admiral Watson. They did not arrive till the 15th of December at a village called Fulta, situated on a branch of the Ganges, where the inhabitants of Calcutta had taken refuge after their misfortune. Their first operations were against the forts of Busbudgia, Tanna, Fort William, and Calcutta, now in the hands of the enemy. All these were reduced almost as soon as they approached them. Hoogly, the place of rendezvous for all nations who traded to Bengal (its warehouses and shops being always filled with the richest merchandise of the country), was likewise reduced and destroyed, with the granaries and storehouses of salt on each side of the river. This proved very detrimental to the nabob, by depriving him of the means of subsistence for his army.

Surajah Dowla, enraged at the success of the English, now seemed determined to crush them at once by a general engagement. From this, however, he was intimidated by a successful attack on his camp, which induced him to conclude a treaty, on the 9th of February 1757, on the following conditions:—1. That the privileges granted to the English by the Mogul should not be disputed:—2. That all goods with English orders should pass by land or water, free of any tax:—3. All the company's factories which had been seized by the nabob should be restored; and the goods, money, and effects accounted for:—4. That the English should have liberty to fortify Calcutta: and 5. To coin their own gold and silver.

As intelligence was now received of a war between France and England, an attack was meditated on Chandernagore. It remained, therefore, only to obtain the consent of the nabob; but, in ten days after the conclusion of the treaty, he sent a letter to admiral Watson, complaining of his intention, and surmising that the English designed to turn their arms against him as soon as they made themselves masters of Chandernagore. This was strenuously denied by the admiral; and a number of letters passed, in which the latter made use of expressions which were supposed to imply a tacit consent that Chandernagore should be attacked. An attack was therefore made, and it soon capitulated. This intelligence, however, seemed to be by no means agreeable to Surajah Dowla. He pretended displeasure on account of the English infringing the treaties, and complained that they had ravaged some parts of his dominions. This was denied by the admiral; but from this time both parties made preparations for war. The nabob returned no answer till the 13th of June, when he sent a declaration of war. The English council at Calcutta now resolved on the deposition of the nabob*

which at this time appeared practicable, by supporting the pretensions of Meer Jaffier Ali Khan, who had entered into a conspiracy against him. Meer Jaffier had married the sister of Aliverdi Khan, the predecessor of Surajah; and was now supported in his pretensions by the general of the horse, and by Jugget Seet, the nabob's banker, the richest merchant in all India.

Colonel Clive began his march against Surajah Dowla on the 13th of June. The decisive action at Plassey followed (June 23), in which the treachery of Meer Jaffier, who commanded part of the nabob's troops, and stood neuter during the engagement, rendered the victory easy. At daybreak the nabob's army of 15,000 horse and 15,000 foot advanced to attack the English. Clive's troops were posted in a grove defended by mud-banks. After cannonading them till noon, the enemy retired to their fortified camp; and shortly after, Clive stormed an angle of it, put them to the rout, and pursued them for a space of six miles. The unfortunate nabob fled to his capital, but left it the following evening disguised like a fakir, with only two attendants. By these he appears to have been abandoned and even robbed; for on the 3rd of July he was found wandering forsaken and almost naked on the road to Patna. Next day he was brought back to Muxadabad, and a few hours after privately beheaded by Meer Jaffier's eldest son.

Meer Jaffier and his English allies now took possession of the capital in triumph. On the 29th of June, colonel Clive went to the palace, and, in presence of the rajahs and grandees of the court, solemnly handed him to the musnud (or carpet) and throne of state, where he was unanimously saluted subahdar, or nabob, and received the submission of all present. While these transactions were going forward, the utmost efforts were used to expel the French entirely from Bengal. It had all along, indeed, been the opinion of Clive that it was impossible for the French and the English to coexist in India.

Both parties now received considerable reinforcements from Europe; admiral Pocock being joined on the 24th of March by commodore Stevens with a squadron of five men-of-war and two frigates. The British admiral went in quest of the French fleet, and an engagement took place, in which the French were defeated with the loss of 600 killed and a great number wounded.

In the treaty concluded by Clive with the new subahdar, it was stipulated that one hundred lacs of rupees should be paid to the East India Company for their losses and the expenses of the campaign, with compensation to all the sufferers at the taking of Calcutta: the company was also to have the zemindary (or right of farming the produce of the soil claimed by the crown) of a tract of country to the south of that city. The subahdar was also profuse in his donations to those to whom he was indebted for his throne. His gifts to Clive amounted to 180,000*l.*; and however much the latter may have been censured at the time for receiving a reward from the subahdar, he was justified by the usages of Asia, and there seems to be no reason why he should refuse a gift from the prince whom he had so greatly benefited.

The remainder of the year 1759 proved entirely favourable to the British arms. D'Ache, the French admiral, who had been very roughly handled by admiral Pocock on the 3rd of August 1758, having refitted his fleet, and being reinforced by three men-of-war at the islands of Mauritius and Bourbon, now ventured once more to face his antagonist. A third battle ensued on the 10th of September 1759, when the French, notwithstanding their superiority both in number of ships and weight of metal, were obliged to retreat with considerable loss, having 1,500 men killed and wounded, while those on board the English fleet did not exceed 570. By the 17th of October the British fleet was completely refitted; and admiral Pocock, having been joined by a reinforcement of four men-of-war, soon after returned to England. All this time the unfortunate general Lally had been employed in unsuccessful endeavours to retrieve the affairs of his countrymen; but his fate was at last decided by laying siege to Wandewash, which had lately been taken by colonel Coote. The advantage in number was entirely in favour of the French general; the British army consisting only of 1,700 Europeans, including artillery and cavalry, while the French amounted to 2,200 Europeans. The auxiliaries on the English side were 3,000 black troops, while those of the French amounted to 10,000 black troops and 300 Caffres; nor was the difference less in proportion in the artillery, the English bringing into the field only fourteen pieces of cannon, and one howitzer, while the French had twenty five pieces in the field and five on their batteries against the fort. The battle began at noon (Jan. 22, 1760), and in three hours the whole French army fled towards their camp; but quitted it on finding themselves pursued by the English, who took all their cannon except three small pieces. They collected themselves under the walls of Cheltaput, about eighteen miles from the field of battle, and soon after retired to Pondicherry.

Colonel Coote now caused the country to be wasted to the very gates of this fortress, by way of retaliation for what the French had done in the neighbourhood of Madras. He then set about the siege of Cheltaput, which surrendered in one day; a considerable detachment of the enemy was intercepted by captain Smith; the fort of Timmery was reduced by major Monson, and the city of Arcot by captain Wood. This last conquest enabled the British to restore the nabob to his dominions, of which he had been deprived by the French, and it greatly weakened both the French force and interest in India. M. Lally, in the meantime, had recalled his forces from Syringham, by which means he augmented his army with 500 Europeans. These were now shut up in Pondicherry, which was become the last hope of the French in India. To complete their misfortunes, ad-

miral Cornish arrived at Madras with six men-of-war; and, as the French had now no fleet in these parts, the admiral readily engaged to cooperate with the land forces. The consequence was the reduction of Carical, Chellambrum, and Verdachellum, by a strong detachment under major Monson; while colonel Coote reduced Permacoil, Almamverpa, and Waldour. He was thus at last enabled to lay siege to Pondicherry itself; and the place capitulated on the 15th of January 1761, by which an end was put to the power of the French in this part of the world.

While the British were thus employed, Meer Jaffier, the nabob of Bengal, who had been raised to that dignity by the ruin of Surajah Dowla, found himself in a very disagreeable situation. The treasure of the late nabob had been valued at sixty-four crore of rupees (about 80,000,000*l.* sterling), and in expectation of this sum, Meer Jaffier had submitted to the exactions of the English. On his accession to the government, however, the treasure of which he became master fell so much short of expectation, that he could not fulfil his engagements to them, and was reduced to the extremity of mortgaging his revenues. In this dilemma his grandees became factious and discontented, his army mutinous for want of pay, and himself odious to his subjects. To this it may be added, that Mr. Vansittart, the successor of Clive, who knew but little of the merits of the respective parties, was willing to conclude a treaty with Cossim Ali, the nabob's son-in-law, for his dethronement; by which the provinces of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong were to be made over to the company, and large rewards given to the members of council.

Meer Cossim was accordingly raised to the musnud; and the old nabob was hurried into a boat with a few of his domestics and necessaries, and sent away to Calcutta in a manner wholly unworthy of the high rank he so lately held. So unblushingly, indeed, was the whole of this affair conducted, that the servants of the company, who were the projectors of the revolution, made no secret that there was a present promised them of twenty lacs of rupees from Cossim, who was desirous of making the first act of his power the assassination of Jaffier; and was very much displeased when he found that the English intended giving him protection at Calcutta.

It could scarcely be supposed that Meer Cossim, raised to the nabobship in this manner, would be more faithful to the English than Meer Jaffier had been. Nothing advantageous to the interests of the company could indeed be reasonably expected from such a revolution. No successor of Meer Jaffier could be more entirely in subjection than the late nabob, from his natural imbecility, had been. This last consideration had induced many of the council at first to oppose the revolution; and indeed the only plausible pretence for it was, that the administration of Meer Jaffier was so very weak, that, unless he was aided and even controlled by some persons of ability, he himself must soon be ruined, and very probably the interests of the company along with him. Meer Cossim, however, was a man of a very different disposition from his father-in-law. As he knew that he had not been served by the English out of friendship, so he did not think of making any return out of gratitude; but, instead of this, considered only how he could most easily break with such troublesome allies. For a while, however, it was necessary for him to take all the advantage he could of his alliance with them. By their assistance he cleared his dominions of invaders, and strengthened his frontiers, and he reduced the rajahs who had rebelled against his predecessor, obliging them to pay the usual tribute; by which means he repaired his finances, and thereby secured the fidelity of his troops.

Having thus, by the assistance of the English, brought his government into subjection, he took the most effectual means of securing himself against their power. As the vicinity of his capital Muxadabad to Calcutta gave the English factory there an opportunity of inspecting his actions, and interrupting his designs when they thought proper, he took up his residence at Mongheer, a place 200 miles farther up the Ganges, which he fortified in the best and most expeditious manner. Sensible of the advantages of the European discipline, he now resolved to new model his army. For this purpose he collected all the Armenian, Persian, Tartar, and other soldiers of fortune, whose military characters might serve to raise the spirits of his Indian forces, and abate their natural timidity. He also collected all the wandering Europeans who had borne arms, and the sepoys who had been dismissed from the English service, and distributed them among his troops. He changed the fashion of the Indian matchlocks to muskets, and made many excellent improvements in the discipline of his army. But it was soon discovered that all the pains taken by Meer Cossim to discipline his troops had not rendered them able to cope with the Europeans. Several acts of treacherous hostility on his part were followed by a formal declaration of war; and several engagements took place, in all of which the British army proved victorious, and Cossim's army retreated. His active enemy accordingly penetrated into the heart of his territories, crossed the numerous branches of the Ganges, and traversed morasses and forests in search of the native foe. At length the two armies met on the banks of a river called Numas Nullas, Aug. 2, 1763. Cossim had chosen his post with great judgement, and his forces had much of the appearance of a European army, not only in their arms and accoutrements, but in their division into brigades, and even in their clothing. The battle was more obstinate than usual, being continued for four hours: but though the Indian army consisted of no fewer than 20,000 horse and 8,000 foot, the English proved in the end victorious, and the enemy were obliged to quit the field with the loss of all their cannon.

It is impossible for us to pursue this

history of Anglo-Indian warfare into all its details. Our readers must, therefore, be content with rapid descriptions or passing remarks, as may happen, in the narration of events sufficiently important in themselves to require a lengthened notice in works of magnitude wholly devoted to the subject. We pass on, then, by observing that Meer Cossim was subdued and deposed; and that Meer Jaffier was once more seated on the musnud. His reign was, however, very short; and on his death the council of Calcutta raised to it his son, Nujum-ud-Dowla, making him pay, as usual, a large sum for his elevation.

The high character which lord Clive had already gained in the east justly marked him out for the government of India; and on the 3rd of May 1765, he landed, with full powers as commander-in-chief, president, and governor of Bengal. He remained in India about two years, during which period he effected the most desirable reformations in both the civil and military departments.

Sujah-ad-Dowla, subahdar of Oude, and the nominal emperor of Delhi, Shah Alem II., having assisted Meer Cossim, the English marched against them. Allahabad and Lucknow were taken. The nabob was glad to purchase peace by paying the expenses of the war; and the emperor conferred upon the English the revenues of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and his imperial confirmation of all the territories conquered by them within the nominal extent of the Mogul empire. The East India Company had now acquired territory equal in extent to the most flourishing kingdom of Europe; and from this date, A.D. 1765, commences the recognised sovereignty of the English in Hindostan. It is worthy of notice that, though actually independent, the great subahdars continued to the last moment of the empire to solicit imperial firmans or patents from the court of Delhi, confirming them in the power they already possessed.

In the south of India, besides the real authority in the Carnatic, the English had received the northern circars in grant from the Nizam, on condition of furnishing a body of troops in time of war. This alliance involved them in a series of contests with Hyder Ali, who had made himself sultan of the Hindû state of Mysore.

The political importance acquired by the East India Company induced the government of Great Britain to claim a share in the administration of the Indian territories; and in 1773 it was determined in parliament, that all civil and military correspondence should be submitted to the king's ministers; that a supreme court of judicature should be sent out from England; and that the three presidencies should be subject to a governor-general and council, the former to be approved of by the king.

Warren Hastings, the first governor-general, found the company's finances in India much embarrassed, and a general confederation against the English in progress amongst the native powers. Notwithstanding violent opposition in his council, he conducted the government through its difficulties, repulsed Hyder, humbled the Mahrattas, and obtained from Asef-ad-Dowla, the subahdar of Oude, the zemindary of Benares. On his return to England, Warren Hastings was impeached by the house of commons for corruption and oppression, and tried before the house of lords. The trial, owing to frequent interruptions, was protracted for seven years, at the end of which he was honourably acquitted. Those proceedings, however, are not necessary to be here dwelt upon, as they belong more especially to the parliamentary history of England. During his twelve years' government in India, Warren Hastings had raised the revenue to double its previous amount; but he had added twelve millions and a half to the debt of the Company.

Lord Cornwallis succeeded as governor-general in 1786. The relations between the British government and those of Lucknow and Hyderabad were revised and strengthened; and in a war with Tippoo Saib, who had succeeded Hyder in the principality of Mysore, lord Cornwallis defeated his armies, and besieged his capital, Seringapatam. The sultan, to obtain peace, gave up considerable territory to the British. It was under the administration of lord Cornwallis, who was possessed of first-rate qualities for this office, that the principal judicial and revenue regulations were enacted, particularly the perpetual settlement of the revenue of Bengal with the zemindars.

In 1793 lord Cornwallis returned to England, and was succeeded by sir John Shore; but the pacific system of policy followed by him forfeited that consideration which the British government held in his predecessor's time among the native states. In 1798 he was succeeded by lord Mornington, afterwards marquis of Wellesley.

Tippoo had greatly augmented his army, and many severe battles had been fought between him and the British, but without humbling his tone, or much diminishing his power. For several years, in fact, the affairs of India had continued in a state of doubtful tranquillity. The jealousy of the British was at length justly aroused by a proclamation of the French governor of the isle of France, in 1798, which openly mentioned an alliance formed between Tippoo and the French republic, for the destruction of the British power in India. The governor-general, on this, demanded an explanation of him, which being evasive and evidently intended to procrastinate our military operations, the reduction of the fort of Seringapatam was immediately resolved on.

After having been repulsed, with considerable loss, in an attack of the Bombay army under general Stuart, Tippoo Saib retreated to Seringapatam. The main army, under general Harris, consisted of 31,000 men, besides the nizam's cavalry, all completely equipped: that under general Stuart was equally efficient. On the 3rd of April the army came within sight of Se-

ringapatam, took its position on the 5th, and on the 6th the principal outposts were in possession of the British. Several letters passed, and on the 20th general Harris received an overture of peace from Tippoo, which he answered, on the 22nd, with a draft of preliminaries; but the terms were too severe for the enemy to accept. On the 22nd of May, therefore, the British batteries began to open, and in the course of the day a breach was made in the fausse-bray wall; the main rampart was shattered; and, to complete the misfortune of the besieged, a shot having struck their magazine, it blew up with a dreadful explosion. The breach being thought practicable, on the night of the 4th of May 4,000 men were stationed in the trenches before daybreak. The assault was led on by general Baird, and began at one o'clock. In six minutes the forlorn hope had reached the summit of the breach, where the British colours were instantly planted. In a few minutes, the breach, which was 100 feet wide, was crowded with men. After a short conflict the panic became general in the fort; thousands quitted it, and others laid down their arms. A flag of truce was soon after sent to the palace of the sultan, offering protection to him and his friends upon surrendering unconditionally. The young prince surrendered to general Baird, and the body of Tippoo was afterwards found in the gateway of the fort, lying among heaps of slain, covered with wounds.

His dominions were now partitioned among his conquerors, and the Mahratttas were admitted to a share, from motives of policy, though they had taken no part in the war. A descendant of the ancient rajahs of Mysore, about five years old, was sought out and placed on the throne with great ceremony, under certain conditions; and the sons and relations of Tippoo were removed to the Carnatic. Thus terminated one of the most important wars in which the Anglo-Indians had been ever engaged; and for some time at least it secured them from the reappearance of a formidable enemy. A.D. 1799.

As the conquests of Tippoo and Hyder were retained by the British, and a subsidiary treaty had been formed with the nizam, by which the defence of his dominions was undertaken by them upon his providing for the expense, the greater part of the Deccan was now, directly or indirectly, subject to their authority.

Arrangements were now concluded with the nabob of Oude, by which the lower part of the Douab and other countries were ceded to the British for the support of a subsidiary force. Under these transactions followed a war with the Mahratta chiefs, Scindia, and Ragoji Bhosla, rajah of Berar, whose armies were defeated in the south by sir Arthur Wellesley, brother of the governor-general, and in the north by lord Lake; and the upper part of the Douab, with Delhi and Agra, were taken possession of in the north; whilst in the south, Cuttack on the eastern, and part of Guzerat on the western coast, were annexed to the British dominions. A war with Holkar, another Mahratta prince, followed. He made a rapid incursion into the Douab, and committed some ravages; but was pursued by lord Lake to the Sikh country, and all his territories occupied by a British force. The whole, however, was restored to him at the peace.

Such was the situation of British India at the period of the marquis of Wellesley's return to Europe. He had conducted our affairs in this quarter of the globe with an oriental magnificence of design, and perhaps of expenditure: but he seems fairly to claim the merit of having crushed in a most masterly manner the alarming combinations of Mahratta and French enmity, and entirely to have laid the basis of the measures which were successfully followed out by lord Cornwallis.

In 1805 lord Wellesley was succeeded by lord Cornwallis, again appointed governor general. His policy was of a pacific character; and upon his death, soon after his arrival in India, it was adopted by his temporary successor, sir George Barlow.

Lord Minto arrived in India in 1807. His attention was chiefly directed to the subjugation of the remaining possessions of the French in the east; and the isle of France and Mauritius, and the large island of Java, were subdued by armaments fitted out in India.

At the end of 1813 the marquis of Hastings arrived as governor-general. The determination of his predecessors to abstain from interference with the native states had been attended with deplorable dissensions amongst themselves, and had encouraged them to commit outrages on the British dominions, the repression of which soon led to active warfare. On the northern frontier the conduct of the Goorkha government of Nepaul having provoked hostilities, the Himalaya was traversed by the British armies, and an extensive tract of mountain country permanently annexed to the state.

The aggressions of the Pindarees, a set of freebooters, secretly supported by the Mahratta princes, were next punished by the annihilation of their hordes. In 1814 these bands comprised about 40,000 horse, who subsisted wholly on plunder. In the course of the operations against them, the peishwa and the rajah of Nagpore attempted, by treachery and murder, to rid themselves of British control; and hostilities ensued, which placed the territories and persons of both princes in the hands of their enemies, A.D. 1818. The Pindarees were at first bodies of mercenary horse, serving different princes for hire during war, and in time of peace subsisting upon plunder. Lands along the Nerbuddah had been assigned to some of their leaders by the princes of Malwa; and from hence they occasionally made incursions into the British provinces, devastating the country in the most ferocious manner, and disappearing before a force could be assembled against them. It was resolved, however, in the year 1817, to hunt them into their native holds, and either to exterminate them, or to drive them from the position which they occupied, in the very centre of

India. By the end of the rainy season of that year, a numerous army took the field for this purpose. The plan was, that the armies of the different presidencies should advance southward, and gradually converging to a common centre, hem in, on every side, the territory of the robbers. This was at length effected; the greater part of them being destroyed, and the rest humbled to complete submission.

Upon the reestablishment of peace, Puna, and part of the Mahratta territories, were retained and the rest restored to the rajah of Satara. Appa Saib, the rajah of Nagpore, who had escaped from confinement, was deposed, and a grandson of the former rajah elevated on the throne. Holkar, a youth, was taken under the British protection, which was also extended to the Rajput princes. By these arrangements the whole of Hindostan was brought under the power or control of the British government.

In 1823 the marquis of Hastings quitted his government, leaving British India in a proud and prosperous condition. At the end of the same year lord Amherst arrived from England. In 1824 war broke out with the Burmese, who had for many years given much trouble on the eastern frontier. An expedition was sent to Rangoon, which, in the second year of hostilities, advanced nearly to Ava, the capital; and the Burman government was glad to purchase peace in 1826 by the cession of Assam, Aracan, and the Tenasserim provinces. The beginning of the same year was signalised by the capture of Bhurtpore, a strong fortress in upper India.

The events which took place between this time and the outbreak of the great Indian mutiny of 1857 will be found recorded in the *History of England*. But the narrative of that memorable revolt cannot be well given except in the history of that country which it proposed to deliver from British supremacy.

On the 29th of February 1856 Lord Canning arrived in Calcutta, to succeed lord Dalhousie as governor-general of India. Almost his first act was to decree the annexation of the kingdom of Oude to the East Indian territories. This step was justified by the continued failure or refusal of the king of Oude to introduce and maintain a fitting administration of justice throughout the country, which was described as in a state of utter misery without remedy or hope of relief.

Whether this annexation in any way hastened the outbreak of that terrible mutiny which all but overthrew British dominion in India, it is not easy to say. A number of causes combined to bring out discontent and suspicions which had long been smouldering; but, although it gave to the mutiny a more frightful appearance at the time, it was a fortunate thing for the British government that it was rather a military than a civil movement. If the people here and there took active part with the revolted sepoys, there was none of that steady cooperation which shows that a nation throws its heart into an enterprise; and the very absence of this feeling deprived the struggle of any redeeming features which generally soften the warfare of a subject population against rulers whose yoke they are seeking to throw off. Misrepresentation and falsehood were the great promoters of this movement. An impression had gone forth, and many took diligent care to keep it up, that the British government intended to force Christianity on all the inhabitants of India, that it purposed studiously to insult the prejudices of caste and the traditions of Mahomedanism and Brahminism by enforcing the use of cartridges greased with the fat of pigs and cows. But throughout the war it was evident that the fiercer antagonism came from the Mahomedans, who dreamed of reviving once more the worn-out empire of the Great Mogul. Whether or not they put faith in the absurd lies which were spread abroad against the English, there can be little doubt that the Hindu sepoys really put no faith in them, and in many instances reluctantly joined a movement from which it was scarcely in their power to keep themselves free. That the sepoy when once committed to resistance belied all his long-sustained reputation for gentleness and loyalty, and showed himself vindictive and cruel, will cause no surprise to those who have made themselves well acquainted with oriental character, and well considered all the circumstances of his condition. Early in February 1857 it was found that great uneasiness prevailed in the minds of the sepoys at Barrackpore on the subject of the cartridges used for the Enfield rifles. On the 6th, a sepoy divulged a plot to burn the bungalows and to seize fort William, or, failing that, the treasury at Calcutta. General Harvey allayed the alarm at Barrackpore for the time; but not long afterwards the troops at Berhampore refused to use the cartridges, and an order was issued that the regiment should be disbanded; and this was carried out on the last day of March. But two days before this time a sepoy, drunk with bhang, had at the same place fired at lieutenant Baugh and shot his horse. The man was caught, tried, and sentenced to death: but he was not hanged till the 21st of April, as the sentence needed the confirmation of the commander-in-chief, who was at Simla. When brought out to execution, he confessed his guilt and warned his comrades against listening to and being led astray by bad advice. But on further enquiry it was thought advisable to disband the regiment to which he belonged.

During the month of March, much attention was roused by the transmission of *chupattics*, or small unleavened cakes, which with wonderful rapidity were sent about by the *chowkeydars* or native policemen. But as the same thing, when done a few years before, had been followed by no serious consequences, it caused some curious speculation, but no very great anxiety. Early in May, eighty-five troopers were sentenced at Meerut (thirty-eight miles distant from Delhi) to ten years' imprisonment for refusing to fire with the Enfield cartridges. All remained quiet till the evening of the following day, when the

native troops rose in mutiny, fired on their officers, and broke open the gaol. A crowd of prisoners were set free, and these with the soldiers attacked every European, and murdered all whom they could find, whether women or children. The English soldiers were preparing for 'Church parade;' they immediately marched to the lines, when the mutineers fled and took the road to Delhi. The night was dark, the station was blazing, and the English troops could not pursue them; but their escape lit up the flame of rebellion throughout India. Early on the following morning a party of horsemen were seen from the ramparts of Delhi riding furiously towards the town. They were the vanguard of the great army who flocked to Delhi, there to make a stand against the dominion of the foreigner. As soon as they had entered the Calcutta gate, they began to murder every European whom they met. On hearing the news, a native regiment was sent down to oppose them. The troopers murdered all the officers, and then shook hands with the sepoys. The residents then, so far as they were able, escaped to the Flagstaff Tower, still trusting in the fidelity of the native troops; but the hope was doomed to disappointment, and at length colonel Graves, the brigadier, advised all who could to make their escape. Many Europeans found their way or were taken to the Palace, but all were murdered, in the presence of the king and his sons. A few only, after facing incredible dangers and hardships, escaped beyond the reach of their enemies. It was plainly hopeless to hold the fortifications against the rebels, but it was resolved that they should not become possessed of the powder magazine; and lieut. Willoughby, with some others as heroic as himself, determined to sacrifice his own life to defeat the object of the mutineers. He was so severely injured by the explosion that he died a few days afterwards; lieut. Forrest and Rayner survived. General Anson, the commander-in-chief, was at this time at Simla for his health; on hearing of the mutiny he hastened towards Delhi, but was carried off by cholera at Kurnaul. His successor, general Reed, was far too ill to be fitted for the duties required of him, but on the 8th of June he reached the camp of sir Henry Bernard at Alleepore, which is one day's march from Delhi. Here he was joined by general Wilson; and the combined force carried the position of the enemy at Badulee Ke-Serai, where they divided and took two different roads, meeting again at Hindoo Rao's house, near the Morce gate of Delhi. Thus was commenced the siege whose victorious close dealt the death-blow to any hopes which the rebels might have of reestablishing the old Mogul supremacy in India. It is unnecessary to dwell at any length on the details of the outbreaks as they occurred at different places; but in justice it should be mentioned that these atrocities were not universal. At more than half the stations of revolt no general massacres were committed, and in some instances the sepoys, while joining in the mutiny, exerted themselves strenuously to secure the safety of their officers with their families. At Allahabad almost all the officers were murdered, and women and children killed with horrid cruelties; but colonel Neill arrived on the 11th of June, and inflicted a severe chastisement on the rebels. Officers, women, and children were indiscriminately murdered at Jhansi, in Bundelcund, to the south of the river Jumna; and martial law was proclaimed in the districts of Meerut, Moozuffurnuggur, Boolundshuhur, and the Delhi territory east of the Jumna. At Benares an outbreak was promptly repressed, and the place was not threatened again. All popular attempts at insurrections were sternly put down by colonel Neill. But the mutiny spread at Shahjehanpoor, Bareilly, and Mooradabad, and the revolted regiments hastened to join the insurgents at Delhi.

The first solid ground of hope for the British came from the country where it might have been thought that there would be the least reason for expecting it. Only a few years before, the people of the Punjaub were our most determined enemies; in the present struggle they were our most valuable allies, and fought throughout with the most implacable hostility against the sepoys. Early in May, sir John Lawrence, the chief commissioner of the Punjaub, found it prudent to disarm the sepoy regiments at Lahore; and this task was accomplished with consummate tact and promptitude. The most efficient aid was also given by the rajah of Puttee-ala (whose territory bordered on the district of Umballah), as well as by the rajah of Jheend. In Peshawur colonel Edwardes was strenuously aided by the native chiefs, who sent powerful levies to join in the siege of Delhi.

Still the mutiny of regiments went on at Jhelum, at Rawul Pindee and other places. At Sealkote, they broke out with great barbarity, but they soon underwent a terrible defeat at the hands of general Nicholson. At Gwalior, the troops of the Maharajah Scindia joined the mutineers, but the Maharajah himself opposed them resolutely and could not be driven from his resolution to protect the Europeans, and to give them all aid in their attempts to escape. To the reply that they were fighting for their *dun*, or faith, he retorted that robbery and murder were no part of religion, and that he could not join men who used such arms as these. But the flame was spreading far and wide. At Saugor, at Nusseerabad, at Neemuch, Agra and Dinapore, the same scenes of mutiny were repeated, and many acts of cruelty perpetrated. In Oude the mutiny was general. From Seetapore it spread to Shahjehanpoor and Fyzabad. At Lucknow the first attempts at revolt were promptly repressed by sir Henry Lawrence, who occupied himself busily in strengthening the fortifications to the utmost; but within a few weeks all the native forces had mutinied, and the Europeans were reduced to a state of siege.

But more than all others, the town of

Cawnpore is associated with the most frightful memories of the Indian mutiny. There the revolted sepoys joined the troops of Nana Sahib at Bithoor, who marched on Cawnpore, plundered the treasury and seized the magazine, which had not been blown up. The Europeans were within the entrenchments, which did not deserve the name of defences or fortifications; and their sufferings soon became intense. On the 24th of June Nana Sahib promised to allow them all to go in safety to Allahabad, if they would give up all the treasure and stores in the camp. This was finally agreed to, and the compact was ratified with a solemn oath by the Nana. On the 27th conveyances were sent to carry the women and children to the river side. When they reached it, the officers found the boats high up in the mud; and while they proceeded to get them clear of the bank, the sepoys opened fire, and very few indeed escaped the massacre. Those who were not killed were carried back to Cawnpore, where the men were shot, and the women and children were shut up in a building which had been used as an assembly-room.

General Havelock had now returned from the war in Persia; and he hastened with all speed to Allahabad, to organise the British force of 1,400 for the relief of Cawnpore. He encountered and defeated the enemy at Futtehpore; but before he could accomplish the purpose of his expedition, the nana had executed the most horrible atrocity which disgraced this fearful war. He ordered all the women and children to be murdered and their bodies thrown into a well. General Havelock said that he spoke without exaggeration in saying that the blood of these victims rose above the soles of his boots as he made his way to the scene of the butchery. He found Nana Sahib intrenched in a very strong position at Ahirwa, and utterly defeated his army. The next morning Nana Sahib blew up the magazine and evacuated Cawnpore. He did not attempt to make any stand at Bithoor, and the English took possession of his palace with twenty guns which he had left there. Leaving colonel Neill in command, general Havelock advanced to the relief of Lucknow. He engaged the enemy several times, and always with the same signal success: but with the forces at his disposal it was hopeless to attempt to reach Lucknow, and accordingly he awaited at Cawnpore the arrival of reinforcements under sir J. Outram. His troops were reduced to 700; and he wrote, stating as much, to colonel Inglis, who was commanding the garrison at Lucknow, and advising him to cut his way out, if possible. Colonel Inglis explained the impossibility of doing this with a number of helpless women and children, but said that they had provisions to last them till the 10th of September.

Meanwhile, the siege of Delhi was prosecuted with unabated vigour. In every sortie, the besieged were defeated, and sometimes with a fearful loss: but the fortifications resisted for many weeks the efforts of the besiegers, without sustaining much apparent injury. On the 17th of July, general Reed, from ill health, handed over the command to general Wilson, and on the 10th of August, brigadier-general Nicholson arrived, bringing with him a force of 2,500 Europeans and Sikhs; the numbers of the besiegers were thus raised to about 9,000, of whom one half were Europeans. An attempt of the besieged to start out of the city and attack the camp in the rear was frustrated, and early in September the position of the besiegers was materially improved by the arrival of a siege train from Meerut. On the 11th a terrific and incessant fire was commenced against the town; with the most determined bravery a party of officers and men blew open the Cashmere gate, almost at the muzzle of the enemy's guns; but some days yet passed before the whole line of outer defences was taken. The gate of the palace was at last blown in, and it was occupied by our troops on the 20th. On the day following, the aged king of Delhi, who had made his escape, was brought back a prisoner. His two sons were taken in the tomb of the sultan Humayun, and shot by captain Hodgson, who affirmed that he did so, as thinking that an attempt would be made to rescue the princes. Two other sons of the king were subsequently tried, condemned, and executed.

On the 16th of September, general Outram reached Cawnpore with the reinforcements for which general Havelock had been obliged to wait, and three days afterwards the relieving force crossed the Ganges. They had to encounter a fierce opposition under the most disadvantageous circumstances before they could reach the brave garrison who for so many weeks had kept a whole army at bay. During the siege sir Henry Lawrence had died from the effects of a wound inflicted by a shell which burst in the room where he was sitting; the buildings had been thoroughly riddled with shot, the sick and wounded were killed in the middle of rooms where it was thought that no shot could touch them. The garrison had to fight by night and by day, worn out with sickness and want of food, while the women and children were utterly prostrate from the misery and hardships which they were compelled to undergo. But with all this there was not only no complaining, but an indomitable resolution to take part in the defence, as far as their powers might enable them. Still when the relieving force had made its way to the residency, it was found impossible to convey the women and children to Cawnpore, without the greatest risk of being annihilated on the way: they determined therefore to wait till sir Colin Campbell should arrive with new troops from England. The first ship with troops left England on the 1st of July: but it was not till the 9th of November that sir Colin Campbell was able to march from Cawnpore to relieve the force at Lucknow. On the 16th this work was at length accomplished, but it yet required great skill to remove the sick and wounded without exposing them to the enemy's fire; and this was done by removing them quietly during the night, when by a furious fire in front, the enemy had been led to suppose

that an immediate attack was intended. On the 22nd of November general Havelock died of dysentery, after a career of unbroken victory, not less beloved for the goodness of his life than valued for his wisdom and bravery as a leader. Before the month ended, general Windham received a severe check near Cawnpore, and indeed ran the narrowest risk, not merely of being defeated, but of being cut to pieces by the enemy. Fortunately sir Colin Campbell arrived in time to prevent the catastrophe. He found Cawnpore completely in possession of the enemy, and he had first to provide for the passage of his sick and wounded by the bridge, which was the only means of crossing the Ganges. A constant fire was kept upon the rebels from the left bank till all had crossed, and at length on the 6th of December, a battle began, in which the naval brigade, under captain Peel, contributed greatly to secure the victory. General Grant was then sent with orders to destroy the buildings belonging to Nana Sahib at Bithoor, and falling in with the enemy at Ghat, a ferry across the Ganges, he defeated them without losing a single man.

Few things were more strange about this mutiny than the want of concert with which the regiments of sepoys seem to have acted. Not a few of them revolted when the rebellion was all but crushed, and when mutiny appeared the very height of childish absurdity. Thus the 34th N.I. at Chittagong, not far from Calcutta, chose the 18th of November for its outbreak. But the real danger was now past. The civil measures, taken by the government, if not so severe as the military, were on the whole not less judicious. In June, the ex-king of Oude and his vizier were arrested and imprisoned in fort William. The liberty of the Indian press was suspended for one year; and on the 31st of July, an order was issued regulating the punishment to be inflicted on the mutineers. This order was severely criticised, if not condemned as impracticable, by those who had to carry it out; but the cogency of its reasoning cannot be disputed. An extreme severity, 'after the requisite impression has been made on the rebellious and disorderly,' would, it affirmed, only 'exasperate the people, and would probably induce them to band together in large numbers for the protection of their lives, and with a view to retaliation,' while 'it would greatly add to the difficulties of settling the country hereafter.' Against the adverse criticism so called forth, the governor-general effectually defended himself by referring to instances in which the indiscriminate burning of villages was producing the worst effects on the agriculture of the country, and where the repression of this severity had been followed by the most encouraging results.

Thus in a few months the great centre of the rebellion had been destroyed, and this had been effected before the arrival of any of the troops who had been sent out from England, and solely by the forces organised in the north-western parts of India. The loss in revenue was estimated at nearly six millions, that from the plunder of stores and treasures at nearly three millions, yet the area of cultivation was probably nowhere diminished; in Bengal it had even increased before the end of the year. In the district between the Ganges and Jumna, which is known as the Doab, the mutiny had been practically suppressed, but Rohilcund on the north of the Ganges was still in possession of the enemy, who also held Calpee and cut off the communication between Agra and Allahabad. They were also still formidable in Bundelcund; but the whole of Oude had been in effect lost to us. All the defeated regiments were flying to Lucknow, determined there to make the last stand against the British power with all the resources of a large city, and aided by a fighting population who were animated by the strongest hatred of English rule.

In January 1858, the king of Delhi was tried in the palace for his share in the rebellion, found guilty, and sent to end his days at Rangoon in Burmah. The campaign of this year consisted of an almost unbroken series of victories, and at one or two places only was anything like a really formidable resistance encountered. After the recovery of Neemuch and Indore, sir Hugh Rose took the fort of Raighur, one of the strongest in Central India; and then advanced to Saugor, where a number of English, with women and children, had been besieged for many months. The place was relieved on the 3rd of February; but a more important work was the march on Jhansi, the road to which was strongly occupied by the rebels. There was a good deal of hard fighting in which the enemy was always defeated, and at length the troops reached Jhansi itself, which was garrisoned by about 12,000 men, headed by the Ranee, a woman of very determined character. The place was very strong, and it was evident that the garrison were resolved to defend it to the uttermost, for with the fall of Jhansi the cause of the rebels in Central India must be irretrievably lost. But their efforts were unavailing. After having lost some 5,000 men, the Ranee with her troops abandoned the town. This was followed by the siege of Awa and Calpee, which latter place had been held by Tantia Topee, almost the only rebel leader who had acquired any military reputation during the war. This chieftain made his way towards Gwalior, and with others defeated Scindia near his own capital. Scindia was compelled to fly, and he took refuge in the British cantonments at Agra. Rao Sahib, a nephew of Nana Sahib, was placed on the throne of Gwalior. But when sir Hugh Rose approached the city, Tantia Topee quitted Gwalior and left the Ranee of Jhansi to lead the sepoys and the Gwalior contingent against the English. On the 19th of June, the final battle took place, and the Ranee died fighting hand to hand with her enemies; but her body was never found, and it was probably burnt after her death.

At Lucknow the rebel forces had made many attempts to dislodge sir James Outram from his position at the Alumbagh

before the arrival of sir Colin Campbell, but none of these efforts were successful, and on the 9th of March he attacked the enemy and seized their position. The final assault took place on the 21st, the city of Lucknow was taken, and the head of the rebellion in Oude was crushed. But the settlement of the country involved a controversy which was felt in England not less than in India. When on the 3rd of March, the governor general issued a proclamation which confiscated the lands of all the talookdars or landholders in Oude, with the exception of five or six specially named, sir James Outram forcibly urged the injustice and imprudence of the measure. He expressed his strong conviction that the landholders on hearing this proclamation would prepare for a desperate resistance, that they had been treated with great injustice in the previous settlement, and that they ought to be considered as honourable enemies, rather than rebels, and that if they were not so treated, a guerilla warfare would be the result, which must be terribly disastrous to the European troops engaged in it. In answer to this remonstrance, the governor-general modified his proclamation, so far as to say that for all who came forward to submit themselves to the government, their prompt obedience would be regarded as a strong title for the restoration of their rights; but he added that to grant more would be to treat them not merely as honourable enemies, but as enemies who had been victorious. When this proclamation was received in England, lord Ellenborough replied immediately in strong terms of condemnation; but the results of his interference have been already recounted in the *History of England*. In its modified form the proclamation was published, and at the same time the talookdars were summoned on pain of imprisonment with flogging, to surrender all their arms within a given time. The order was to all appearance complied with, yet there was nothing but their own assurance to prove that weapons and ammunition had not been buried or otherwise concealed, to be used if ever a favourable opportunity should again present itself. Thus was the great mutiny of India ended, and no great criminal remained at large except the infamous Nana Sahib.

Since that terrible time many years have passed; and it may fairly be said that during the whole of this period the world has seldom, perhaps never, seen the government of a vast country by a conquering power carried out so thoroughly in the interests of the native inhabitants. Great crimes, such as the murder of lord Mayo, the viceroy of India, in 1872, have not shaken the purpose or the policy of the British people with regard to the administration of India; and the fruits of this persistent disinterestedness are seen in the growth of a public opinion which fully recognises that without British rule the establishment of an Indian nation would be hopeless.

A further test of the integrity of the British government in their relations with the people of India was furnished by a famine which in 1873 began to threaten a large part of Bengal and Behar. The home government approved at once of any expenditure which the viceroy might regard as necessary for the saving of human life. It was suggested that all exportation from the Indian peninsula should be stopped. This proposal was rejected (wisely, no doubt) by the viceroy, the real difficulty lying not in the deficiency in the quantity of food throughout the country, but in the means for conveying food to the districts affected by the famine. Food was forthcoming, but the local means of carriage were found wholly inadequate. All the difficulties in the way of the great enterprise were overcome by the energy of sir Richard Temple, until the rains of June put an end to all fears of continued scarcity. At this time 1,770,000 persons were receiving daily wages from the government. Within the first fortnight of July the numbers had decreased by nearly a million. The whole cost of the famine to the state was, it is said, £10,000,000; but so successful were the exertions made that fewer persons, it was asserted, died of famine in Bengal and Behar than in ordinary seasons.

In the autumn the rumour was spread, and was by many believed, that the notorious Nana Sahib had been taken by Maharajah Scindia. There could be little doubt that the latter was either mistaken or guilty of fraud in presenting the man whom he handed over to the British government as the cruel murderer of Cawnpore.

THE HISTORY OF CHINA.

CHAPTER I.

The Chinese writers pretend to trace back their government to a period anterior to the Flood; a ridiculous absurdity which we should not feel ourselves called upon to notice, but that European writers of no mean order have, without going to the full extent of Chinese extravagance, admitted their existence as a nation considerably more than two thousand years before Christ. Its early history, indeed, like that of most other nations of any considerable antiquity, seems to be an imaginative distortion of a few truths mixed up with a vast number of fictions. Their founder and first monarch they affirm to have been Fohi, who is presumed by many writers to have been the same with Noah. The eastern mountains of Asia they take to be the Ararat of Scripture; and they assert that, as the waters subsided, Noah followed the course of the rivers to the south until he arrived at China, where, being much struck with the beauty and fertility of the land, he eventually settled. The astute author of 'An Essay on the Manners and Spirit of Nations' has shown a strong predilection in favour of the high antiquity of China, and brought forward many arguments in support of it. 'This state,' says he, 'has existed in splendour about 4,000 years, without either its laws, manners, language, or even the mode and fashion of dress having undergone any material alteration. Its history (which, in his opinion, is incontestible) being the only one founded on celestial observations, is traced by the most accurate chronology, so high as an eclipse calculated 2,155 years before our vulgar era, and verified by the missionaries,' &c.

As the Chinese, contrary to the practice of almost all nations, have rarely, if ever, sought to conquer other countries, their annals for many ages furnish nothing remarkable; and although they date the origin of their imperial dynasties (excluding those of the fabulous times) two thousand years before the Christian era, we find that the country was long divided into several states of independent sovereignties; the princes or chiefs of which were perpetually at war with each other. Though it was in the very nature of things that some one prince should be more powerful than the others, and even be possessed of a certain degree of authority over them, yet war between state and state was the chief condition of China. Dynasty succeeded dynasty; territorial limits were perpetually shifting with the good or ill success of this or of that prince; and what Milton says of the early warfare of the petty princes of Britain, may most justly be repeated here—that it would be no more useful or interesting to dilate upon the early wars of the Chinese, than to describe the skirmishes of the kites and crows.

Twenty-two dynasties of princes are enumerated as having governed China from 2207 B. C. to the present day, the reigning emperor being the fifth monarch of the twenty-second or Tai-Tsin dynasty. What may be termed the authentic history of China does not begin till the time of Confucius, who flourished about five centuries before the Christian era, and who must be regarded as the great reformer of China. He endeavoured to unite in one great confederation the numerous states which harassed each other by mutual wars, and constructed a moral code for the government of the people. He forbore to dive into the impenetrable arcana of nature; neither did he bewilder himself in abstruse researches on the essence and attributes of a Deity, but confined himself to speaking with the most profound reverence of the First Principle of all beings, whom he represented as the most pure and perfect Essence, the Author of all things, who is acquainted with our most secret thoughts, and who will never permit virtue to go unrecompensed, nor vice unpunished.

It is not until B. C. 248 that Chinese history begins to be at all developed. Che-Hwang-te, the founder of the Tsin dynasty, in that year succeeded to the throne, and the petty princes of China, as well as the Huns who inhabited the immense plains beyond the Oxus, speedily found that they had a warrior to deal with. Whenever these princes ventured to meet him they were always defeated, until he had completely subdued all the states, and consolidated the empire.

Having provided for his power within the empire, he next turned his attention to its regular and efficient defence against foreign invaders. The very desultoriness of the attacks of the Huns made it difficult to subdue them. When he could meet with them, and force them into a pitched battle, he never failed to give an excellent account of them; but they were no sooner dispersed than they rallied; no sooner chastised in one part of the empire than they poured furiously down to repeat their offences in some other.

Whether the monarch himself, or his able general, Mung-Teen, conceived the grand idea of surrounding China—as it was then limited—with a wall, it would now be no easy matter to ascertain; certain it is that the wall was erected under the superintendence of the general.

This perfectly stupendous monument of human skill and industry (which is 1,500 miles in length, 30 feet high, and 15 feet thick on the top), could only have been completed by an absolute monarch.

By the stern exercise of his unchecked power, the emperor had this mighty wall, with embattled towers at convenient distances on the top, completed, and the towers garrisoned, so as to serve at once for watch towers and fortresses! His warlike spirit, however commendable in itself, seems under some circumstances to have degenerated into a savage obduracy of character. Thus we find that the very man who so efficiently exerted himself for the physical protection of his subjects, was so utterly insensible to their moral and intellectual wants, that he ordered the destruction of the whole body of Chinese literature, in the low and disgraceful hope of thus destroying all traces of Chinese history previous to the commencement of his dynasty! The mode in which the wish was carried into execution was every way worthy of the motive that prompted it;—if it is true, as it is recorded, that for refusing to aid in this wholesale and worse than barbarous destruction, upwards of five hundred of the learned were brutally buried alive! The works of Confucius were secreted by some man of noble and well-directed mind, and were found, years after the emperor's death, by some workmen employed in repairing a house.

CHAPTER II.

ON the death of Che-whang-te, his son Urh-she, less politic or less powerful than his father, found it impossible to prevent new outbreaks among the princes who had been reduced to the position of mere nobles and lieutenants of the emperor. Whether leaguing against the commands of the emperor, or fiercely assailing each other, they filled the whole land with strife, rapine, and bloodshed; where the sword had shed human blood, the torch in but too numerous instances consumed human habitations; whole cities were in some cases destroyed and made utterly desolate, and the total annihilation of the empire seemed at hand, when there arose in the land one of those men of iron nerve and iron hand who frequently appear at precisely that moment when the myriad evils of anarchy can only be put an end to by a man who possesses the talents of the soldier joined to the unbending will of the despot.

Lien Pang, the man in question, was originally the captain of a band of robbers, and notorious in that character alike for his boldness and his success. The distracted state of the country opened the way to his joining the profession of a leader of free lances to that of a robber, and, at first in alliance with some of the princes, and subsequently in opposition to all of them in succession, he fought so ably and successfully, that he subdued the whole empire, changed his name to that of Kaon-te, and ascended the throne, thus founding the Hang dynasty. Though thus successful within, he was greatly annoyed by the Huns; and so far was his usual success from attending him in his endeavours to free the empire from them, that he bought their quietness with many and costly presents, which on his death and the succession of his son was changed to a stipulated annual tribute.

During several years there were no events worth recording in the history of China; but in the reign of Woo-tee, the empire was assailed by a succession of misfortunes and calamities. Owing to a long continuance of heavy rains the Hoang-Ho river burst its banks, sweeping away everything in its path, and causing a destruction, not only of property but also of human life, that was truly terrible. During the same reign the cultivated lands were left completely bare by the invasion of a vast army of those destructive creatures, locusts; and a fire occurred in the capital which burned property to a frightful extent, and was only extinguished after it had consumed a great portion of the city, including almost the whole of the imperial palace. To counterbalance these great national calamities this reign had one piece of national good fortune of the highest consequence: the Huns had made their appearance again in vast numbers; they were completely routed in a great battle by the Chinese, under their general, Wei-sing, who took many thousands of prisoners, together with the whole of the tents, stores, and baggage of these nomadic plunderers. So thoroughly humbled were the Huns on this occasion, that for very many years they did not again make their appearance; they even paid homage to the emperor, Senen-Te, against whom, however, they broke out as fiercely as ever towards the close of his reign.

In the first year of the Christian era Ping-te ascended the imperial throne. He only reigned about five years, and being a weak prince, was even during that period rather the nominal than the real emperor; for both he and the empire were completely ruled by Wang-mang, a prince of great energy, who, on the death of Ping-te, took actual possession of the throne, of which he had long been the virtual owner. Many princes espoused the cause of the displaced dynasty; but though they perpetually made war upon the able usurper, he kept possession of the throne during the remainder of his life.

Wang-mang died A.D. 23, and was succeeded by Hwae-yang-wang; he died in A.D. 58, and was succeeded by Kwang-Woo. This reign is chiefly remarkable on account of the introduction into China, from the neighbouring country of Eastern India, of the Buddhist religion.

In the year 89, and the reign of Ho-te, the Tartars, who as well as the Huns and the Cochins were the perpetual pest of China, again made their appearance. They were worsted in several encounters, and very many thousands of them perished. They were driven, broken and dispirited, to the Caspian, and only then escaped owing to the fear which the mere prospect of a long voyage inspired the Chinese. For several years after this event the affairs of China were in a very pitiable state; the Tartars, returning again and again, added by their ravages to the distress caused by bad seasons; and just under those very cir-

cumstances which made the rule of a vigorous and able man more than ever desirable, it, singularly enough, chanced that reign after reign fell to the lot of mere children, in whose names the kingdom was of course governed by the court favourites of the existing empress; the high trust of the favourite naturally arising more from the empress's favour than from his fitness or integrity. Drought, famine, plague, and the frequent curse of foreign invasion, made this part of Chinese history truly lamentable.

In the year 220 the empire was divided into three, with the usual effect of divided rule in neighbours between whom nature has placed no boundary of sea, or rock, or impracticable desert.

In the year 288, the emperor Woo-te succeeded in again uniting the states into one empire. He died about two years later, and was succeeded by Hwuy-te, who reigned seventeen years, but was guilty of many cruelties, and consequently much disliked.

The history of no fewer than 113 years terminating A.D. 420, may be summed up in three words—confusion, pillage, and slaughter. Either native generals and native armies fought, or the fierce Hun and still fiercer Tartar carried death and dismay throughout the empire. Years of bloodshed and confusion at length inclined the more important among the native competitors to peace, and two empires were formed, the northern and southern;—the Nan and the Yuh-chow.

Lew-yn, or Woo-te, emperor of the southern empire, though he was far superior in the wealthiness of his share to the prince of the north, was originally the orphan of parents of low rank, who left him in circumstances of such destitution, that his youth was supported by the actual charity of an old woman, who reared him as her own son. As soon as he was old enough he enlisted as a soldier, and subsequently made his way to the empire by a succession of murders upon members of the royal family, including the emperor Kung-te, who was the last of the Tsin dynasty. Lew-yn, or Woo-te, compelled that unfortunate monarch publicly to abdicate in his favour. The prison of deposed kings is proverbially synonymous with their grave. The case of Kung-te was no exception to the general rule; he was put to death by poison.

Woo-te died in 422: his son, Ying-Yang-Wang, succeeded him; but was speedily deposed in favour of Wan-te. This prince issued an edict against the Buddhist doctrines. All Buddhists were banished: the Buddhist burned, temples and many priests put to death or cruelly tortured and mutilated.

Wan-te, learned himself, was a great friend and promoter of learning. Several colleges were founded by him, and his exertions in this respect were the more valuable, as they were imitated by the prince of the north. Wan-te having sharply reproved his son Lew-Chaou, for some misconduct, and threatened to disinherit him, the son brutally murdered him at the instigation of a bonze or priest, who represented that act as the only means of preventing the father's threat from being carried into effect. The guilt of both the prince and his priestly instigator met with its fitting reward. Lew-senen, half-brother to the prince, raised a powerful army, and attacked Lew-Chaou, who with his whole family was beheaded, and all his palaces razed to the ground.

Fei-le King-Ho has been aptly enough compared to the Caius Caligula of Rome: bloodshed appeared to be his greatest delight; to be privileged to approach him was at the same time to be in constant peril of being butchered; and he was no less obscene than cruel; an immense and gorgeously decorated hall being exclusively devoted to the most disgusting and frantic orgies. The reign of so foul a monster could not be otherwise than short. The very officers of his palace could not tolerate his conduct, and in the year following his accession to the throne he was despatched by one of the eunuchs of his palace.

Ming-te Tae-che succeeded to the throne A.D. 466. What he might have proved if his accession had been unopposed we can but guess; but, being opposed, he was aroused to a rage perfectly ungovernable. Those of his relatives who actually took up arms against him were not more hateful than those of them who did not, and many of the latter were put to death by him. His whole reign was passed in warfare with one or more of the princes of his family. This state of things lasted for nearly six years, and caused so much misery to the people, that there would speedily have been a general rising for the purpose of dethroning him, but for his opportune death.

Anarchy and war marked the two following reigns of Chwang-yu-wang and Shun-te; the former was despatched by an eunuch employed by an aspiring general, who also compelled Shun-te to abdicate in his favour, and soon afterwards assassinated him.

In 479 the aspiring and reckless general Seawu-Taduching ascended the throne, under the title of Kaou-te-now; he reigned but two years, and the succeeding princes of this dynasty, Tsi, which terminated in 502, were engaged in continual war with the prince of the north, but performed neither warlike nor peaceful services to merit notice.

A new dynasty, the Leang, was now commenced by Woo-te, who ascended the throne in 502. Under him the old wars between the northern and southern empires were continued. Nevertheless, though warlike and active at the commencement of his reign, he showed himself a great admirer and patron of learning. He revived some learned establishments that had fallen into decay, and founded some new ones; but probably his most important service was that of publicly teaching in person. We may fairly doubt whether such a prince was not better skilled in the arts of war, as then practised, than in studious lore; but his example tended to make learning fashionable, and he may therefore be said to have afforded it the greatest encourage

ment. Whatever his actual attainments, his love of study seems to have been both deep and sincere; for while yet in the prime of mental and bodily vigour, he abandoned the pomp and power of the throne, and retired to a monastery with the avowed intention of devoting the remainder of his life to study. This, however, had such mischievous effect upon public affairs, that the principal mandarins compelled him to quit his peaceful retirement and reascend the throne; but the rest of his life was passed in strife and tumult, which eventually broke his heart. His son and successor had scarcely commenced his reign, when he was put to death, and succeeded by Yuen-te. This emperor also was fond of retirement and study, and greatly neglected the affairs of his empire, which, distracted as it constantly was by the violence and intrigues of the princes of the empire, required a stern and vigorous attention.

Shin-pan-seen, who was not only a prince of the empire, but also prime minister to the emperor, raised a rebellion against his confiding and peaceful master, whose first intimation of his danger was given to him by the fierce shouts of the rebel force at the very gates of his palace. On hearing those boding shouts, the emperor, awakened from his delicious reveries, calmly closed the book he had been so intent upon, put on his armour, and ascended the ramparts. A single glance showed him that it was too late for resistance; he returned to his library, and, setting fire to it, resigned himself to his fate. The library of this unfortunate monarch, who would probably have been both powerful and glorious had he ruled over a less divided and turbulent people, is said to have contained 140,000 volumes; an immense number to have been collected even by royalty at such a time and among such a people.

The next emperor worthy of any mention, however slight, is Wan-te, whose short reign was so vigorous, prudent, and successful, that he must be considered to have been the chief cause of the reunion which occurred so soon after his death between the northern and southern empires. He died in 566, and was succeeded by his son, Pe-tsung, who was speedily dethroned by his uncle and the empress dowager.

The throne was then filled by Suen-te. During his short reign of less than three years, he fought boldly and constantly against his opponents, and did much towards promoting the fast approaching union of the two empires.

On the death of Suen-te, in the year 569, he was succeeded by How Chow, a mere sensualist and idler, whose debauchery and indolence disgusted and angered his people more, probably, than harder and more active vices would, even though they had been productive of a fiercer and more obvious kind of tyranny. A powerful and warlike noble, Yang-keen, put himself at the head of the disaffected nobles and their followers, and laid siege to the imperial city. The inhabitants, who, as might be expected, were even more disgusted with the effeminacy and profligacy they had witnessed, than the besiegers, threw open the gates almost without a struggle. The immediate advisers of the emperor and the notorious companions of his profligate revels were sternly put to death, and search was then made for the emperor. That cowardly sensualist had taken refuge with all his family in a dry well, whence he was dragged out half dead with terror, and expecting no less than instant death at the hands of the victorious rebel leader. But Yang-keen, either in mercy, or with the politic view of placing an additional obstacle to all other pretenders that might arise, spared both him and his family.

On usurping the throne, A.D. 572, Yang-keen's very first act was to consolidate the northern empire with the southern. In this he found little difficulty. Wei, the last really great prince of the northern empire, was both so well able to war, and so little inclined to do so without occasion, that he made his state at once feared without, and peaceful and prosperous within. He was poisoned by his own mother, a woman of high but cruel spirit, and of great talents but most restless disposition. Both she, while she acted as regent to her grandson, and the latter when he had taken the reins of government into his own hands, plunged the state into all the venomous and mischievous wars of the imperial princes; and this fatal departure from the peaceful polity of the former ruler, and the absence of any improvement in his military power, struck a blow at the safety and integrity of the northern empire, which, after a separate existence of upwards of a century and a half, was reannexed to the southern empire almost without an effort.

CHAPTER III.

YANG-KEEN having been so successful in obtaining the throne and consolidating the empire, turned his attention to restraining the violence and rapine of the Tartar chiefs. His reputation for skill, valour, and firmness, here did him good service. Bold and rapacious as the Tartars were, they were too well aware of the character of the monarch whom they had now to deal with, to hope that he would either overlook any of the advantages he possessed, or neglect to use them. They professed themselves desirous rather of his friendship than his enmity; and to show the sincerity of what they called their amity, but what would have been far more correctly termed their terror, they went so far as to pay him homage. With his usual shrewd policy, Yang-keen gave one of the imperial princesses in marriage to the principal Tartar chief. Nor was he ill rewarded for the facility with which he permitted himself to substitute alliance for strife. During his reign, his people remained free from the incursions of the Tartars, which had previously been as frequent as the natural tempests, and far more destructive.

On the death of Yang-keen, in 604, the heir to the throne was strangled by a younger brother, Yang-te, who, having committed the fratricide, and removed all other

obstacles from his path, ascended the throne in 605. The means by which this prince obtained the throne, common as such means are in despotic and but partially civilised nations, deserve all the detestation that we can bestow upon them: but if he obtained the throne shamefully, he filled it well. Though eminently a man of taste and pleasure, he was no less a man of judgement, enterprise, and energy. In the early part of his reign he formed extensive gardens, which for magnitude and tastefulness were never before witnessed in China; and in these gardens it was his chief delight to ride, attended by a retinue of a thousand ladies, splendidly attired, who amused him with vocal and instrumental music, and with dancing and feats of grace and agility on horseback. This luxurious habit did not, however, prevent him from paying great attention to the solid improvements of which China at that time stood so much in need. It would be idle to remark upon the importance (to both the prosperity and the civilisation of a people) of good and numerous means of communication between all the extremities of their land. Many of his canals and bridges still exist, as proofs both of his zeal and judgement in this most important department of the duty of a ruler.

His talents, energy, and accomplishments did not save him from the fate which we deplore, even when the worst of rulers are its victims. He had been on a tour, not improbably with a view to some new improvement in the face of the country, when he was assassinated. This melancholy event, it seems very probable, arose from the successful artifices of Le-yuen: he was both powerful and disaffected; had previously signalised himself by the most factious conduct, and immediately after the assassination put himself forward to place King-te upon the vacant throne. What motive Le-yuen had in making this man the mere puppet of sovereignty for a brief time, it is difficult to conjecture; but it is certain that King-te had scarcely ascended the throne before Le-yuen caused him to be strangled, and assumed the sovereign power himself.

It is strange that ill-acquired power is often used at once with the greatest wisdom and the greatest moderation, as though in the struggle to obtain it all the evil portion of the possessor's nature had been exhausted. Le-yuen, or rather Kaou-tsoo, which name he took on ascending the throne, was a remarkable instance of this. Nothing could be more sanguinary or unscrupulous than the course by which he became master of the empire; nothing could be braver, more politic, or, as regarded his internal administration, milder, than his conduct after he had obtained it.

For some years previous to his usurpation, the Tartars had returned to their old practice of making incursions into the northern parts of China, on some portion of which they had actually proceeded to settle themselves. Kaou-tsoo attacked them with great spirit, and in many severe engagements made such slaughter among them as to impress them with a salutary fear of pushing their encroachments farther.

Looking with a politic and prescient eye at the state of other nations, Kaou-tsoo was extremely anxious about that singular and ferocious people the Turks, who about the commencement of his reign began to be very troublesome to Asia.

Dwelling between the Caspian sea and the river Hypanis, the Turks were a hardy people, living chiefly upon the spoils of the chace. Thus prepared by their way of life for the hardships of war, and having their cupidity excited by the rich booty of caravans, this people could not fail to be otherwise than terrible when, under a brave and politic leader, they went forth to the conquest of nations instead of the pillage of a caravan, and appeared as a great multitude instead of a mere isolated handfull of robbers. To China they were especially hateful and mischievous; for they were perpetually at war with the Persians, with whom, just at that time, far the most valuable portion of Chinese commerce was carried on. The Persians fell before the Turkish power, and that restless power endeavoured to push its conquests into China. It might probably have effected this had a different man ruled the empire; but the emperor not merely repulsed them from his own territory, but chastised the disaffected Thibetians who had aided them and pushed forward into China, whence he expelled the Turks.

After a victorious and active reign of twenty-two years and a few months, this brave and politic emperor died, and was succeeded by Chun-tsung, whose effeminacy was the more glaringly disgraceful from contrast with the brave and active character of his predecessor. The single act for which his historians gave him any credit, is that of having made it necessary for the literati, who by this time exercised pretty nearly as much influence in both private and public affairs in China as the clergy did in Europe during the middle ages, to sustain a rather severe public examination.

Of the next seventeen monarchs of China there is literally nothing recorded that is worthy of transcript; nor during their reigns did anything of moment occur to China beyond the civil dissensions, which were frequent, and, indeed, inevitable in a country where effeminate princes committed that power to intriguing eunuchs, who scarcely ever failed to prevent a resumption of it, by the dagger, or the poisoned cup.

Chwang-tsung, son of a brave and skilful general, founded the How Tang dynasty, and, at least at the outset of his reign, was a bright contrast to his predecessors. He had from mere boyhood shared the perils and hardships of his father, whom he had accompanied in many of his expeditions. At the commencement of his reign he gave every promise of being the greatest monarch China ever saw. In his apparel and diet he emulated the frugality of the meanest peasant and the plainest of his troops. Lest he should indulge in more sleep than nature actually required, he was accustomed

to have no other bed than the bare ground, and, as if this luxurious way of lying might lead him to waste in sleep any of that precious time of which he was a most rigid economist, he had, it is said, a bell so fastened to his person, that it rung on his attempting to turn round, so loudly as to awaken him, and after it did so he immediately rose, to repose no more until his usual hour on the ensuing night. Extremes are proverbially said to meet; but certainly one would never have suspected that so Spartan a youth would have heralded a manhood of exceeding luxury, and even licentiousness. But so it was; his companions were among the most debauched wassailers in his empire, and he emulated their conduct. Yet though he departed from the, perhaps, too rigid severity of his manners, he was, to the last, a brave and active man, and was slain at the head of his troops in a battle fought in 926, having, in spite of some personal defects of character already noted, been on the whole one of the most respectable of all the native Chinese emperors.

The next emperor was Ming-tsung, who reigned for only seven years. But if his reign was short, it was both active and beneficent; and if there are many greater names in the imperial annals, there is not one more beloved. His people looked upon him as a parent, and his whole reign seems, in fact, to have been the expression and achievement of a truly kind and paternal feeling. He died in 933, with a character which greater monarchs might envy.

Min-te succeeded to the throne in 933. He only reigned one year; but in that very brief space of time he contrived to deserve, if not to obtain, the execration of the Chinese women, not only of his own time but up to the present hour. He it was who established the truly barbarous practice of confining the feet of female children of the higher classes in such a manner that the toes are bent completely under the soles of the feet, which are, it is true, rendered very diminutive in appearance by this abominable method, but are at the same time rendered almost useless. The loitering and awkward gait of the women would be sufficient to make this practice deserving of all abhorrence as a matter of taste merely, but when we consider the exquisite torture which the unhappy creatures must have suffered in girlhood, it is really wonderful that such a practice can so long have existed in any nation possessing even the first rudiments of civilisation.

Min-te died in 934, in the first year of his reign, and was succeeded by Fei Tei, who paid the fearful price of fratricide for the throne. He possessed, it would seem, a great share of merely animal courage, and like the generality of persons who do so, he was distinguished for his exceeding barbarity. Even the Chinese, accustomed as they were to despotism in all its varieties of misrule, could not endure the excess and wantonness of his cruelty. A formidable revolt broke out; and finding himself hard pressed by his enemies, and abandoned at every moment by his troops, he collected the whole of his family together, and, like another Sardanapalus, set fire to his palace—his wealth, his family, and himself being consumed in the flames.

Kaou-tse now ascended the throne, being the first of the How-tsin dynasty. He was more the nominal than the real monarch, his minister, Hung-taieu, usurping a more than imperial power. The minister, in fact, is in every way more worthy of mention than the monarch, for according to the most credible accounts the invention of printing from blocks was a boon conferred by him upon China in the year 937.

Both this reign and that of Chuh-ten, which closed this short-lived dynasty, were occupied in perpetual battling with the restless Tartars, who for ages seem to have had an instinctive certainty of having, sooner or later, the rule of China as the reward of their determined and pertinacious inroads.

In 960, Kung-te, a child of only six years of age, being upon the throne, the people arose and demanded his abdication. Of maternal and eunuch misgovernment they certainly had for centuries past had abundant and very sad experience. How far the successful aspirant to the throne was concerned in rousing their fears into activity and fervour does not appear; but it is certain that the revolt against the infant emperor, and the election of Chaou-quang-yin as his successor, were events in which the people showed great unanimity of feeling. The founder of the Sung dynasty did not commence his reign under the most promising circumstances; for on the ceremonial of his acceptance of the throne, he actually ascended it in a state of intoxication.

Nevertheless, this prince, who on his elevation to the throne took the name of Taoutsoo, was in reality one of the best of the Chinese monarchs, both as a warrior and as a domestic ruler. The imbecility or infancy of some of his predecessors, and the pernicious habit into which others fell of leaving the actual administration of affairs in the hands of eunuchs and other corrupt favourites, had caused the court expenses as well as the court retinue to be swelled to a shameful extent. The new emperor, immediately after his accession, caused the most rigid enquiry to be made into the expenses of the state; and every useless office was abolished, and every unfair charge sternly and promptly disallowed. In effecting this great and important reform, the emperor derived no small advantage from having formerly been a private person, as in that capacity he no doubt would have the opportunity to note many abuses which could never be discovered by the emperor or any of the imperial princes. His frugality seems to have been as impartial as it was wise; for though he raised his family, for four generations, to the rank of imperial princes, he at the same time insisted upon their being content with the most moderate revenue that was at all consistent with their rank.

Though the election of the new emperor was nearly as unanimous as such an event can reasonably be expected to be, it must not be understood that his elevation met

with no opposition, even of an armed character. On the contrary, the independent princes of Han and the extreme northern people of the empire rose in arms to oppose him.

When we bear in mind the long and indefatigable endeavours of the Tartars to obtain a footing in the interior of the Chinese empire, and couple that fact with that of their now leaguing with the Chinese revolters against the new emperor, we shall not be very presumptuous if we affirm that the opposition to him was in fact, though not in appearance and name, far more foreign than native. The emperor made immense levies of men throughout the provinces that were faithful to him, and marched against his enemies. The subsequent conflicts were dreadful; and the troops of the prince of Han, well knowing that they had little mercy to hope for if taken prisoners, fought with the fury and obstinacy of despair, and they were well seconded by the Tartars. Thousands fell in each engagement; and though the emperor was a warrior, and a brave one, he is said to have often subsequently shed tears at the mere remembrance of the bloodshed he witnessed during this war. The overwhelming levies of the emperor, and, perhaps, that 'tower of strength'—the royal name—which the adverse faction wanted, made him, but not till after a desperate struggle, completely successful.

Having put down this opposition, he next proceeded against the prince of Choo, whom he captured and deprived of his dominions. Among the millions of souls whom he thus added to his subjects was an extremely numerous and well-appointed army. This he forthwith incorporated with his own, and thus strengthened in force, marched against Kyang Nan and southern Han.

Here again he was completely successful, and he now turned his attention to the chastisement of the Mongols of Leaon-tung, who had joined the prince of Han in the former war; but the issue of this expedition was still uncertain when the emperor died.

Though engaged in war from the beginning to the very end of his reign, this emperor was extremely attentive to the internal state of his empire, and more especially in a particular which previously had been but too much neglected—the impartial administration of justice. When he was not actually in the field he was at all times accessible; to the humblest as to the highest the gates of the imperial palace were always open, and in giving his decision he knew no distinction between the mandarin and the poor labourer. This conduct in his military and civil affairs procured him the enviable character of being 'the terror of his enemies and the delight of his subjects.' While actively engaged in the prosecution of the war against the Mongols, he was seized with an illness which terminated his valuable life, in the year 976.

Tae-tsung, son of the last-mentioned monarch, ascended the throne at the death of his father, whose warlike measures he proceeded to carry out, and whose warlike character and abilities he to a very great extent inherited. During his entire reign he was engaged in war; now with the Mongols, at that time the most threatening of all the enemies of the empire, and now with this or that refractory native prince. It is strange that in all the ages in which so much bloodshed and misery had been caused by wars between the princes and the emperors, the latter never thought, so far as we can perceive from the account now extant of their proceedings, of the obvious and efficient policy of concentrating their forces upon the positions of individual princes, and on every decisive advantage over an individual prince thus unfavourably situated for resistance, demanding such a contribution as would effectually impoverish him; at the same time demanding as hostages from him, not only some of the more important of his own family, but of all the other great families connected with him. These measures, severe as they undoubtedly would have been upon individuals, would have been merciful indeed as regards the great mass of both the contending parties; moreover, the hostages might have been so employed and so treated at the imperial court as greatly to reduce the individual hardship. After twenty-one years of almost perpetual warfare, with many successes and comparatively few defeats, Tae-tsung died in 997, leaving behind him a character only less honourable than that of his predecessor, inasmuch as he paid far less constant and minute attention to the internal order of the empire and the individual welfare of his subjects.

Chin-tsung now succeeded to the empire, a prince whose character and conduct strangely contrasted with those of his two immediate predecessors. The bonzes or priests were the only persons who had reason to like him; and even their liking, excited though it was by personal advantage, must have been mixed with no slight feeling of contempt. There was no tale that they could tell him which was too extravagant for his implicit belief; no command too absurd for his unqualified obedience. Every morning the imperial zany was busy in relating his overnight dreams, and it need scarcely be said that the bonzes took especial care so to interpret those dreams as to tend to confirm the weak-minded and hypochondriac monarch in his fatuous course, and to make that course as profitable as possible to themselves individually, and as favourable as possible to their order at large.

The bonzes were not the only persons who profited by this emperor's fatuity: the warlike, indefatigable, and shrewd Tartars speedily perceived the difference betwixt an emperor who divided his time between dreaming and listening to the interpretations of his dreams—leaving the empire and its vast complicated interests to the care, or carelessness, of eunuchs and timeservers—and the warlike and clear-headed emperor with whom they had to deal during the two preceding reigns. They poured in upon the empire with a fury proportioned to the ineffective resistance they anticipated and their shrewd conjectures were ample

justified by the event. Resistance, indeed, was made to them on the frontiers; but instead of their being driven beyond the frontiers with a message of mourning to thousands of Tartar families, their absence was purchased. Great stores of both money and silk were paid to them by order of the Chinese court, which, like the Romans when Rome had become utterly degenerate, was fain to purchase the peace it dared not or could not battle for.

Ying-tsung, Shin-tsung, and Hwuy-tsung, the three immediate successors of the weak prince of whose reign we have just spoken, followed his impolitic and shameful policy of *purchasing peace*. We emphatically say *impolitic*, because common sense tells us that to yield tribute once, is to encourage the demand of it in future. And so it proved in this case. The tribute once secured, the hardy and unprincipled Tartars again returned to the charge, to be again bought off, and to derive, of course, renewed assurance of booty whensoever they should again think proper to apply for it.

Hwuy-tsung, the third of the emperors named above, having a dire perception of the error committed by himself and his three immediate predecessors, determined to adopt a new course, and, instead of bribing the 'barbarians' who so cruelly annoyed him, to hire other barbarians to expel them, thus adding to the folly of *buying peace* the still farther folly of giving the clearest possible insight into the actual weakness of his condition, to those who, being his allies as long as they received his wages, would infallibly become his enemies the instant he ceased to hire them.

This prince engaged the warlike tribe of Neu-che Tartars in the defence of his territory. They ably and faithfully performed what they had engaged; but when they had driven out the Nien-cheng Tartars they flatly refused to quit the territory, and made a hostile descent upon the provinces of Pe-chell and Shansi, which they took possession of. At the same time the Mongols were pouring furiously down upon the provinces of Shan-tong and Honan; and the terrified and utterly unwarlike emperor saw no other means of saving his dominions than by coming to immediate terms with his late allies and present foes—the victorious and imperious Neu-che Tartars. He accordingly went to their camp, attended by a splendid retinue of his chief officers, to negotiate not only for a peace, but also for their active and prompt aid against the Mongols. But the emperor had so long left the affairs of the empire in the hands of intriguers and venal sycophants, that he was not sufficiently acquainted with his actual position to take even ordinary precautions; he was literally sold by his ministers into the hands of his enemies; and on reaching the Tartar camp, he found that he was no longer a powerful prince treating for peace and alliance with an inferior people, but a powerless prisoner of war, in the hands of his enemies, and abandoned by his friends. And abandoned he indeed was, by all save his son. That spirited prince, faithful to his fallen father, and indignant at the treachery that had been practised against him, put the ministers to death, and gathered an immense force against the Mongols, who, in the meantime, had been making the most rapid and terrible advances. Rapine and fire marked their path whithersoever they went. The emperor's gallant and faithful son made admirable but useless efforts to approach them. Leaving devastation and misery in their rear, they rapidly drew near the capital, laid siege to the imperial palace itself, butchered thousands of the inhabitants, including some of the imperial family, and sent the rest into captivity.

CHAPTER IV.

KAOU-TSUNG II. at this period reigned over the southern provinces. When the barbarians overran the northern parts of the empire he made bold and able attempts at beating them off from his dominions; but they were far too warlike and numerous for his limited resources. To the northern provinces and to the captive emperor he was unable to afford any assistance by force of arms, nor could his humblest and most tempting offers to the savage foes induce them to liberate a prisoner or evacuate a rood of land. All that he was able to gain from them was permission to retain his own rule in peace, on paying an annual tribute and acknowledging his subjection.

During two succeeding reigns the Chinese enjoyed the blessings of peace; but the imprudence of Ning-tsung, untaught by experience of the danger of calling in barbarian aid, brought into China a vast horde of Mongols—the fiercest and greediest even among the barbarous Tartar tribes.

In 1194 the celebrated Genghis Khan was at the head of the Mongol Tartars. At the outset of this warrior's career his people revolted from him, excepting only a very few families, on the ground of his being, at the death of his father, too young to rule a numerous and extremely warlike people. But the youth displayed so much talent and courage, and his earliest essays as a warrior were so entirely and strikingly successful, that the tide of opinion speedily turned in his favour; and an old and venerated Mongol chief having, in a public assembly of the people, prophesied that the youth, then known by his family name of Temujin, would, if supported as he deserved to be, prove to be the greatest of their khans—Genghis Khan (the Mongol words for greatest king) was immediately made the youth's name by acclamation, and the bold but barbarous and vacillating people as unanimously submitted to him now, as formerly they had seceded from him.

It was to this chief, who had already made his name a name of terror far beyond the banks of the Selinga, the native abode of his fierce race, that Ning-tsung, the then emperor, applied for aid to drive out other Tartars, by whom, as well as by native malcontents, the nation was very sorely oppressed at that period.

Genghis Khan, already inured to conquest and thirsting for extended dominion

eagerly complied with the impolitic request of Ning-tsung. During the reign of that monarch, and of Le-tsung, by whom he was, at his death in 1225, succeeded, the Mongols passed from triumph to triumph, the unhappy natives suffering no less from the barbarians who were hired to defend them than from the other barbarians who avowedly entered the empire for purposes of rapine and bloodshed. Le-tsung, a prince whose natural indolence was increased by his superstitious attachment to the most superstitious priests in his empire, was a voluntary prisoner in his palace, while the Mongols were driving from one province to another not merely the intruding foe and foreigner, but also the rightful and already suffering inhabitant. The atrocities committed in what the Mongols seemed to be bent upon making an actual war of extermination were dreadful; the most authentic accounts, and those which seem most entirely free from exaggeration, speak of the slaughter among the unfortunate people as amounting to some hundreds of thousands.

Genghis Khan dying, was succeeded by a grandson named Kublai; and Le-tsung also dying, was succeeded by Too-tsung. This last-named prince was as debauched as his predecessor had been superstitious; and, wholly taken up with the gratification of his shameful sensuality, he saw, almost without a care or struggle, the Mongols under Kublai proceeding with their ravages, and Kublai at length become master of the northern provinces.

Thus far successful, it was not likely that the conquering chief should forbear from turning his attention to the southern provinces, which, as we learn from Marco Polo, were considered by far the most wealthy and splendid of the kingdoms of the East.

The very wealth of the southern empire, and its comparatively long exemption from war, rendered it pretty certain that it would easily be overrun by him who had conquered the hardier and more experienced warriors of the north. Province after province and city after city was taken, without the experience on the part of the Mongols of anything even approaching to a severe check, many of the most powerful nobles, who were the most bound in honour and duty to have defended the country, actually joining the enemy.

With rapid and sure steps the enemy at length approached the city of Kinsai, the capital and royal residence, and wealthy to an extent not easily to be described. The then emperor, Kung-tsung, seems to have despaired of successful defence against a foe so long and to such an extent victorious, and to have supposed that his empress could more successfully appeal to a victor's mercy than he could to the fortune of war. He accordingly got together all the treasure that could be at all conveniently embarked on board his fleet, gave the command of it to his most experienced naval commander, and put out to sea.

A strange circumstance is related of the siege of this city, a circumstance, to say the truth, which has so strong a family likeness to incidents that are given to other parties, both by authentic history and by fictions, that we give it with but little belief in its truth, and only relate it, lest in omitting so striking an incident, which is given by some very grave writers, we should lay ourselves open to the charge of carelessness in overlooking, or presumption in rejecting it.

The fact of the defence of Kinsai being committed to a beautiful woman, did not prevent Kublai from ordering his generals to use the utmost exertions in bringing the siege to a speedy conclusion. Such orders ensured an activity which reduced the empress and her garrison to the most alarming distresses; but the empress consoled herself under every new disaster by a prophecy which had been made by a court astrologer—a kind of cheat very popular with most of the Chinese monarchs of that time—that Kinsai could only be taken by a general having a hundred eyes. As such a specimen of natural history was by no means likely to appear, the empress allowed nothing to daunt her, until on enquiring the name of a general whom Kublai had entrusted to make a new and vigorous assault on the city, she was told that it was *Chin san ba yan* These words—which mean *the hundred-eyed*—seemed in such ominous agreement with the requirement of the prophecy, that the empress allowed her hitherto high courage to give place to a superstitious horror, and she immediately surrendered the city, on receiving from Kublai assurance, which he very honourably fulfilled, of treatment and an allowance in conformity with her rank.

Sa-yan-fu, which was a far stronger city than the capital, and against which no superstitious influence was brought, held bravely out against the utmost efforts of the Mongols for upwards of three years. Marco Polo and his brother Nicolo, the Italian travellers and traders, anxious to ingratiate themselves with the formidable and prosperous Kublai, supplied him with besieging engines which threw stone balls of the tremendous weight of 120 pounds. Such missiles soon made practicable breaches in the hitherto impregnable walls. The town was stormed, and Kublai, enraged at its long and obstinate resistance, gave it up to the mercy of his troops.

CHAPTER V.

The fugitive emperor found, in some distant and strongly fortified islets, a shelter for his treasure, but not that safety for himself which he had sought with so much sacrifice of dignity and character. He had not long been at his post of ignoble security when he was seized with an illness which speedily terminated his life. The empress, who seems to have been altogether as brave and adventurous as her husband was timid, strengthened the fleet at Yae islands, under the command of the emperor's favourite admiral, Low-sewfoo, proclaimed Te-ping, her son, emperor, and repaired with him on board the fleet. The Mongol fleet, after attacking Canton, hove in sight of the imperial fleet, when a tremendous action commenced and continued

for an entire day. The Mongols, though even their loss was dreadful, were victorious, and the Chinese or imperial fleet was so much shattered that Low-sewfoo found it impossible to get his crippled vessels through the straits. Dreading the very worst from the resentment which Kublai was likely to feel at this new resistance on the part of the empress, that brave but unfortunate woman committed suicide by jumping overboard. Her terrible example was followed by several of her principal attendants, including the admiral, who leaped overboard with the young emperor in his arms. So disastrous a day as this could not fail to be decisive; all the comparatively small part of the south that had hitherto held out was quickly overrun, and the whole empire was now under a Mongol emperor concentrated into one. Under the title of Shi-tsu, Kublai ascended the imperial throne in 1279, and in so doing laid the foundation of the Yuen dynasty.

With the greediness and want of judgement with which conquerors, in common with more vulgar gamblers, appear to be incurably afflicted, Shi tsu having obtained the mighty and vast empire of China, now determined to use its resources in adding Japan to his already unwieldy possession. But this time he was fated to a fortune very different from that which usually attended him. The Japanese, instead of shrinking at the approach of a force that from its previous successes might well have made them pause as to the prudence of resistance, fortified their forts in the strongest manner time would admit. One being at length taken, the resistance of the garrison was punished by the butchery of every man without exception, eight of the number being beaten to death with clubs. The real reason of this cruel distinction being awarded to the eight unhappy persons was, most likely, that they were distinguished either in their rank or in the zeal and determination of their resistance. But the fondness that exists for the marvellous has caused this occurrence to be attributed to the somewhat inexplicable mechanical impossibility of putting them to death by decapitation, on account of iron chains which they wore round their necks.

The brutal cruelty displayed by Shi-tsu or his officers to the garrison of this single fort, was productive of no advantage to his arms. Before the terror which such barbarity might possibly have carried into the hearts of other garrisons had time to produce weakness or treachery, a tremendous storm arose by which a great portion of the Tartar, or rather the Tartar-Chinese, fleet was wrecked. The extent of injury so alarmed the commanders, that they hastened home with the remainder of their ships, abandoning many thousand of their followers to the vengeance of the Japanese.

Shi-tsu died in 1295; and it was not until his grandson, Tching-sung, ascended the throne, and began to imitate the ambitious and warlike conduct of his great predecessor, that anything worthy of even casual mention occurred in the history of the subjugated people of China.

Tchin-sung is better known in Europe as Timoor the Tartar, or Tamerlane, whose treatment of his opponent Bajazet has been made the subject of so many dramas and tales. His name of Timoor (the iron) seems to have been exactly suited to his energetic, untiring, and unsparing nature. Fixing the imperial residence at Samarcand, he appears to have formed the project of carrying on the work of subjugation to the utmost possible extent in all directions. Persia, Georgia, and Delhi speedily felt and succumbed to his power; he drove the Indians quite to the Ganges, and utterly destroyed Astracan and other places in that direction. Bajazet, the Ottoman monarch, seems to us to have had the most just cause imaginable to arrest the course of a man who was evidently determined upon making himself, if possible, the sole monarch of the East. But the Ottoman was far inferior to the Tartar in that strength which is as important to success as even a good cause itself. We are assured that while Bajazet had only 120,000 men, his opponent brought 700,000 into the field. Probably the force of Tamerlane has been very much exaggerated, though even allowing for great exaggeration there can be no doubt that, in numbers, the army of Bajazet was greatly exceeded by that of his opponent. The day on which this tremendous battle was fought was sultry in the extreme, yet so obstinate were both parties, that the contest continued from the morning until a late hour at night. The comparatively small army of Bajazet was in the end completely routed, and the unfortunate monarch himself taken prisoner. The conduct of Tamerlane on this occasion was such as would cast disgrace on the most signal courage and talents. Instead of allowing the sympathies of a brave man to soften him towards his singularly brave though unfortunate opponent, he had him put into an iron cage and carried from place to place with him in all his excursions, exhibiting him as one would a wild beast, and at the same time displaying on his own part a temper far more like that of a wild beast than a brave and successful warrior. The unfortunate Bajazet lived in this most pitiable condition until the year 1403, when he died, as tradition says, and as was most likely, of a broken heart.

Tamerlane during his various and extensive expeditions had committed the internal government of his empire to certain princes of his house—his grandsons and nephews. Their authority and character being far less respected and feared than his own, several insurrections had taken place, and Tamerlane, or Tchin-sung, now marched towards China with the avowed determination of inflicting severe chastisement; but as he was advancing with forced marches for that purpose, he was seized with an illness which terminated both his enterprises and his life, in 1405.

After the death of the formidable Tamerlane his descendants kept up a perpetual scramble for the empire, in which they contrived the utter ruin of the high character they owed to him. A series of revolts and

intrigues followed each other during the rule or the strifes of some succeeding emperors and pretenders; and the next event of which we feel it necessary to give any account is an embassy sent from Persia to China in the reign of Yunglo, also called Ching-tsoo.

The account of this embassy is the more interesting, because it gives us considerable insight into the manners and state of society in China at that time, and mentions what Marco Polo does not—*tea*, to which, more than aught else, China owes its importance in the eyes of the modern inhabitants of Europe. Even at this early period the Chinese seem to have all the modern jealousy of the entrance of strangers into the so-called 'Celestial Empire.' Before the embassy in question was allowed even to set foot upon the boundaries of the empire, an exact list of all persons belonging to the embassage was required, including even the very humblest attendants, and the ambassadors-in-chief were called upon to swear to the truth and exactness of the list. Chinese jealousy being satisfied thus far, the embassage commenced its toilsome journey of one hundred days towards the capital. It is only fair to add, however, that after their first suspicion was formally and officially silenced, there seems to have been a most liberal hospitality shown in the way of substantial good fare, accompanied by an unstinted supply of excellent wines.

The capital of China, Cambulu, now known far better by the name of Pekin, is spoken of as being even at that time a city of great magnitude and opulence. It would seem not unlikely that the silly absurdity of the Chinese, in speaking of such people as the English, Dutch, and other highly civilised Europeans, under the opprobrious name of outside barbarians, is an absurdity which others beside the Chinese are unfortunately guilty of. The way in which modern writers allow themselves to speak of the Chinese is in many things to be equally reprobated.

The long intercourse with Jesuits, missionaries, and others specially sent there, with a reference to their science, judgement and aptitude for the difficult business of communicating, not merely knowledge itself but also the desire for it, could scarcely have left the Chinese so much behind the rest of the world in invention and practice in the higher productions, even had no progress been previously made by them. But when so early as the 15th century we hear of such an achievement as the *Turning Tower*, of which we are about to give a description, who will consent to believe that above four centuries later they are the backward and ignorant people they are called?

That really wonderful structure, the turning tower, is stated by shrewd and intelligent observers to whom we owe our knowledge of it, to be worthy of the visit and careful examination of every smith and carpenter upon the face of the earth. What, in fact, are we acquainted with of merely human construction that can for an instant bear comparison with a tower fifteen stories high, each story twelve cubits high, and the whole edifice twenty cubits in circumference? What can surpass the ingenuity of the people who could make this large structure, having a total height of 180 cubits, which turns round upon a metal axis; and that with little more difficulty than if it were merely a child's toy? Assuredly, the people who even in whim could erect such a structure as this at the period of more than four centuries ago, cannot now be the incapable and unprovided race which many late accounts would represent them.

The emperor's palace at Pekin is described as being rich and spacious in the extreme. While the ambassadors and their suite were there, it was constantly surrounded by about two thousand musicians, playing and singing anthems to the praise of the emperor, whose throne was of solid gold, ascended by a flight of nine silver steps. On the emperor ascending this extremely gorgeous throne, the chiefs of the embassy were introduced; and after a brief and merely formal audience, at which they did not prostrate themselves in the Chinese fashion, but bowed in that of the Persians, they were reconducted to the apartments provided for them, where a sheep, a goose, and two fowls, with fruit, vegetables, and tea, were daily served out to every six persons.

The evil deed, whether of man or nation, very rarely proves to be other than an evil seed. The unprovoked aggression of the Chinese-Tartars under Kublai, was not only productive of great injury to the Chinese fleet at the time, but led to very many subsequent losses and calamities. Favourably situated as Japan was for the maintenance of a fleet, it was a power upon which such a piratical attack as that of Kublai could not be made without incurring serious danger of heavy reprisals.

Tin-tsung, an extremely well-inclined prince, found the attacks of the Japanese so frequent and so fearfully injurious to his people, and to the imperial fleet, that his earliest care was directed to that subject. The Japanese, an essentially seafaring people, had, according to the least exaggerated accounts, from six to seven thousand vessels of various sizes, manned with their most daring and unprincipled people, not a few of them ready for piracy and murder, as a part of their proper trade. Running suddenly into the Chinese ports, the daring adventurers committed acts not merely of robbery, but of the most wanton destruction of property and life, firing whole towns and villages, and retiring with immense booty. During the eleven years of his reign the emperor Tin-tsung was so spirited and incessant in his opposition to these daring rovers, that he would most probably have permanently rid his country of them, had his life not been so early terminated.

Suen-tsung, who succeeded to the last-named emperor, was but barely allowed to ascend the throne when he was about to be dethroned by some of the grandees of the empire, among whom was his own uncle. Fortunately for the emperor, his

army was more faithful to him than the grandees; and after a most obstinate engagement between it and the force of the insurgents, the latter were completely overthrown. With a far greater lenity than would have been shown by some monarchs after being so early and so deeply offended, the emperor spared the lives of the ring-leaders, though, as a sheer matter of self-defence, he reduced some of them to the rank of commoners, and confiscated the estates of others.

Though the commencement of his reign was thus stormy, he was very little disturbed by revolts afterwards, to the time of his death in 1436. He was succeeded by Chin-tung, a minor; the empress-dowager being his guardian, and the real state authority being divided between her and her chief adviser, the eunuch Wan-chin. This latter personage seems to have had nobler and more spirited notions of government than were commonly displayed by the effeminate and venal court favourites. He not only took prompt and active measures for repressing the Tartars, who annoyed the Tartar-Chinese with as much impartiality as though they had been still a purely Chinese people and government, but also took the field in person. Both he and the youthful emperor were taken prisoners, and matters began to look very prosperously for the Tartars, who were not only more expert in the use of the newly introduced fire-arms, but also invariably used them, which upon certain solemn days the Chinese, from superstitious notions, refused to do. As a matter of course, the Tartars always sought every chance of taking them at so great a disadvantage, and made fearful havoc whenever they contrived to do so. But the bold spirit which Wan-chin had infused into the councils of the imperial court soon turned the scale. The imperial authority was assumed by King-tae, who, however, subsequently showed that he had assumed such authority in the truest spirit of a loyal subject and most honourable man. He advanced against the Tartars, and opposed them with such skill, courage, and tenacity, that he completely defeated them, compelled them to restore the young Ching-tung to liberty unransomed, and then immediately descended from a dignity that has so often been obtained by the commission of the most detestable crimes, and placed upon the throne the young sovereign whom his valour and conduct had already restored to liberty. The remainder of the reign of Ching-tung, about ten years, was comparatively peaceful and prosperous.

The early part of the 16th century produced an event of which even yet the consequences are but partially and dimly seen —the appearance of the Portuguese at China. To India they had already made their way by the Cape of Good Hope, and in India they had an extremely flourishing settlement. The governor of the Portuguese in India determined to send a somewhat imposing embassy to China; accordingly, Andrada and Perez, the two ambassadors, sailed to Canton, their own vessel being under a convoy of eight large ships, well manned and armed. Perez and Andrada, with two vessels, were allowed to proceed up the river on their embassy. While they did so the crews and merchants who were left with the other vessels in the Canton river, busied themselves in endeavouring to trade with the natives. As usual, wherever a turbulent body of seamen is concerned, the laws of *meum* and *tuum* were frequently set at nought, and this one-sided system of free-trading so greatly enraged the Chinese, that the little fleet was surrounded by the Chinese war junks, and only escaped capture by the opportune occurrence of a severe storm. Perez, though far up the country, and personally innocent, was seized by the Chinese as the scape-goat of his fellow-countrymen's offences. He was hurried back to Canton with the utmost ignominy, loaded with irons, and put into a prison, from which he never again emerged until death set him free.

About this time a state of bloodshed and horror existed in China, such as probably were never before equalled, even in that country of distraction, the annals of which are so confused by usurpations, intermingling of dynasties, and alterations in territorial extent and nomenclature, that the historian who desires to convey truth is not unfrequently obliged to allow his pen to pause until the current of the older histories becomes less turbid and torrent-like.

On the accession, in 1627, of Hwae-tsung, the Tartars, who, during the comparatively quiet seven years' reign of this emperor's immediate predecessor, had been preparing themselves for war, broke out fiercely and suddenly. The time was peculiarly favourable to their anticipated overthrow of the empire, which was overrun by two robbers, whose *armies* were not only more numerous than that of the emperor, but had already so far beaten it as to have obtained possession of some important provinces. City after city had fallen before these fierce rebels, and the imperial troops were in some places reduced to such an extremity of famine, that the bodies of executed criminals formed a portion of their disgusting food, and human flesh was, without shame or remark, exposed for sale in the open market. The imperial general was at length so pressed by the rebel troops, that being at once in despair of successful resistance, and determined not to surrender, he caused the dykes to be cut through which restrained the river Hoang-ho from inundating the country in which he was encamped, and at one fell swoop he and the whole of the troops and inhabitants, in all above 200,000, were drowned.

If the affairs of the empire were desperate before, the loss of this force could not fail to complete the ruin. The rebels and robbers who had alone been so formidable, now united with the wily Mantchoo Tartars, who had so well known how to 'bide their time.' The unfortunate emperor, finding that there was no longer any hope or safety for him even in his own palace, strangled himself. The last city that endeavoured to make head against the victorious and formidable

Tartars and robbers was Tae-yuen. The inhabitants, and a comparative handful of imperial troops, defended this with a stern obstinacy, which, under a different state of things in the empire at large, would have been very likely to save it; the Tartars were repulsed again and again, until the very number of their slain enabled them to fill up the ditches and mount. Instead of admiring the gallantry of their conquered opponents, and treating them with mercy, the Tartars savagely put the inhabitants to the sword, and then gave the devoted city to the flames.

Woo San-quei, an able politician as well as a brave general, did not, even now that the emperor was slain, and the most precious parts of the empire in the hands of the Tartars or rebels, despair of retrieving affairs. By a lavish distribution of rich presents he engaged the Mantchoo leaders to abandon the cause of the rebels, and to join with him against their chief.

Woo San-quei's policy succeeded in procuring him the alliance of the Mantchoo Tartars; and, aided by them, he vanquished their former allies, the rebels, after a series of achievements on both sides, that equal anything recounted in the wars of the most distinguished generals of ancient times.

But a new proof was now exhibited of the danger of purchased allies, who, like the elephants used in Indian warfare, are liable to become as formidable to their friends as to their foes. The Tartars having put down the rebels, took possession of Pekin (or Cambulu), which they expressed their determination to 'protect,'—a word to which armed protectors attach a meaning very different from that assigned to it by the protected. They proclaimed Shun-che, a son of their own monarch, emperor of the northern provinces of China, the seat of his government being Pekin, while the princes and mandarins of the southern provinces proclaimed Choo-yew, the seat of whose government was at Nankin.

CHAPTER VI.

THERE being a northern and a southern empire, and the thrones being respectively filled by a Tartar and a Chinese, it might easily have been foreseen that war and bloodshed would once more vex the unhappy people of both empires; and the opposite natures of the two emperors, far from decreasing, increased this probability. The emperor of the south was unworthy of his high station, and ill calculated for its peculiar exigencies at that time. His indolence and gross sensuality added, no doubt, to the tyrannies of the subordinates to whom he committed the cares of state, while he abandoned himself to his indulgences, caused a spirit of revolt to show itself, which the northern emperor was not slow to avail himself of. Marching rapidly upon the southern provinces, he possessed himself of the capital, Nankin, and, after a long series of successes, became master of the whole empire, with the exception of some few comparatively unimportant portions; and the princes of even these may be said to have been his tributaries rather than independent rulers.

Shun-che was the first emperor of China who came into direct hostile collision with the Russians, who in his reign made their way to the great river Amur on the borders of Tartary. The Russians seized upon Dauri, a fortified Tartar town of some strength, and in several battles obtained signal advantages. But subsequently the Chinese recovered their ground, and a treaty was entered into by which all the northern bank of the Amur, together with the sole navigation of that river, was assigned to the Chinese, and Tobolsk was fixed as the neutral trading ground of the two nations.

Busily and successfully as Shun-che was engaged in war, he seems to have been by no means insensible to the importance of the arts of peace. The Portuguese and other missionaries and scholars who, in despite of almost innumerable obstacles, had by this time settled themselves in China in considerable numbers, found at the hands of this warlike monarch a degree of friendship and patronage highly creditable to him. He not only prevented them from being subjected to any annoyance, but even appointed one of them, Adam Schaal, to the post of superintendent of mathematics,—a post that gave opportunity, of which Schaal in the next reign very skilfully availed himself, of obtaining the highest influence in the state.

Shun-che, though an energetic man, as is evident by his warlike achievements, and a sensible man, as we may judge both from the favour he showed to learned foreigners, and the readiness with which he accepted their instruction in many branches of learning, was, at the same time, somewhat of a sensualist.

Kang-he, who ascended the throne in 1661, was a minor; four principal personages of the empire forming the regency. The German, Schaal, was appointed to the important post of principal tutor. Such was the influence Schaal acquired in this position, that he was virtually for some time prime minister of China.

But the abilities of Schaal and the other missionaries, though they could raise them to power and influence, could not guard them from envy. The Chinese literati, and even the regents themselves, at length became excited to anger by the very learning they had availed themselves of, and by the influence it had procured for the foreigners, through Schaal; for among the many services he had rendered to the state, it is said that on one occasion he actually preserved Macao from destruction. But envy was a-foot, the most absurd charges were made against the missionaries, and they were at length deprived of all employment, while many of them were loaded with chains and thrown into prison. Schaal, who was now far advanced in years and very infirm, sank beneath his afflictions soon after their commencement, and died at the age of seventy-nine. It is much to the credit of the young emperor that he had so well profited by the instructions of his foreign friends, that as soon as he attained his majority he restored

them to their influence and appointments, the place of the deceased Schaal being bestowed upon the missionary Verbiest. We must, perhaps, blame rather the barbarous cruelty of his time and country when we add, that on discovering that his four guardians and regents of the empire were the chief instigators of the disgrace and suffering that had been inflicted on the missionaries, he confirmed the horrid decree of the tribunal, which sentenced not only the offenders, but also their unfortunate families, to be cut into a thousand pieces!

We have previously alluded to the skill and courage evinced by the general Woo-san-quei, when the Mantchoo Tartars and the rebels caused so much misery to the empire. When the Mantchoo Tartars, after aiding him in putting down the rebels, had fairly established the Mantchoo dynasty upon the throne, the general was appointed governor of Kweichow and Yun-nan. His position in the north-west of the empire, discontent with his command, distinguished as it was, added, perhaps, to a natural restlessness and love of warfare, caused him now to levy war upon the neighbouring places. His military skill and his great resources speedily enabled him to make himself master of the southern and western provinces. His success was at once so great and so rapid, that the emperor and his court were thrown into consternation, and Verbiest, who among his numerous abilities included that of a founder of great guns, was applied to to superintend the casting of some. From some inexplicable motives he declined compliance with the request, or rather the order, for as a high officer of the empire such he must have felt it. To suppose a religious scruple, in the case of men so ambitious as the missionaries had shown themselves, and so pliable as they had been in far less justifiable courses on the part of the court, is difficult; and yet on no other ground can we reconcile Verbiest's refusal on this occasion with his sanity. Certain it is, that he not only refused, but persisted in so doing, until significant hints that his refusal was attributed to collusion with the rebels, showed him that his life would not be safe did he not comply with the emperor's wishes. Cannon were then cast, and the speedy consequence was, that Woo San-quei, who, probably, would in a brief space have been master of the capital and the throne, was beaten back within safe limits. Woo San-quei, after another unsuccessful endeavour at usurping the empire, died in 1670, and was succeeded in what remained of his power by his son, who shortly after put an end to his own life.

In 1680 the Mongol Tartars assailed the emperor, but the cannon with which European skill in the great game of manslaughter had furnished him, enabled him to beat off these enemies with greater ease. He had the same success over the Elenths on the north-western frontier of the empire.

Successful in war by the aid of the missionaries, he was no less so in commerce: the czar, Peter the Great, would, in all probability, but for their mediation, have been prevented from concluding a peace with China; and though the commercial advantages which resulted from that peace were not immediate, they were vast and certain. As a whole, the reign of this emperor may be considered by far the noblest of all spoken of in his country's annals. As a military sovereign he will bear comparison even with the daring and hardy Kublai, while, like our own Elizabeth, he had the rare merit—scarcely inferior to genius itself—of skill in discovering genius, and of steady support to ministers possessing it, regardless of court intrigue and court jealousies. Canton, in his reign, even more than it has ever been in our time, was a port open to all nations, and by commerce with all nations was China enriched; and his people had real cause for grief when he died, in the year 1722.

Yung-ching, who now ascended the throne, began his reign by an act which held out but little hopes that he would distinguish himself by wisdom like that of his predecessor. It has been seen that in the preceding reign the missionaries had performed the most important services. In doing so, and in enjoying the high imperial favour which those services secured to them, it was to be expected that they should incur many enmities; and had the new emperor been as wise as his predecessor, to such enmities would he have attributed the host of complaints which now assailed his ears. But the emperor was at least equal to any man in his vast dominions in fierce and bigoted hatred of Christianity; and he gladly received and implicitly listened to all complaints against the missionaries and their native converts, who at this time probably numbered about a quarter of a million. Orders were issued for the expulsion of the whole of the missionaries, with the exception of a few whose mathematical attainments rendered their services of the utmost consequence to the court; and there were a few sheltered at the imminent risk of both parties by the more zealous of their pupils, and thus enabled to evade the edict and in some measure to preserve the leading truths of their teaching among the native converts. But it was a very insignificant number of these missionaries that remained in China, owing to both these causes, and the whole of their chapels and stations were either sacked and destroyed by ferocious mobs, converted into public offices, or perverted to idolatrous worship. The excessive violence which this emperor displayed towards the catholic missionaries caused the king of Portugal in 1726 to despatch an embassy to the emperor on their behalf. The ambassadors were received with distinction; but, though general promises were given even with profusion, the converts to Christianity derived not the slightest practical benefit from this interference on their behalf.

Unhappily, in the year 1726, a new and more terrible persecution took place. Both torture and imprisonment, the former in most cases terminating, after the most frightful agonies, in the death of the sufferers, were now resorted to in every corner of the land where a Christian could

be discovered. Deep policy, however, was mixed up with this vengeful spirit; and to avoid the persecution it was only necessary to declare reconversion to Confucius or Buddha. It may easily be supposed that, under such circumstances, the number of Christians was, nominally at least, soon reduced to a mere handful. One of the causes of this terrible persecution was a dreadful famine which occurred in the previous year, and which was attributed to the sin of conversion to Christianity. With the usual inconsistency of fanaticism, it was quite overlooked, that of the hundreds of thousands who perished, not one in a thousand had ever even heard of Christianity.

The year 1730 was marked by an event which Yung-ching's worst flatterers could not, after his two terrible persecutions of the Christians, venture to attribute to any undue encouragement of the new faith. The whole province of Pecheli—in which Pekin is situated — was shaken by an earthquake. The imperial city was for the most part laid in ruins; and the emperor, who was at the time walking in the garden, was violently thrown to the ground. In Pekin alone upwards of 10,000 souls perished by this lamentable occurrence, and at least thrice that number in other parts of the province. The emperor distributed upwards of a quarter of a million of money for the relief of the survivors. The bigotry and cruelty of this prince can scarcely be excused on the plea of his being ill-advised, for it is certain that he was personally aware of the great benefits that the calumniated and persecuted missionaries had conferred upon his people.

The best that can be said of his reign is, that it was a peaceful one; and the interval of peace would have been infinitely more valuable than it was, had the Christians and their foreign and highly intelligent instructors been allowed to improve it to the best advantage. He died in the year 1735.

CHAPTER VII.

The throne was now filled by Keen-lung; whose first act was to recall the princes and courtiers who had been banished by his father. This done, he put down some revolts among the Eleuths and other tribes on the north-western frontiers. Probably it was the vigour with which he executed this latter measure that caused a deputation to be sent from Russia to settle the disputes which were perpetually breaking out as to the trade between the two countries.

Ragusinki, who was at the head of the Russian embassy, acquitted himself with so much address, that he obtained a treaty by which a Russian caravan, not to exceed two hundred in number, was to visit China for purposes of trade once in every three years; a church was to be erected; and a limited number of Russians were to take up their permanent abode in the Chinese capital for the purpose of acquiring the language.

In this treaty, which is called 'the treaty of Kiachta,' the Chinese authorities, urged no doubt by sound considerations of mercantile profit, conceded much, yet they could not forbear from giving one characteristic specimen of the extreme jealousy of the national polity. Thus though a caravan was permitted to visit the capital, it was to halt upon the frontiers until the arrival of the proper officer to conduct it through the emperor's people.

The next important event of this reign was the expedition sent by the emperor in 1767 against the Burmese. This expedition seems to have originated wholly in the most wanton lust of war on the part of the Chinese, who, in the sequel, were very deservedly punished. An army of above 100,000 men marched into Burmah; but no regular army appeared to oppose its progress. As it penetrated farther, however, every foot of country, and especially where swamp or jungle rendered the route naturally more difficult, had to be traversed with active and daring hordes of guerillas hovering upon its rear and flanks, cutting off stragglers, pouring suddenly down upon weak detachments or divisions—such as the very nature of the country made inevitable; and, in short, acting with such efficient destructiveness, that the Chinese lost upwards of 50,000 men without ever coming to a general engagement! Incredible as it would seem in European warfare, of the immense army of 100,000 men, only 2,000 returned to China — the rest were all killed or taken prisoners; and all in the latter category were naturalised and settled in Burmah. Even this horrible loss of life did not prevent the emperor from persisting in his unjust scheme. He sent a still greater force under his favourite general A-quei, who was as fond of war and as ferocious as himself. Choosing what he thought a less difficult line of march, A-quei had scarcely entered the Burmese territory when he found that if he had fewer human enemies to contend against than his predecessor, he had a still more deadly and irresistible enemy, the jungle fever. He saw his men perish around him by thousands, and he was glad to hasten from the deadly place with even a diminished army, rather than remain to see it wholly annihilated. And the result of all this loss was, that China was obliged to agree to a treaty which confined her dominion within her natural frontiers, thereby giving to Burmah rich gold and silver mines which otherwise would have remained undisputed in the possession of China.

Keen-Lung was engaged in several minor wars originating in endeavours of the more distant northern and western tribes to throw off the yoke.

The Mahometan Tartars, a brave and bigoted race, made an inroad into the province of Shen-si: A-quei, who was sent against them, called upon them to surrender the city in which they had entrenched themselves, and, on being refused, took it by storm, and put every human being he found within the walls to the sword, save a few of the chiefs whom he sent to court. The emperor, whose bloodthirsty nature was such that he was accustomed to have

criminals tortured in his presence, ordered these unhappy chiefs to be tortured before his assembled court, and then cut to pieces and thrown to the dogs! Not content with this sanguinary act, the monster gave orders to A-quei to march upon the Mahometan Tartars, and put all to the sword who were above fifteen years of age.

Many, very many, rebellions took place during this reign; among them was that of the people of the island of Formosa. The mandarins who acted as viceroys in this island were guilty of the most shameful exactions and cruelties. On one occasion they put to death a mandarin who had ill-treated them. The viceroy of Fuh-keen, being commissioned to avenge the death of the mandarin, sailed to the island and sacrificed victims to his manes, without regard to the guilt or innocence of those he immolated. The Formosans soon became so enraged that they rose *en masse*, butchered every Chinese and Tartar in the island, and were only at length induced to return to their yoke—after having bravely beaten off the imperial fleet—on being indemnified for their losses, and assured against the recurrence of the tyranny of which they complained.

As though fairly wearied out with the strife and bloodshed of sixty years of perpetual warfares, Keen-lung abdicated the throne in favour of his son Kea-king. Though he never personally commanded his armies, he caused more bloodshed than, probably, any modern commander, with the single exception of Napoleon.

Kea-king's first use of his power was to renew those persecutions of the catholics which in the last reign had seemed to be falling into desuetude. Torture and death were the fate of many; still more were sentenced to wear the cangou or wooden collar during their lives, or were banished to Tartary, which last was a singularly impolitic punishment, as the Tartars needed no discontented men to incite them to revolt.

A rebellion of a very threatening nature, inasmuch as some members of the imperial family and other principal persons were concerned in it, was planned a few years later. By some fortunate accident, or, still more probably, through the treachery of some of the confederates, the plot was discovered ere it was ripe for execution. Many of the principal conspirators were put to death, and others only escaped death to suffer the confiscation of their property, which was peculiarly acceptable to the almost utterly empty treasury of the emperor.

In 1792 lord Macartney was sent as ambassador to China, to endeavour to establish our trade with that country upon a better and surer footing, and more especially to obtain for the British factory a cessation of the insolence and extortion of the viceroy of Canton. The embassy was productive of but little good effect. The insolent and extortionate viceroy was recalled, it is true, but his successor was not long in office ere he went far beyond him in both of those bad qualities. The ambassador was blamed at home for having been too high and unbending in his demeanour; but the truth is, that the time had not come for a proper understanding to exist between the Chinese and any European nation.

When in 1808 it was feared that Buonaparte would aim at our eastern trade, admiral Drury was ordered to Macao; but after much wordy disputation between the Chinese authorities there and the admiral, the latter retired after a slight collision in which we lost one man. The Chinese pretended to have gained a great victory, a magniloquent account of the same was sent to Pekin, and a pagoda actually erected to commemorate it.

In 1816 another ambassador, lord Amherst, was sent to China, but his mission was to the full as unsatisfactory as that of lord Macartney.

It was about this time that the opium speculation began to grow to something like a noticeable extent—but on that head we shall have to speak at length in our next chapter.

After twenty-five years' reign, marked far more by despotic temper than by the talent necessary to render it effective, Kea-king died in the year 1820.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE trade of England, as well as of all other nations, with China has ever been subject to such restrictions, and been liable to so many interruptions, from the caprice of the Chinese and from the insolence with which those caprices have been acted upon, that it has of necessity from time to time very much partaken of the character of smuggling—even as regards articles to which no moral exception could by possibility be taken.

During the memorable 'opium' dispute, this fact seems to have been much neglected by many of the leading political writers of England. They have looked at the question rather as a moral than a political one, and have blamed our political resistance of national insult because that resistance happened to be made upon a point in which a moral question was artfully mixed up with it by the Chinese.

No sane man will pretend to vindicate the trading in opium otherwise than as a very important article of materia medica; no one will say that it is otherwise than highly desirable that the use of this 'insane' drug as a means of intoxication should be prohibited. But, we repeat, though our collision with the Chinese has chanced to arise upon the question of the importation of opium, the moral consideration as to the sale and use of that drug are really quite beside the question: had the article of trade been Yorkshire cloths or Birmingham hardware, the same collision must sooner or later have taken place.

Opium was imported into China as early as the 17th century, and it was not until towards the close of the 18th century that Kea-king prohibited it. We applaud him for doing this. It was high time to put somecheck upon the use of it; for though

it was professedly important only as a medicinal drug, it was imported to the extent of 1,000 chests per annum as early as 1776, and the importation had been perpetually increasing in amount up to 1796. Up to this time, be it remembered, the traffic was strictly legal: it paid a duty of five mace per catty, and was for the most part delivered to and bonded by the government.

It is clear that from 1796 the trade in this drug was mere smuggling; equally clear that whether John Tomkins or 'The Company' was the trader, that trader was a smuggler. We will go farther. When the East India Company, having the monopoly of the eastern trade, compelled the ryots of Patna to grow opium instead of rice, and compelled the ryots of divers other parts of the Anglo-Indian territory to do the same, the act was one which the English press ought loudly to have denounced, and which the English senate ought to have put a stop to, on pain of the loss of the Company's charter. All this is clear as noon-day; but there is another consideration. The government of China is essentially paternal; from the emperor to the lowest officer of his state link connects link, as from the father of a family to his youngest child or his meanest servant. The trade in opium was forbidden from time to time by edicts; true: but the very officers who were charged with the duty of enforcing those edicts were themselves the virtual importers of opium! Had the Chinese authorities at Canton and along the coast not connived at the trade for enormous bribes, or, as was even more frequently the case, been themselves actual traders in the article, the trade would have been at an end years ago, and when only a comparatively small portion of British capital was involved in it.

It appears to us that the *public* prohibition of a drug of which the consumption was hourly increasing, and the aid given to its importation by the very persons appointed to carry that prohibition into effect, are merely 'part and parcel' of the settled Chinese policy of fleecing barbarians to the utmost possible extent, on the one hand, and of always having a convenient pretext for such a stoppage in trade as circumstances might make convenient in the way of temporarily or permanently making the fleece longer and finer! It would be an instructive lesson for some of our politicians to con—the difference of profit to China, between the 1,000 chests imported in 1776 at a fixed duty of five mace the catty, and that upon the 40,000 chests smuggled in 1840—at whatever profit the unscrupulous authorities could extort!

It was not until 1839 that anything in the shape of a real determination to put down the trade was exhibited by the Chinese; for the occasional stoppages of trade and blustering manifestoes, as already said, we look at as mere measures for making the fleece longer and finer!

Lin appeared at Canton, in that year, a 'high commissioner'—an officer possessing almost dictatorial powers, and one who had not been more than thrice previously appointed during the present dynasty. In an edict he said, 'I, the commissioner, am sworn to remove utterly this root of misery; nor will I let the foreign vessels have any offshoot left for the evil to bud forth again.' The British commissioner and between two and three hundred British subjects were then thrown into a state of close confinement; the guards placed over them heaped every insult upon them, and threatened them with being deprived of provisions and water. Captain Elliot, the British superintendent, under such circumstances, saw no means of evading the demands of the Chinese; and upwards of 20,000 chests of opium, valued at 20,000,000 of dollars, were delivered to commissioner Lin for destruction.

In 1840 war was declared by England against the Chinese. The leading events however, which followed being related in the history of our own country, it would be superfluous to repeat them here.

All differences being finally adjusted, and his celestial majesty being on terms of the strictest amity with her Britannic majesty, a ratification of the treaty between the two countries was announced on the 27th of July 1843. From that day the Hong merchants' monopoly and Consoo charges were to cease; and the conditions upon which trade was in future to be carried on, appeared in a notice issued by sir Henry Pottinger, the British plenipotentiary in China; who published an export and import tariff, and also a proclamation, in which he trusts that the commercial treaty will be found, in practice, mutually advantageous, beneficial and just, as regards the interest, honour, and the future augmented prosperity of the governments of the two mighty contracting empires and their subjects.

The proclamation issued by the imperial commission contained a perfect amnesty, and the remission of punishment for all who had served the English soldiers with supplies, &c. in days past, and concludes by stating that, 'From henceforward amity and goodwill shall ever continue, and those from afar, and those who are near, shall perpetually rejoice together.'

But despite these fine promises, in 1847, fresh outrages on the part of the people of Canton led to another temporary capture of the Bogue forts. The emperor Tao-Kwang died in 1850, after a reign of thirty years, and was succeeded by Y-Ching. But the rule of the present Tartar dynasty, even in the heart of its own dominions, is held by a very uncertain tenure. The Teaou-tu tribes in the south-west provinces of China, and supposed to be their original inhabitants, have repeatedly risen in rebellion, secret societies, the principal of which is called 'The Triad,' and which has for its object the restoration of a native dynasty, are said to be rapidly extending; and the finances of the empire are believed to be in a very unsatisfactory condition, in spite of a revenue, officially stated to amount to about 63,934,173*l.* annually. In 1852 a smouldering civil war had been making way in some of the provinces during the two previous years

mainly, it is understood, directed against the reigning dynasty, and in February it had made such progress that the Tartar general commanding the imperial troops at Canton was apprehensive of an attack from the rebels. This rebellion still drags itself along, causing fearful havoc and misery from time to time, but not having yet succeeded in completely paralysing the ancient government. But other dangers and difficulties were in store for the Chinese emperor.

The year 1856 was not to close without seeing the English again practically at war with China. On the 8th of October, a body of Chinese officers boarded a lorcha named the Arrow, on the ground that one of the crew was a native pirate, who was to be tried for his crimes; they then seized all the crew but two, and took them away. It seems that the British colours were flying at the time. Mr. Parkes, the consul at Canton, demanded that they should be brought to the British consulate for examination, and wrote a statement of the matter to sir John Bowring, the plenipotentiary at Hong Kong, who in his reply said that the Arrow 'had no right to hoist the British flag,' her license having expired on the 27th of September; but that, 'as the Chinese had no knowledge of the expiry of the license,' they had violated the treaty, and must make an apology. In a letter to commissioner Yeh, he stated that the Arrow lawfully bore the British flag under a register granted by him; but it does not appear that he explained this as referring to time past, and not to the time at which the vessel was boarded. Reparation was refused. Accordingly admiral sir Michael Seymour was ordered to use force, and he seized a war junk, which was brought down to Whampoa. As this produced no effect, he took a number of forts which defended the approaches to Canton, and burnt many of the buildings. On the 25th of October the British seized the Dutch Folly, a fort of fifty guns on an island opposite Canton. Commissioner Yeh now offered to surrender ten out of the twelve men seized, but as he made no apology, all his offers were declined; and Mr. Parkes was instructed to demand the same free access for all representatives of foreign countries into Canton, which they enjoyed at the other four ports. It was true that this free ingress had been stipulated by several treaties, but it had not been thought advisable to urge its execution; but it was doubtful whether the present time was the right one for insisting on the performance of the agreement, while it was clear that it shifted the ground of quarrel, and introduced new and very perplexing matters of dispute. The refusal of the commissioner was followed by two attacks on Canton, in which much damage was done to government property. The French Folly fort was also seized, and the whole of the Bogue forts were taken on the refusal of the governor to surrender them. Towards the end of 1856, some Chinese soldiers boarded the Thistle, a mail steamer, plying between Canton and Hong Kong, and having massacred the European crew, made their escape. Early in 1857 the Dutch Folly and Whampoa were abandoned, as the fleet under sir M. Seymour was not strong enough to occupy all the positions taken from the Chinese; and a proclamation was issued by the commissioner Yeh offering graduated rewards in money for the slaughter or capture of the red-haired dogs of barbarians. In May, commodore Elliott and sir Michael Seymour succeeded in destroying the fleet of war junks in the Canton waters. Early in June, lord Elgin arrived at Hong Kong, but some of the troops destined for China had already been diverted to India for the suppression of the mutiny, and lord Elgin himself followed them to Calcutta, not returning till the end of the autumn. In December, he wrote to Yeh, announcing the terms on which the British government was prepared to settle the existing differences. Yeh returned evasive answers; and the result was, after fair notice, the bombardment of Canton, and the capture of its defences by the allied English and French force. Still no offer of submission was made, and after a week some soldiers were sent into the city, and Peh-kwei, the governor of the city, and Yeh were both taken. The latter was sent on board the Inflexible as a state prisoner, and was afterwards sent to Calcutta. According to the usual policy of China, his defeat was immediately followed by his degradation. As at Sparta, the condemnation was not so much for his thieving as for being discovered in theft. But tedious delays were still interposed in the way of a settlement, and the plenipotentiaries of England and France determined to go in person to Pekin. At the forts of the Peiho they had to surmount an armed resistance, and thence they went on to Tien-tsin, where on the 4th of June two commissioners met them, with full powers, as they alleged, from the emperor. After a lengthy interview, it turned out that these full powers were merely directions to refer the whole matter to the emperor, and lord Elgin naturally declared them to be thoroughly unsatisfactory. After some further attempts at evasion, a treaty of peace was signed towards the end of June, confirming the treaty of 1842, and providing for the permanent establishment of a British minister at Pekin.

The minister, so appointed, was Mr. Bruce, brother of the earl of Elgin. He was directed to supersede sir John Bowring as governor at Hong Kong, and to transfer the direction of affairs from that place for the present to Shanghai, and only to require occasionally the admission of the British embassy at Pekin itself. But he was to insist on ratifying the treaty at the capital, and not to listen to any arguments which the Chinese might urge to dissuade him from so doing. Mr. Bruce having reached Hong Kong in May, went on to Shanghai, where, as had been expected, the Chinese begged that the ratifications might be interchanged. When this was refused, they urged the ambassador to go by land to Pekin, a journey of two months, but Mr.

Bruce determined to go up by the river Peiho; and at length, with M. de Bomboulon, the French ambassador, he arrived off the island of Sha-lin-tien in the gulf of Pechili, on the 17th of June. The next day admiral Hope went on to the mouth of the Peiho, to announce their arrival and to examine into the state of the defences. He found most of these reconstructed, while it was evident that a large number of guns were hidden behind the mattings which masked the embrasures. The river was obstructed by chains and other obstacles. These the Chinese repeatedly promised to remove, and as often broke their promise. At last admiral Hope took his vessels within the bar, and after notice given, prepared to force a passage. On advancing from the first to the second barrier a tremendous fire was opened from the masked batteries. Admiral Hope was severely wounded, and was obliged to give up the more immediate command of the squadron to captain Shadwell. One gunboat was sunk, another rendered useless, but at length the firing of the forts was silenced, and no great harm was done. Unfortunately the admiral thought the forts could be taken by a *coup de main*, by landing a body of men from the vessels. But he was unaware of the depth of the water, and still more of the depth of the mud near the shore. A landing was effected in the evening, but as soon as the first boat touched the shore, a terrific fire of shot, shell, gingel-balls, and rockets was opened upon them. The men leaped out into water, or into mud, which was up to their knees and sometimes up to their waists. Hardly any could keep their rifles and ammunition dry. Still they went on steadily, but all the scaling ladders but one were broken: with this ten men rushed forward, five of whom were immediately killed, and the remainder severely wounded. At last the order was given to retreat; but the loss had been fearful. About 64 officers and men had been killed, and 232 wounded, besides 25 killed and 93 wounded in the gunboats during the action. The squadron then returned to Shanghai, and the Chinese did not fail to forward an account to the emperor, full of lies and exaggerations.

It became necessary now to take prompt measures. Lord Elgin was again appointed British plenipotentiary in China, and sir Hope Grant was made chief commander. At the head of the French troops was general Montauban, baron Gros being the plenipotentiary. On the 8th of March 1860, Mr. Bruce had sent from Shanghai to the Chinese government an ultimatum, to which he commanded an unconditional and immediate assent. He required that an ample apology should be made; that the treaty of Tien-tsing should be ratified without delay at Pekin, and that 4,000,000 taels should be paid as compensation. This ultimatum was absolutely rejected, with the advice that the barbarians must not for the future be so wanting in decorum. In June the allied forces started from Chefow and the bay of Tah-lien-hwan, and meeting near the mouth of the Peiho river, went to Pehtang, where they disembarked and remained encamped till the 12th of August. A few days after, the garrison left at Shanghai had to beat off an attack from the Taepings, a body of rebels, who had for many years been at war with the Chinese government. On moving from Pehtang the allies marched to Tangku, and fought their way into the town, where they captured forty-five guns. The Taku forts were then taken, with 400 guns. The Chinese now made some attempts at negotiation: but when admiral Hope went with Mr. Parkes to Tien-tsin, it was found that the Chinese commissioners had not sufficient powers; and to a request that they should be allowed to refer to Pekin, a peremptory refusal was given by lord Elgin, who declared his intention of going with his force immediately to Tang-chou. On the 13th of September, some more satisfactory proposals were made, and it was agreed that the allies should halt at Chang-tsia-wan, five miles short of Tang-chou, whither the ambassadors, should go to sign the convention. Mr. Parkes, therefore, and Mr. Loch, went on with an escort of Fane's horse under lieut. Anderson. But on arriving at the spot where it was intended that the allies should encamp, it was found occupied by a large Chinese army which had thrown up batteries to flank the proposed sides of our camp. Mr. Parkes, therefore, went back to Tang-chou, to ask the meaning of this step. He was accompanied by Mr. De Norman, and Mr. Bowlby, correspondent of 'The Times' newspaper, Mr. Loch and captain Brabazon. These started with a flag of truce to Tang-chou. For some hours sir Hope Grant awaited their return in great anxiety; until a commotion was visible in the Chinese camp, and colonel Walker's party dashed out of the midst of their ranks. Colonel Walker reported that while they were waiting for Mr. Parkes, a French officer was suddenly cut down by a Chinese soldier, while his own sword was snatched from its scabbard, and an effort was made to throw him off his horse. As it was an evident attempt to murder all, they put spurs to their horses and forced their way out. It was useless therefore to wait longer. The attack was ordered at once, and the Chinese army was completely defeated. Meanwhile Mr. Parkes and Mr. Loch had been brought before San-ko-lin-sin, and by him publicly insulted. The rest, viz. captain Brabazon, lieut. Anderson, Mr. Bowlby, an English dragoon, and eighteen sowars, were carried into the interior, tormented and murdered, with the exception of a few of the sowars. Mr. Parkes and Mr. Loch were taken to Pekin, and placed in a prison belonging to the board of punishments, where they were kept heavily chained. From Mr. Parkes the Chinese sought to get information, but to no purpose. His confinement was afterwards made more light, and at length he was told that he should be set free: but he refused to go without Mr. Loch. On the 29th they were both removed to a temple, where they were well treated until their release. In the meantime, lord Elgin had informed prince Kung, that the

army would advance to the assault on Pekin, unless within three days the prisoners should be restored, the convention signed at Tang-chou, and the ratifications exchanged at Pekin. As only evasive answers were returned, the army moved on, and took the emperor's summer palace at Yueng-min-zuen, which was completely gutted of its contents, leave being given to the soldiers to plunder it to any extent. Two days afterwards, Mr. Parkes, with the others who had been imprisoned at Pekin, returned to the camp. On the 12th all was ready for the bombardment of Pekin, and the Chinese were told that the cannonade would begin the next day, if the city were not surrendered and one of its gates placed in our hands before noon. This was done; but the emperor had previously made his escape. At the time of the surrender, lord Elgin did not know the way in which the English and French prisoners had been treated, and prince Kung had declared that they had suffered no mortal injury. When their sufferings and death became known, he determined to inflict some signal punishment, and fixed on the destruction of the summer palace. Baron Gros dissented; but lord Elgin resolved to carry it out on his own responsibility. He wrote, therefore, to prince Kung, telling him that the palace should be burnt, and that peace could not be made, until a sum of 300,000 taels should be paid down, for the benefit of those who had suffered, and as a compensation to the families of the murdered men. He reserved further to the allied forces the right of remaining at Tien-tsin until the whole of the indemnity provided for in the convention had been paid. The summer palace was accordingly burnt down and totally destroyed, and on the 24th of October a convention was signed at Pekin, in which the emperor made the desired apology, and gave the British ministers the right of residing permanently or occasionally at Pekin, as the queen of Great Britain might determine. He further threw open the port of Tien-tsin to trade, and ceded a part of the township of Cowloon, to be held as a dependency of the British colony Hong Kong. The ratifications of this treaty having been exchanged, the allied forces left Pekin on the 5th of November and returned to Tien-tsin.

THE HISTORY OF JAPAN.

JAPAN is a general name given, by Europeans, to a great number of islands, lying between the eastern coast of Asia and the western coast of America, and which together compose a large empire, extending from the 30th to the 41st degree of north latitude, and from the 130th to the 147th degree of east longitude. The inhabitants call this empire *Niphon*, which is the name of the largest island belonging to it. It was discovered by the Portuguese about the year 1452.

The Japanese are divided into several sects, who live together in harmony. Every sect has its own temples and priests. The spiritual emperor, or *dairi-sama*, is the chief of their religion. They acknowledge and honour a Supreme Being; and the temples are open to every one, whatever his creed or country.

Christianity had once made a considerable progress in Japan, under the auspices of the Portuguese and Spanish Jesuits, among whom was the famous St. Francis Xavier; but it ended tragically, owing to an ill-conducted conspiracy of the fathers against the state. This proceeding produced a persecution of forty years' duration, and terminated by a most horrible massacre, scarcely to be paralleled in history. After this, not only the Portuguese, but Christians of every nation, were totally expelled the country, and the most effectual means taken for preventing their return.

In 1611, the Dutch had the liberty of a free commerce granted them by the imperial letters patent, and established a factory at Firando. They were then at war with Spain, and Portugal was at that time under the Spanish government. The former, by taking a homeward-bound Portuguese ship, found a traitorous letter to the king by a captain Moro, chief of the Portuguese in Japan. The Dutch immediately forwarded this letter to their protector, the prince of Firando. This letter laid open the whole plot which the Japanese Christians, in conjunction with the Portuguese, had laid against the emperor's life and throne. In consequence of this discovery, in the year 1637, an imperial order was sent to the governor of Nagasaki, to admit no more Portuguese into the empire.

Notwithstanding this proclamation, the Portuguese found means to carry on their trade two years longer, hoping to obtain leave to stay in the island of Desima, and there continue to trade: but they found themselves disappointed; for the emperor on the assurance given him by the Dutch East India Company, that they would supply him in future with all the articles heretofore supplied by the Portuguese, declared them, and the Christians, enemies of the empire; and they were totally expelled the country in 1640. Their extirpation, and with them the Christian religion, was so complete, that not a vestige can now be discerned of its having ever existed there.

The government of the Japan empire is an hereditary, absolute monarchy. The imperial dignity had been enjoyed, for a considerable time before the year 1500 by a regular succession of princes, under the title of *dairos*. Soon after that epoch, a civil war broke out, which lasted many years. During the destruction it occasioned, a common soldier, named Tayckoy, found means to raise himself to the imperial dignity, and the dairo was obliged to submit to terms. This revolution took place in 1517. Tayckoy reigned several years, during which he made excellent laws, which still subsist. At his death he left the crown to his son, Tayckossama, then a minor; but the treacherous prince under whose guardianship he was left, deprived him of his life before he became of age. By this murder the crown passed to the family of Jejassama, in which it still continues.

The Japanese must be placed rather among the polished nations than otherwise. Their mode of government, their skill in agriculture, in manufacture, arts, and sciences —their politeness, good-nature, prudence, frankness and courage—entitle them to this distinction. They seem to possess nothing of the vanity of Asiatics and Africans; but are careful only to provide themselves, from the productions of their own country, with those necessaries and comforts of life, so desirable to enlightened human beings.

The language of the Japanese has some affinity to the Chinese; though it appears, from its various dialects, to have been a kind of compound of that and other languages, derived from the various nations that first peopled these islands. Their manner of writing, and their architecture, are very similar to those of China.

The internal trade of Japan is very extensive, and their industry will bear comparison with that of the Hindoos, or even Chinese. Foreign commerce, however, is vigorously opposed by the daimios or nobles, in consequence of the supposed Portuguese treachery before mentioned, and the attempts of the Jesuit missionaries to Christianise the people. The number of Dutch vessels allowed to come each year, and the quantity of each description of wares to be sold, was strictly defined. The ships, immediately on their arrival, were strictly searched, and the crews kept, during their stay in port, completely secluded from the

natives; while all the business transactions were conducted by the Japanese, who also unloaded and reloaded the vessels.

The beginning of the year is the time observed for holidays, or days of leisure and enjoyment; and at this time the ceremony of trampling on images, representing the cross, and the virgin and child, was performed. The images are of copper, about a foot long. This ceremony was intended to impress every individual with hatred of the Christian doctrine, and the Portuguese, who attempted to introduce it; and also to discover whether any remnant of it is left among the Japanese. It was performed in the places where the Christians chiefly resided. In Nagasaki it lasted four days; then the images were conveyed to the circumjacent places, and afterwards laid aside till the next year. Every person, except the Japanese governor and his attendants, even the smallest child, was obliged to be present.

The population of Japan is supposed to exceed fifty millions. The army in time of peace consists of 100,000 infantry, and 20,000 cavalry: the force during war being increased by levies from the different provinces to 400,000 infantry, and 40,000 cavalry. Their artillery is very inconsiderable.

During the summer of 1858 Lord Elgin, having obtained a satisfactory treaty of peace from the emperor of China, determined to go to Japan, and seek to obtain from the Japanese a treaty which should give us the same commercial advantages which the Dutch had long enjoyed. Under the pretext of presenting a steam yacht to the emperor, he sailed into the harbour and anchored close to the walls of Jeddo, the capital. If the attempt was somewhat rash, its object was achieved, and he was hospitably entertained on shore for more than a week. The treaty subsequently made provided for the trade of the two nations on equal terms, and also the appointment of a British diplomatic agent, who was to reside at Jeddo. But in 1862 the government of the country again fell into the hands of a party who showed their aversion to foreigners, by the usual practice of assassinating harmless travellers.

For the outrages thus committed, colonel Neale, the British chargé d'affaires in Japan, was ordered to demand from the government of the Tycoon the payment of 100,000*l.* and an ample apology, and from prince Satsuma, within whose jurisdiction the crimes were committed, an indemnity of 25,000*l.* The former sum was paid; but from Satsuma no satisfaction was to be obtained; and the English fleet under Admiral Kuper was ordered to Kagosima, the capital of this powerful Daimio. A stated time was fixed for making reparation; and when on its expiration the admiral seized on three screw steamers belonging to Satsuma, all the batteries of the town suddenly opened on the squadron. The admiral bombarded the place, which caught fire, and the houses were burnt for more than a mile in extent. The next day the batteries were again shelled, and the prince now agreed to do what he could to bring the criminals to justice, and to pay the indemnity demanded.

THE EAST INDIA ISLANDS.

CEYLON.

CEYLON is a large island of the East Indies, separated from the continent by the gulf of Manaar and Palk's straits, near the southern extremity of Hindostan. It is 250 miles in length from north to south, and averages about 100 in breadth. The conquest of this island was the first attempt of Albuquerque, the celebrated Portuguese admiral. He found it well peopled, and inhabited by two different nations; the *Bedas* in the north, and the *Cinglasses*, or *Singalese*, in the south. The former were very barbarous; but the latter in some state of civilisation. These, however, derived great advantages from the mines of precious stones, and also from their pearl fishery, the greatest in the East.

It is said that the proper name of the island is Singhala, and that part of the population called Singalese have a tradition that their ancestors came thither from the eastward nearly 2,400 years ago; but many authors suppose them to be a colony of Singhs or Rajpoots, who arrived about 500 years B.C. From the ruins of cities, tanks, aqueducts, canals, bridges, temples, &c. at Trincomalee and other places, Ceylon has evidently been at some remote period a rich, populous, and comparatively civilised country. The Portuguese not only conquered, but tyrannised over them to such a degree, that they assisted the Dutch in expelling them from the island in 1658, after a bloody and obstinate war, by which all the Portuguese settlements fell into the hands of the Dutch East India Company.

The wars with the king of Candy, the most potent, if not the sole sovereign of the island, were very detrimental to Holland. In a sanguinary war, which ended

in 1766, the Ceylonese monarch was driven from his capital, and the Dutch made a very advantageous treaty. Their sovereignty was acknowledged over all those parts of the country they possessed before the war, and that part of the coasts held by the natives was ceded to them. They were allowed to gather cinnamon in all the plains: and the court stipulated to sell them the best sort, which is produced in the mountains, at a very moderate price. The government also engaged to have no connection with any foreign power, and even to deliver up any Europeans who might happen to come into the island. In return for so many concessions the king was to receive annually the value of the produce of the ceded coasts; and from thence his subjects were to be furnished, gratis, with as much salt as they had occasion for. Matters were in this situation when the English attacked the Dutch in 1794, and conquered Trincomalee, and all their settlements in the island; and it afterwards became a part of the price of the peace of Amiens in favour of England.

The English had no sooner taken possession, than they unhappily were involved in a war with the king of Candy, owing to some misunderstanding relative to certain articles of commerce; and the lives of many brave men were sacrificed to it; rather, however, by the treachery and bad faith of the Ceylonese king and his minister, than by fair and honourable warfare. The population of Ceylon, independently of the colonists who have at various times possessed themselves of the coasts, consist of—1st, the native Singalese or Ceylonese, one branch occupying the Candyan territories, and the other the coasts; 2nd, the Veddahs, or aborigines, who, in an almost savage state, inhabited the mountainous regions and unexplored fastnesses; 3rd, the Moors, who are found in all parts of the island; and 4th, the Malabar and other Hindoos, who dwell chiefly on the northern and eastern coasts. Of all these races the Candyan Ceylonese differ least from Europeans, in form, feature, and physical power. There are also some Caffres and Javanese, a few Chinese and Parsee traders, and a considerable number of English, Dutch, and Portuguese; besides a hybrid population.

The upper classes among the Singalese profess Christianity, and many are converts to Mohammedanism; but the general religion is Buddhism. The government is vested in the hands of a British governor, assisted by a council of European civil servants; but all laws, before being acted upon, are published in the official gazette, for their general diffusion and translation into the native languages. In 1849 an insurrection broke out, which, however, was speedily suppressed. It arose chiefly from the mercantile interest differing with the governor, Lord Torrington, as to his mode of levying the taxes. Lord Torrington was recalled; and his conduct was the theme of much discussion in parliament, which, however, led to no result.

SUMATRA.

SUMATRA is a large island in the Indian ocean, being, next to Borneo, the largest in the eastern seas. It is about 1,000 miles in length, from north-west to south-east; but, in general, not more than 150 in breadth. This is the first of the islands which form the great East India Archipelago; and is separated from the peninsula beyond the Ganges by the straits of Malacca; which is the usual passage from the bay of Bengal and the Coromandel coast to Borneo or China, and, consequently to the gulf of Siam, Cambodia, Cochin China, and the gulf of Tonquin.

Gold dust is an article of considerable traffic, and is brought by merchants from the interior to the sea-coast, where it is bartered for iron tools, and various kinds of East Indian and European manufacture of silk, cotton, broad cloths, &c. But the most valuable and important production of the island is pepper, the average produce of which at this time is supposed to amount to 30,000,000 lbs. a-year. Turmeric, cassia, ginger, coffee, and many kinds of scented woods, are also produced here. After the capture of the Moluccas by the British, in 1796, the nutmeg and clove were introduced at Bencoolen, but though large quantities were raised, the quality was inferior to similar products obtained from Amboyna and the Banda isles. The Sumatran camphor is in high estimation. Cocoa-nut, betel, bamboo, sugar-cane, various palms, and an abundance of tropical fruits, are indigenous.

At Bencoolen, on the west side of Sumatra, is the English factory, belonging to the East India Company. The factory was once entirely deserted, through the frequent quarrels and bickerings of the natives and the English; and had not the former found that trade decreased in consequence of the absence of the latter, they never would have been invited to settle there again.

PRINCE OF WALES'S ISLAND.

PRINCE of Wales's Island, or Pulo Penang, is situated in the straits of Malacca, about two miles from the west coast of the Malay peninsula. The India Company, in 1784, came to the resolution of establishing a settlement here. This island is about seventeen miles long, by ten broad: its northern extremity runs nearly parallel with the main land, at a distance of about two miles, by which a fine channel is formed, where the largest fleet may ride in perfect safety; the height of the surrounding mountains acting as a barrier against the force of the prevailing winds. In fact, the advantages attending this island, both in a political and commercial view, are obvious.

JAVA.

JAVA is a large island, extending in length nearly 700 miles, and averaging in breadth about 90; and is separated from Sumatra by the strait of Sunda.

Towards the close of the 16th century, Cornelius Houtman, a Dutchman, conducted four vessels to Java by the Cape of Good Hope; and his prudence procured him an interview with the principal king of the island; but the Portuguese created him some enemies. Having got the better in several skirmishes in which he was engaged, he returned with his small squadron to Holland, where, though he brought but little wealth, he raised much expectation. He brought away some negroes, Chinese, and inhabitants of Malabar, a native of Malacca, a Japanese, and Abdul, a pilot of the Guzerat, a man of great abilities, and perfectly acquainted with the coasts of India.

The account given by Houtman encouraged the merchants of Amsterdam to form the plan of a settlement at Java, which, at the same time that it would throw the pepper trade into their hands, would place them also near the islands that produce the more valuable spices, and facilitate their communication with China and Japan. Admiral Van Neck was therefore sent on this important expedition with eight vessels, and arrived safe at Java, where he found the inhabitants prejudiced against his nation. They fought and negotiated by turns. At length they were permitted to trade, and, in a short time, loaded four vessels with spices and linens. The admiral, with his fleet, sailed to the Moluccas, where he learned that the natives of the country had forced the Portuguese to abandon some of the places in which they had settled, and that they only waited for a favourable opportunity of expelling them from the rest. He established factories in several of these islands, entered into a treaty with some of the kings, and returned to Europe laden with riches.

In 1602, the States-general formed the Dutch India Company. It was invested with authority to make peace or war with the eastern princes, to erect forts, maintain garrisons, and to nominate officers for the conduct of the police and the administration of justice.

The company set out with great advantages; and, soon after its establishment, they fitted out for India fourteen ships and some yachts, under the command of admiral Warwick, whom the Hollanders look upon as the founder of their commerce, and of their colonies, in the East. He built a factory in this island, and secured it by fortifications. He had frequent engagements with the Portuguese, in which he generally came off victorious. A sanguinary war was the consequence of these hostilities between the two nations, in which the Dutch were successful.

Batavia, which, from a small beginning, has become the capital of all the Dutch possessions in India, has one of the best and safest harbours in the world. The inhabitants consist of Dutch, French, Portuguese, Javanese, Chinese, Malays, Negroes, and many others; and, altogether, it may be said to be one of the most valuable colonies belonging to any European nation. The island was taken by a British force from India in 1811, and held till 1816, when it was restored to the Dutch.

BORNEO.

BORNEO is one of the largest islands in the world, being 1,500 miles in circumference. It is seated under the equator, and occupies nearly the centre of the eastern archipelago. The west and north-east sides of it are a desert, and the east is comparatively little known. The inland parts are mountainous; and the south-east, for many leagues together, is an unwholesome morass.

Borneo was discovered by the Portuguese in 1521. The English and Portuguese several times attempted to found establishments on its coasts without success. The sovereignty of the south coast was ceded to the Dutch by the sultan of Banjermassin in 1787; but the most important event in the recent history of Borneo is the enterprise of sir James Brooke, who first visited the island in 1839, and has since been actively engaged in the suppression of piracy, the diffusion of education, and the encouragement of commerce and manufactures.

The Dyaks are divided into numerous tribes, the chief being those of the interior, or hill Dyaks, and the Dyaks of the coast, many of whom are daring pirates. The Dyaks of the north coast have been conquered by the Malays, who treat them with great cruelty. The island is divided into many separate states, governed by native chiefs; the best known of these is Borneo Proper, which extends over the level space on the north coast. On the north coast, near the north-west part of the island, is the territory of Sarawak, which is under the rajahship of sir James Brooke. This territory enjoys an excellent climate, is rich in mineral and agricultural products, and is admirably situated for trade. Borneo is rich in minerals; gold, silver, tin, iron, and especially diamonds. Excellent coal is worked in Borneo Proper and Banjermassin, and rich iron mines were discovered in the south-east angle of the isle in 1848. The soil is very fertile. The forests furnish valuable timber, and, in common with many other isles of the archipelago, the gutta percha, now so extensively employed in manufactures. Among vegetables are, maize, rice, yams, batatas, cocoa-nut, betel, tobacco, cotton, sugar-cane, pepper, and other spices and fruits.

THE MOLUCCAS, OR SPICE ISLANDS.

THESE consist of Amboyna, Ternate, Fedor, Motyr, Cilolo, and several other small islands. The Portuguese were the first Europeans who possessed them, but were obliged to share their advantages with the Spaniards, and at length to give up the trade almost entirely to them. These two nations joined to oppose the Dutch in their first attempts to gain a settlement; but the Dutch, assisted by the natives of the country, by degrees gained the superiority. The ancient conquerors were driven out about the year 1615, and their place supplied by others equally avaricious, though less turbulent.

As soon as the Dutch had established themselves in the Moluccas, they endeavoured to get the exclusive trade of spices into their own hands. They skilfully availed themselves of the forts they had taken, and those they had erected, to draw the kings of Ternate and Tydor, who were masters of this archipelago, into their schemes. These princes, for a small sum of money, agreed to root out all the clove and nutmeg trees in the islands under their dominions; and a garrison of seven hundred men was appointed to secure the performance of the treaty.

At Amboyna they engrossed the whole cultivation of cloves. They allotted to the inhabitants four thousand parcels of land, on each of which they were compelled to plant one hundred and twenty-five trees, amounting, in the whole, to five hundred thousand: and the collective produce averages about one million of pounds.

When the Dutch dispossessed the Portuguese of Amboyna in 1615, they did not become masters of the island at once. The English had here five factories, under the protection of the Dutch castle. Great differences had arisen between the English and Dutch colonists: at length a treaty was concluded, in 1619, by which the concerns of both were regulated. Some short time after, the Dutch pretended that the English and Amboyanese had formed a conspiracy to dispossess them of one of their forts. The plot, it was alleged, had been discovered by a Japanese and Portuguese in the English service, who were most inhumanly tortured into such confessions as their cruel inquisitors thought proper. Upon this evidence, they immediately accused the English factors of the pretended conspiracy. Some of them they imprisoned, and others they loaded with irons and sent on board their ships; seizing at the same time all the English merchandise, with their writings and books.

These acts of violence were followed by

a scene of horror unexampled in the punishment of the most atrocious offenders. The tortures to which they put their innocent victims are too shocking to relate; and those who did not die under them were consigned to the executioner.

The whole transaction affords the most irrefragable testimony that the Hollanders did it simply to monopolise the whole trade of the Spice Islands. At Poleron, about the same time, they put to the torture one hundred and sixty-two of the natives, whom they likewise charged with a pretended conspiracy.

Until the French revolutionary war, the Dutch retained these invaluable islands, when Amboyna, and the other Moluccas, submitted to the English.

THE BANDA, OR NUTMEG ISLES.

The Banda Isles is the general name of twelve small islands in the East Indian Archipelago. If we except this valuable spice, the islands of Banda are barren to a dreadful degree. The land will not produce any kind of corn, and the pith of the sago serves the natives of the country instead of bread.

This is the only settlement in the East Indian isles that can be considered as a European colony; because it is the only one where the Europeans are proprietors of lands, the Dutch Company having exterminated the natives, and procured slaves from some of the neighbouring islands to cultivate the lands. The climate of Banda is particularly unhealthy; on which account the company attempted to transfer the culture of the nutmeg to Amboyna; but all the experiments that have been made have proved unsuccessful. The Banda Islands were discovered by the Portuguese in 1519, and colonised in 1524; but were taken by the Dutch in 1599. The English possessed themselves of them in 1810, but restored them to the Dutch in 1814.

THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

The Philippine Islands are a large group in the eastern archipelago, the principal of which is Luzon, a long, irregular, and narrow island. They were discovered by Magellan, in 1521, who called them the archipelago of St. Lazarus, as the discovery was made on that saint's day. But they were subjected, or rather part of them, to the Spaniards, by Don Louis de Velasco, in 1564, in the reign of Philip II. and derive their present name from him. The natives are supposed to be of Chinese extraction.

Manilla, the capital of the island of Luzon, and of all the Philippines, is situated on the south-east part of the island, where a large river falls into the sea, and forms a noble bay, thirty leagues in compass.

On the 6th of October 1762, the English, under general Draper and admiral Cornish, took Manilla by storm, after a siege of twelve days; but, to save so fine a city from destruction, they agreed to accept a ransom, amounting to a million sterling, part of which, it is said, was never paid.

THE BARBARY STATES.

BARBARY is a vast territory of Africa, containing the states or kingdoms of Algiers, Morocco, Fez, Tunis, Tripoli, and Barca. It stretches entirely across the northern shores of Africa, from the Atlantic ocean on the western boundary of Egypt, taking almost the whole range of the southern coast of the Mediterranean sea.

The Romans obtained possession of Barbary in the time of Julius Cæsar, and remained masters of it till A.D. 428. At that time Bonifacius, the Roman governor, revolted, and called in to his assistance Genseric, king of the Vandals, who had been some time settled in Spain. They agreed to divide the country between them: Genseric was to have two-thirds, and Bonifacius one-third. Genseric set sail in May the same year, with an army of 80,000 men, together with their wives, children, and effects. Genseric had no sooner effected his landing, and secured a part of the country, than he turned his arms against Bonifacius, defeated him, and obliged him to shelter himself in Hippo, which place he besieged in May 430; but was under the necessity of retiring, from famine. The Romans sent an army into Africa, under the conduct of the celebrated Aspar from Constantinople; a dreadful battle ensued, and Genseric became the victor. The Vandals were by this victory rendered masters of Africa. Cirtha and Carthage were the only strong places possessed by the Romans.

In 435, peace was concluded between the Romans and the Vandals. However, in 439, the Romans being engaged in a war with the Goths of Gaul, Genseric took this advantage to seize Carthage, by which he considerably enlarged his African dominions.

On the taking of Carthage, Genseric made it the seat of his empire; and, in 440, made a descent on the island of Sicily, plundered it and returned to Africa. As he had now become formidable to both empires, Theodosius, emperor of the East, resolved to assist Valentinian against so powerful an enemy. Accordingly, he fitted out a fleet consisting of 1,100 ships, filled with the flower of his army, under Arcovindus. Genseric now pretending a desire to be at peace with both empires, amused the Roman general with pacific proposals, till the season for action was over. Theodosius being obliged to recall his forces to oppose the Huns, Valentinian found it necessary to conclude a peace with the Vandals, yielding them quiet possession of the countries they had seized.

Genseric was now become so powerful, or rather so low was the power of the Roman empire reduced, that, in 455, he took the city of Rome, and plundered it; and after his return to Africa, made himself master of all the remaining countries held by the Romans in that part of the world.

The kingdom of the Vandals in Africa was now fully established; and Genseric made himself master of Sicily, as well as all the other islands between Italy and Africa, without opposition from the western emperors, who were now too feeble to resist him, A.D. 476. Genseric made his dominions a scene of blood, and died in 377, after a reign of forty-seven years. He was succeeded by his son Hunneric, who proved a greater tyrant than his father, persecuting the Christians with the utmost fury; and during his short reign of seven years and a half, he destroyed more of them than Genseric had done during his whole life.

The successors of Hunneric were Gutamund, Thrasamund, and Hilderic, of whom we know very little, except that the latter was deposed in the seventh year of his reign, by Gelimer, a prince of the blood royal, who proved a greater tyrant than any that had gone before him, and was held in abhorrence, when the emperor Justinian projected an invasion of Africa. Accordingly, he sent a powerful fleet and army against Gelimer, under the command of the celebrated Belisarius. Gelimer committed the management of his army to his brothers, Gundimer and Gelamund: they attacked the Romans; the engagement was long and bloody, but at length the Vandals were defeated, and the two princes slain. Gelimer headed a fresh army, which was also defeated, and the loss of Carthage followed. Another defeat followed close upon the former. Gelimer fled into Numidia, and an end was put to the Vandal power in Barbary.

Gelimer was afterwards brought in gold chains before Justinian, whom he besought, in the most submissive manner, to spare his life. This was readily granted by the emperor; and a handsome yearly pension was also allowed him.

Barbary remained under the Roman power until the caliphate of Omar, when it was reduced by the Saracens. It continued subject to the caliph till the reign of Haroun al Raschid, when Ebn Aglab, the governor, assumed independence. The house of Aglab was driven out by Al Mohdi, the first Fatimite caliph.

Al Mohdi reigned twenty-four years, and was succeeded by his son, Abul Kasem, who took the name of Al Kayem Mohdi. During this reign we read of nothing remarkable, except the rebellion of Yesod. He was succeeded by his son Ishmael, who took upon himself the title of Al Mansur.

Al Mansur was succeeded by his son, Abu Zammin Moad, who assumed the surname of Al Moez Ledenillah. This caliph conquered Egypt, and removed the caliphate to that country. The other material events that have taken place in the Barbary states will be found in the historical notice of Algiers.

ALGIERS.

THE Algerine kingdom formerly made a considerable part of the Mauritania Tingitania, which Julius Cæsar reduced to a Roman province. The Algerines shared in the fortunes of Rome; for, at the decline of its empire, they fell to the Vandals, who in turn were expelled by the Saracens about the middle of the 7th century. From that period they were subject to the Arabs, till the year 1051, when Abubeker ben Omar, by the agency of his marabouts or saints, assembled a large force of malcontents in Numidia and Lybia. His followers were called Morabites, and the kingdom which he founded is distinguished by that appellation. Religious frenzy seems to have imparted resolution and strength, the sinews of victory, to these combatants; whilst a variety of favourable circumstances, arising from the absence of the most powerful of the constituted authorities, enabled Abubeker to vanquish the several sheiks who opposed him, and at length reduce the whole of Tingitania under his sway.

His successor Yusef, or Joseph, founded Morocco as the capital of the Morabitish kingdom. In order to strengthen his new dynasty, he sent ambassadors to a powerful sect of the Mohammedans, called Zeneti, dwelling in Tremecen. The Zeneti, whom he wished to bring back to what he called the true faith, not only murdered his emissaries, but with a large army invaded his kingdom. Fearful and terrible was the retribution he exacted from them. He ravaged their lands with fire and sword; and, assisted by the inhabitants of Fez, who refused the Zeneti the succour they had expected from them when they retreated upon their city, he almost annihilated the whole tribe, to the amount of nearly a million of souls, including women and children. Their desolated country was soon repeopled by colonies from Fez; and Joseph, forgetful of the efficient support he had received from the Fezzans, attacked and subdued both them and the remaining Arab sheiks, who, relying upon their supposed impregnable fortresses, had not yet submitted to his authority. This dynasty of the Morabites, founded by the influence of the marabouts, fell before the power of Mohavedin, a marabout, in the middle of the 12th century, whose priestly tribe was expelled by Abdular, governor of Fez. Thus did the conquered become conquerors, only to fall before the renovated power of the descendants of those very princes whom Abubeker in the 11th century had stripped of their power. Their descendants divided their new conquests into several small kingdoms or provinces, dividing the present kingdom of Algiers into Tremecen, Tenez, Algiers Proper, and Bujeyah. The alliance of these four kingdoms was so well cemented, that mutual amity reigned amongst them for nearly three centuries. It was interrupted by the aggression of the king of Tremecen, who was in consequence attacked and subjected by the potentate of Tenez, Abul Farez. He left his power divided amongst his three sons, which occasioned discords, and afforded the Spaniards an opportunity of attacking them. Ferdinand of Spain, having driven the Saracens from Europe, followed them into Africa, and, in 1504 and 1509, took possession of Oran, Bujeyah, Algiers, and other places.

The successes of the count of Navarre struck such terror into the Algerines, that they sought the protection of Selim Eutemi, an Arabian prince. This alliance, however, though actively exerted, did not save them from becoming tributary to their European invaders, who raised a strong fort on a small island opposite the city, in order to deter the maraudings of the corsairs. The death of Ferdinand, in 1516, seemed the signal of their liberty; for they solicited, with larger offers, the succour of Ameh Barbarossa, whose valour and success had rendered him the most redoubtable captain of that period. Barbarossa readily answered their call, and marched with a large and powerful army to Algiers, having first reduced and then treacherously murdered Hassan, another celebrated corsair, whose followers, consisting of Turks, he compelled to follow in his ranks.

The whole populace of Algiers, with the prince Selim Eutemi at their head, received this accomplished butcher with every demonstration of gratitude and honour; which he repaid by causing the prince to be murdered, and himself to be saluted by his licentious followers with 'Long live Barbarossa, the invincible king of Algiers, the chosen of God to deliver the people from the oppression of the Christians.' This part of the acclamation might have been acceptable enough to the Algerines in respect of the object for which they had sought his friendship; but the concluding words, 'destruction to all who shall oppose, or refuse to own him as their lawful sovereign,' struck such terror into them, that they acknowledged his pretensions and received him as their king. His treachery to Selim was followed by brutal insults to Zaphira, his widow, who, having vainly attempted to stab the tyrant, poisoned herself.

The reign of Barbarossa, begun in treachery and usurpation, was continued by havoc and bloodshed. An attempt, fomented by Selim, son of the prince whom Barbarossa had murdered, proved abortive, although backed by 10,000 Spaniards under the command of Don Diego de Vera. The king of Tunis also, at the head of 10,000

Moors, was defeated by the Algerine autocrat with only 1,000 Turkish musqueteers and 500 Granada Moors, his capital taken and pillaged, himself deposed, and Barbarossa made sovereign in his stead. This victory, which he owed to the use of firearms, which had now begun to lend their terrible assistance to the deadliness of war, was followed by an embassy from Tremecen, in which place also he was chosen king. His tyranny in Tremecen led to his destruction, for the expelled royal family having obtained the assistance of the Spaniards, and being joined by the refugee Algerines, under the guidance of prince Selim, pressed the monarch so closely, that in his attempt to escape he was overtaken, and after a resistance distinguished by the most uncompromising valour of his followers, slain by his pursuers, in the forty-fourth year of his age, A.D. 1520.

The death of Barbarossa did not deliver the Algerines from the Turkish authority; for Hayradin, his brother, was appointed king. To strengthen his power he sought the protection of the Grand Seignior, from whom he received a confirmation of his office, and such reinforcements that he both compelled the acquiescence of the Moors and Arabs to his sway, and was enabled also greatly to annoy the Europeans by sea. He captured the Spanish fort of Calan, and by employing 30,000 Christian slaves on the work without intermission for three years, he built a strong mole, as a protection for his shipping. And not only did he provide this defence for himself, but, by repairing and strengthening the captured Spanish fort, he effectually kept out all foreign vessels. He strengthened, by the assistance of the Ottoman sultan, all the weak places of his kingdom, and was at length rewarded by him with the dignity of bashaw of the empire; whilst Algiers, now completely tributary to the Porte, received Hassan Aga, a Sardinian renegado, as the Turkish deputy.

From this period the history of Algiers for about one hundred years is one bloody series of piracy abroad and sanguinary commotions at home. Hassan gave the Spaniards no respite. He ravaged not only their coasts, but even those of the Papal States, and other parts of Italy. A most formidable armament was fitted out against him by the emperor Charles V., at the instigation of Paul III., the Pope of Rome. This expedition was, in some respects, like the armada which threatened England with Spanish bigotry in the reign of Elizabeth, and was attended with similar success. Confident in his numbers and equipments, Charles pushed his projects with every probability of success, whilst Hassan, dispirited by the weakness of his fortifications and the paucity of the garrison, was on the point of surrender, when the predictions of a mad prophet, named Yusef, encouraged him to a more desperate resistance. The predictions of the approaching ruin of the Spaniards were soon verified. The war of elements—storms of wind, hail, rain—a general darkness—and violent earthquakes, combined to wreck the proud hopes of the Spanish monarch. His army, the finest, perhaps, Europe had seen for many an age, was scattered, destroyed, or taken captive; his navy in a few minutes was swallowed up, and the great deep closed over the riches, and arms, and human beings with which it was amply furnished; and he himself with difficulty escaped from the general destruction which pursued his ill-fated attempt. This extraordinary event occurred on the 28th of October 1541. The Spaniards never recovered this loss, and their attempts to annoy the Algerines were henceforth inconsiderable.

In 1555, the Algerines under Pelha-Rais, the successor of Hassan, captured Bujeyah, which had been in possession of the Spaniards for fifty years. A period now occurs thickly clustered by names of those who were bashaws for very brief periods, amongst which we find Hassan Corso, who was murdered to make room for Tekeli, who in turn was assassinated by Yusef Calabres, and he was bashaw for only six days. Then came Hassan, the son of Hayradin, who defeated another attempt of the Spaniards with the loss of 12,000 men. This Hassan was deposed by the aga of the janissaries; then reinstated; again deposed by Achmet; and a third time made bashaw, when he undertook the siege of Marsalquiver, near Oran, with a powerful army, but which he was compelled to raise on the approach of the celebrated Doria. He was again recalled from his government, and died at Constantinople, A.D. 1567. His successor Mahomet showed prudence, and by his wise regulations laid the foundation of Algerine independence. He was deposed by the notorious renegado Ochali, who reduced Tunis to the subjection of Algiers, only that in a few years it might be made a pachalic of the Porte, in 1586. In the preceding year, the enterprising spirit of these pirates carried them through the straits of Gibraltar as far as the Canary islands, which they plundered.

In the beginning of the following century the Algerines effected one leading step towards independence, in obtaining from the Porte permission to appoint a dey of their own; but the sultan still retained a bashaw whose office was confined to watching that the interests of his master did not suffer. Their power, augmented by an influx of the Moors who were expelled from Spain in 1609, was now formidable; and the states of Europe, with the exception of the Dutch, quailed before them. Alliances were formed against them; and to the honour of France be it said, that her navy was the first which dared openly avenge the cause of insulted Europe and suffering humanity. In 1617 the arms of Gaul fell with violence on the insolence of the pirates.

In 1623 Algiers declared itself independent of the Porte, and for the next thirty years pillaged without distinction whatever vessels of the Europeans fell in their way; then another collision took place between them and the French navy; and soon after a large fleet under Hali Pinchinin, after carrying off immense booty from the Italian coast, was defeated by the Venetians

under Capello, with very considerable loss, which greatly crippled their power. This relapse was but for two years; when, as it were, renovated by the misfortune, they scoured the whole sea with a fleet of sixty-five sail, and compelled the Dutch, the French, and English to court their favour. Louis XIV. at last, in the year 1681, provoked by some outrages which the pirates had committed on his coasts, ordered a powerful fleet and armament to be fitted out, with which he destroyed several of their vessels in the isle of Scio. In the following year he bombarded Algiers, and but for a sudden change of wind would have destroyed it. The return of the year saw the French admiral Du Quesne again before Algiers, who desisted not from his attack till he had completely humbled the Algerine audacity, by reducing their city to a heap of ruins. They sued for peace, which was granted, and all Christian captives were set at liberty. Taught a lesson by this humiliation, the Algerines paid some respect to other nations, and the English in particular were admitted into treaty with them; who further enforced respect from the pirates by the capture of Gibraltar and Port Mahon. The eighteenth century presents little that is interesting in the history of this piratical state, except the union of the office of the Algerine dey and Turkish viceroy, in 1710; the capture of Oran in 1708, and its recapture in 1737.

On the 18th of August 1816, lord Exmouth, with a fleet of four ships of war, four frigates, and several vessels, bombs, &c., appeared before Algiers, to exact punishment for the barbarous massacre of a number of Europeans at Bona, on May 23, by 2,000 of the Algerine infantry and cavalry. On the 27th of August his lordship commenced an attack, which was completely successful. The whole of the Algerine navy was destroyed, and half the town demolished. Like the defeat received from Du Quesne 133 years before, this disposed them to accept the terms offered by the British admiral. Christian slavery was abolished, and full reparation made; and on the 1st of September was beheld the proud and gratifying sight of the fulfilment of the conditions. Algiers disgorged its Christian slaves, and a large payment of money was made for the use of the several states which had suffered by its depredations. This was one of the most honourable triumphs achieved by the British flag. Since that time the dey has been embroiled with the Austrian states; but its most signal chastisement was left for the French to inflict.

During a conversation that took place between the dey and the French consul at Algiers, the former had the ill-mannered temerity to offer the Frenchman a personal insult, and even struck him. Redress was, of course, demanded; but so far from complying with the demand, the dey displayed a hostile feeling, and demolished the French post at La Callè. This being tantamount to a declaration of war, France immediately fitted out a powerful armament, including a land force of 38,000 men, with a formidable train of artillery, under the command of general Bourmont. On the 14th of June 1830, the French troops effected a landing, and, after a feeble resistance, Algiers capitulated on the 5th of July. The French found in the treasury of the dey, gold and silver to the amount of nearly fifty millions of francs, besides an abundant supply of stores of various kinds. The towns of Oran and Bona soon after submitted. But the French subsequently met with considerable resistance from the bey of Oran, who, however, after a series of contests and negotiations, submitted in 1837, and agreed to abandon the maritime parts of the province, and to recognise the supremacy of the French in Africa. The occupation of Algiers (or, as it is now generally termed, ALGERIA) has been a work of more difficulty than its Gallic conquerors anticipated, and thousands of Europeans have annually perished by sickness and the sword since the territory has been wrested from the fierce Arabs in whose possession it had so long remained unmolested.

The government is at present administered by the commander-in-chief of the French forces in Algiers, who holds the rank of governor-general. It was previously vested in a dey, or pacha, who was at the head of the Turkish soldiery, and who exercised absolute power. The religion of the state is now Roman Catholic, and many mosques have been converted into Christian churches; but the great bulk of the people profess Mohammedanism; and although the French have established schools of instruction in all the principal towns, the Moors show no desire to read any other book than the Koran. The language is mostly Arabic, but mixed with Moorish and Phœnician words.

What effect the introduction of European laws, arts, and sciences into this part of Africa may have, time alone can show; but if we consider how great were its population and influence in distant ages, and how formidable it has since proved under the dominion of a brutal horde of pirates, we may fairly expect that the fruits of a superior civilisation will, ere long, appear. Much, indeed, as some politicians may imagine that the African colony will aggrandise our Gallic neighbour, the probability is that it must confer benefits on the Christian world, in general, so real and substantial, as will be amply sufficient to outweigh any preponderating influence in that quarter of the world which France can possibly derive from the acquisition.

THE HISTORY OF AMERICA.

THE American Continent, known by this general name, is by some supposed to have been partially known to the ancients; but the glory of its discovery in modern history belongs to Christoval Colon, a native of Genoa, better known to us as Christopher Columbus. This enterprising man, after many fruitless attempts to obtain assistance to enable him to prosecute his elaborate speculations in geography, discovered the island of St. Salvador, Oct. 12, 1492; and six years afterwards he reached the main continent at the mouth of the Orinoco, August 1, 1498.

The discovery of the north continent of America belongs to the family of the Cabots, who resided in Bristol. The father and three sons set out in the year 1497, stimulated by the fame of Columbus, and under the patronage of Henry VII. of England. They discovered several islands, and coasted the whole of the main land of the northern continent down to the Floridas. The honour of giving a name to these immense discoveries was gained by Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine, who accompanied Alonzo de Ojeda as pilot, and on returning published the first account of the several countries; from which circumstances the newly discovered world was called America.

The BRAZILIAN coast was first approached by Alvarez de Cabral, a Portuguese admiral, in 1500; and FLORIDA by Ponce de Leon, a Spaniard, in 1512. In the eastern part of the peninsula, called YUCATAN, the natives were found clothed in cotton garments, and exhibiting other marks of civilisation, by Hernandez Cordava, A.D. 1517 The expedition which followed this discovery led to the conquest of MEXICO.

The spirit of discovery was now active, and all the great European courts emulated one another in affording facilities to carry into effect the enterprising efforts of numerous able and adventurous navigators, who successfully prosecuted the attempt, and immortalised their names by the successes which they gained. The history of the principal colonies and states which arose from these discoveries will be given in due course,

America is divided into *North* and *South*. In North America the three principal divisions were the territories of the United States, the British possessions, and the country of Mexico: but at the present time the United States can scarcely be said any longer to exist, and the republic of Mexico seems likely to be transformed into an empire.

THE UNITED STATES.

THERE were originally thirteen, colonised as follows:

	When colonised.	By whom.
1. *Virginia*	1607	The British.
2. *New York* (Island)	1618	The Dutch.
3. *Massachusetts*	1620	English Puritans.
4. *New Hampshire*	1623	Ditto.
5. *Delaware*	1626	The Swedes.
6. *Connecticut*	1635	Massachusett Emigrants
7. *Maryland*	1633	Lord Baltimore and Roman Catholics.
8. *Rhode Island*	1636	Massachusett Emigrants.
9. *North Carolina*	1663	Virginian Settlers.
10. *South Carolina*	1670	Ditto.
11. *New Jersey*	1670	Dutch and Swedes.
12. *Pennsylvania*	1681	William Penn and Quakers.
13. *Georgia*	1732	Gen. Oglethorpe.

These formed the original States, connected and swayed by the British; and their early history is like that of other infant countries, whilst the difficulties they had at first to encounter were aggravated by the inveterate hostility of the natives, who found themselves displaced, and lorded over by men of different countries and different habits from themselves. Many were the leagues of the natives to crush the rising states, but all alike ineffectual from the time of Philip of Pokanohet to that of Tecumesh. Rude valour is never an equal match to the arts of civilisation; a small power well and skilfully directed easily puts to flight large masses undisciplined and without cultivation. Every age affords numerous instances of the truth of this. But although the European settlers were, by the superiority of their arts and discipline, rendered triumphant over their rude and savage opponents in general encounters, many a deed of death was retaliated upon them by sudden incursions, and many an individual and family have been immolated to the grim genius of American brutality. The earliest colonists suffered the greatest hardships and encountered the most bloody perils, from which some of the latter ones were exempted as

well by the advancement and strength of the others, as by their own more humane and judicious policy.

But the United States had to combat not only with barbarian enemies, but with European also. The adjoining country of Canada was a fertile source of disquietude and harassings. For not only did the French settlers, in the wars between their mother states, assault and war with the English colonists, but they stimulated against them the wild war-cry of the native Indians. The barrier provinces of New York and New England felt most severely this ill neighbourhood. Desolation and bloodshed spread their ravages through these devoted lands on occasion of every renewal of war; and many were the projects of a combination of power, aided by England, to dispossess the French of Canada. In 1690 an attempt was made, but it was rendered abortive by the tardiness of the British admiral; and the years 1692 and 1696 witnessed similar scenes.

The short period of repose enjoyed by the colonies subsequent to this period was interrupted by the general war in Europe; and not only did New York and New England experience the renewal of former barbarities, but even Pennsylvania and Virginia, and South Carolina and Georgia, escaped not the lash of European and Indian depredations. A brighter star now began its dawning, which, though occasionally obscured, at length attained its zenith. In 1745, Louisbourg was gallantly taken by William Pepperell and a small body of New Englanders. In 1755, the English general Braddock received a signal defeat; but three years afterwards Fort Duquesne, now called Pittsburg, was captured by the British and provincial troops. Success followed success, till Quebec and the whole of Canada fell under the power of Britain. In this exploit the name of Wolfe is consecrated on the shrine of immortality. Thus relieved from the incursions and annoyances of their enemies, the States were so rapidly impelled to wealth and greatness, that in a few years the parent country looked towards them to bear some share in the burden of taxation which the war had imposed upon her. The stamp act, in 1765, elicited the first scintillation of that flame which was afterwards to blaze so brightly on the altar of independence. This was repealed, and tranquillity again settled in the States, to be interrupted, however, by another act of the English legislation, levying duties upon certain articles imported into the colonies. The colonists, having acquired some consciousness of their own strength and importance during the conflicts which terminated in the expulsion of the French from Canada, and having within them seeds of that stubborn spirit which characterised him whom Goldsmith has elegantly called

"True to imagined right beyond control,

felt indignant at the attempt to exact from them taxes in spite of themselves, and resolutely determined to resist the legislation. The British ministry partially yielded to their resistance, reserving only the duty upon tea. This was met by the colonists with a compact amongst themselves, not to import or use this excisable commodity; and so keen was their spirit, and so decided their resolution, that the people of Boston seized and threw into the sea a large quantity of it, which had been sent into their port. The legislature of the mother country retaliated upon them by passing an act to close the port of Boston, and by other severe measures against the charter of Massachusetts. This roused the indignation not of them only but of even the provinces most remote from them, and most removed from the operation of the obnoxious measures.

In August 1774, a congress of delegates assembled at Philadelphia. The proceedings in Massachusetts, where a provincial congress had been constituted, were approved of—a resolution neither to import from, nor export to, Great Britain was passed, and an earnest remonstrance was addressed to the English parliament. Troops were sent against the colonies, and coercive measures were adopted against all the States except North Carolina, New York, and Delaware. This exemption was intended to be the apple of discord, but it failed, for these provinces refused the boon which had been denied to their sister states. Now sounded the cry of preparation, to be reverberated from the engines of war, which opened their destructive fire, April 18, 1775.

The first collision took place at Lexington. The Americans had collected some warlike stores at Concord, which a body of 800 English troops destroyed, and in the exploit being assailed by a small party of militia to the amount of seventy, they killed eight of them, and wounded a great many. In their turn they were much annoyed by the natives, and though reinforced by 900 men under lord Percy, they lost before they reached Boston 273 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The next action was at Bunker's Hill, where 1,500 of the American troops, partially protected by entrenchments, for a long time maintained their post against double the number of regular troops, having three times repulsed their attack, and only yielding when destitute of ammunition, with which to return the fire of the British from their field pieces, and the guns of their ships, which raked with great effect their position. Their retreat was effected in good order, with the loss of 453, whilst the British lost above 1,000 men and general Warren. This engagement took place on the 17th June 1775.

Matters now assumed a warlike aspect; and the following year beheld troops levied in the name of the United Colonies, and general Washington appointed commander-in-chief. The first attempt made by this illustrious patriot was the siege of Boston, which commenced in July. In the following March the British evacuated the place, and embarking aboard their fleet, sailed for Halifax. In the meantime, an expedition undertaken by the Americans, in two divisions against Canada, failed with great loss, and their general Montgomery was

killed, and general Arnold wounded before Quebec.

On July 4, 1776, the solemn act of declaring the colonies free and independent, with a constituted government of their own, was published, after a suitable address to the king, parliament, and people of Great Britain. Strong measures were now resorted to. The war had become general, and all hopes of bringing it to a speedy issue consisted in promptitude and large numbers. Accordingly, in August following, 24,000 British troops, under sir William Howe, landed on Long Island, about nine miles from New York, where the American general held his headquarters with about 17,000 troops. Four days after their arrival the British gained a partial victory; and on the 14th of September, Washington evacuated the island, of which the British took immediate possession—and Nov. 12, they captured fort Washington, with its garrison of nearly 3,000 men. This was followed by the capture also of fort Lee, on the Jersey shore. The tide of success seemed to set in for the British. Washington's army was dispirited, and very much diminished by the departure of several of the troops whose term of service had expired. Nothing but the most determined spirit of freedom could have sustained both the congress and army to persevere in their now almost hopeless contest.

But the spark of liberty once expanded to a blaze is not to be extinguished by reverses—and true patriotism will generally extract even from depression the means of triumph. Accordingly Washington strove to dispel the gloom which brooded over the horizon of the new state heavily and drearily, by some brilliant exploits, which, whilst they thinned the ranks of his opponents, shed a lustre upon his name, and infused fresh spirit into his troops. His successful attacks upon the British posts at Trenton and Princeton compelled them to evacuate the greater part of New Jersey.

Nor were their exploits at the conclusion of the year 1776 less injurious to the British than the skill and address of the American general in the following spring, with a great inferiority of force, were superior to the plans and operations of the British general, who, baffled in his attempt upon Philadelphia by land, changed his system and resolved to attack it from the south. To counteract this attack, Washington pushed forward, but having sustained a defeat with the loss of 1,200 men, and finding the attempt vain, he abandoned Philadelphia to its fate. Sept. 26, sir W. Howe entered the city, having stationed the principal part of his army at Germantown, about six miles distant. An attack made upon this post by the Americans failed, and they lost a great number of men.

But their losses in this quarter were more than compensated by their successes in the northern states. After capturing Ticonderoga with a garrison of 3,000 men, and surmounting all obstacles which the enemy could throw in his way, so that he had almost reached the object of his expedition, which was the capture of Albany (a measure which would have been greatly injurious to the colonies), general Burgoyne was compelled, on the 17th of October, to surrender his whole army prisoners of war at Saratoga. This triumph was not less glorious to the American arms than useful in rekindling their courage, replenishing their stores, and conciliating to their side the favour of the European powers, especially the French government, from whom they received the assistance of a fleet and an army. Neither did Washington suffer his troops to remain inactive, or the British to be unmolested; for on the retreat of the latter to New York, he attacked and harassed their march, and though he avoided a general engagement, in an action at Monmouth he came off victorious. The only other exploit in this year was the unsuccessful attack of the American general Sullivan on Rhode Island.

Although the British carried on the operations with activity in the southern states the year 1779 does not present us with many striking events. They captured Savannah, but were repulsed in an attack upon Charleston: whilst in the north the American general Wayne, with a small body of troops, carried by assault the strong position of Stoney Point.

In the following year active operations were continued by the British in the southern states: they captured Charleston, and thereby wiped away the disgrace of their defeat in the preceding year; and Carolina was almost entirely overrun by them. General Gates, who was sent against them, sustained a complete defeat by lord Cornwallis at Camden. General Greene, who superseded him, rallied his scattered troops, and by great activity and skill was enabled to stem the torrent of British valour. Treachery now showed itself in the American camp, but happily for the colonies it was rendered abortive by a timely discovery. The name of Arnold is branded with infamy, and the English major André was executed by the Americans as a spy.

Very early in the following year an inferior body of American militia, under general Morgan, defeated some British troops at Cowpens: whilst at Guildford the colonists sustained some loss. Various now was the fortune of war. Greene, after a partial defeat at Camden, gained a decisive advantage at Eutau Springs. The crisis now approached. Cornwallis having received reinforcements, entrenched himself at York Town, in Virginia, when he was blockaded and besieged by a French army in conjunction with Washington. After sustaining their combined attacks for nearly three weeks, lord Cornwallis was reduced to the humiliating necessity of surrendering his army prisoners of war, to the amount of 17,000 men.

From this blow the British never recovered. The loss of two armies by surrender convinced the English government, at last, that they were lavishing their resources and wasting their power in a vain contest; and though they made some partial attacks subsequently, the surrender of Cornwallis's army may be considered as

the conclusion of this destructive and inglorious war. The independence of the colonies was acknowledged by the British government, by a treaty signed September 23, 1783. We may here remark that the assistance yielded by France contributed to aid the triumph of North American independence, and thereby inflicted a severe blow upon the British possessions and power. But it recoiled with a fearful convulsion upon herself. The lessons of American freedom were wafted across the Atlantic to the plains of Gaul, and fomented that terrible explosion of public principles in France, which demolished the throne and altar, and strewed the wrecks of its explosion over all the countries of Europe.

Noble and spirited as were the efforts made by the colonies, and glorious as was the termination of the struggle, they soon found that their condition of independence was not in itself the boon of prosperity. During the war, a series of danger, and the necessity of union and unceasing actions, had kept their attention devoted to one object; that object attained, they found leisure to survey their condition. The sacrifices they had made now began to be felt. A heavy debt had been incurred, and they were a prey to all those evils which war ever bears in its train. Public morals were at a low ebb—public credit deranged—the acts of the congress 'more honoured in the breach than the observance.' The arrival of peace, like the sudden calm after a storm, had nearly wrecked the fortunes of the youthful states.

The real friends of the country now saw the danger, and a remedy was provided, which, happily for them, proved effective. At Annapolis commissioners from five states assembled in 1789, and the result of their deliberation was a proposition to convene delegates from all the states, in order to consider the best means of revising their union and alliance. The result was the constitution of THE UNITED STATES. This measure tended greatly to consolidate their power, and reduced their executive to order and authority; and although there arose two parties, and some delay took place before its general adoption, it became effective in the year 1789; and under the patriotic guidance of Washington, as president, and John Adams vice-president, to use the words of Mr. Canning in reference to our own constitution, it was found 'to work well.'

Their wisdom led them, in opposition to great numbers of their countrymen, to remain neutral in the shock which convulsed unhappy France, and caused every state in Europe to reel with a violence which sapped the foundations of them all. They had, however, a war of four years with the Indians, which, though attended with loss and defeat at the beginning, terminated successfully under the auspices of general Wayne (A.D. 1794), who had previously distinguished himself in the capture of Stoney Point from the British in a most gallant manner. Washington, after being twice elected president, declined the office a third time, and was succeeded by John Adams. The aggressive and insulting conduct of the French towards the United States at length aroused them to hostilities. An army of regular troops was established, the command of which was given to Washington, who died, universally lamented, Dec. 14, 1799. The Americans now increased their navy; but the war was of short continuance, and confined to one or two actions on the ocean, in which the superiority of the youthful state over the French marine was clearly established.

In the collision of the two parties, in the year 1801, the democratic or republican party succeeded, in opposition to Adams, in raising Jefferson to the office of president, and under him, it must be confessed, prosperity shone upon the republic. Raised now to considerable consequence, the politics of America began to have some influence upon those of Europe; whilst the affairs of the Old World necessarily implicated in some measure the proceedings of the United States. The measures of retaliation and blockade, pursued by the British and French governments for some years after the renewal of war in 1803, affected not only the whole of Europe, but also the transatlantic world. After a variety of events, especially relating to commerce, which had been much interrupted, war was declared against Great Britain June 18, 1812.

Although in the previous year the Americans, with a body of regular troops and some militia, had defeated a large assemblage of Indians, their army at the beginning of the war was in a very inefficient state, and their efforts were accordingly attended with signal defeats. General Hall, with an army with which he had invaded Canada, was captured by general Broke, at an easy rate; whilst another army of about 1,000 men, under general Van Reusselaer, shared the same fate, but not without a manly struggle.

On the ocean they were more fortunate. In several well-fought engagements between frigates and smaller vessels, the Americans displayed great skill and bravery; whilst, to balance their defeats, the English have to boast of the capture of the Chesapeake by the Shannon, captain Broke, in the most gallant and spirited manner, and of the Argus, sloop of war, by the British ship Pelican. On lake Erie a British flotilla surrendered, after a long and well-fought action, to an American one of inferior force, under commodore Perry. The military character of the United States recovered its tarnished glory; various and bloody were the struggles between the belligerents on the north-west frontier, and in Canada; and great loss was sustained by both sides, with alternate defeats and victories.

In the meanwhile the Atlantic frontier, which had previously enjoyed tranquillity, became the scene of bloodshed and hostile movements. The British were completely defeated in an attack upon Craney Island: but they took and sacked the small town of Hampton. An expedition fitted out by the republic against Montreal failed, and was attended with very considerable loss

to the Americans, at the close of the year 1813. A similar attempt met with a similar fate in the beginning of the following year; but general Brown maintained the high character of the American arms at Fort Erie and Chippewa, both of which he captured from the British; who were also foiled in their attempt to retake the former place. Nor were they unsuccessful only by land. Defeated on lake Erie, their squadron on lake Champlain yielded, after a severe contest, to an inferior force of the Americans; whilst an expedition, under governor Prevost, against Platsburg was also abortive.

But now liberated from Spain and Portugal, Great Britain sent some of her veteran warriors to display that prowess in the New, which had been so distinguished in the Old World. An attack was made by a body of 4,000 or 5,000 men upon Washington, which proved successful; but this triumph was counterbalanced by the defeat and death of general Ross at Baltimore, and the failure of a large army of British troops in an attack upon New Orleans. Both parties now seemed weary of a contest, in which there was little to gain from victory but empty renown; and accordingly peace was concluded between them at Ghent, Dec. 24, 1814.

The guns of the American navy were first heard in the Mediterranean, in the capture of a frigate and sloop of war, by commodore Decatur, from the Algerines, who were compelled to renounce by treaty, for ever, the practice of holding American prisoners in slavery. This was in the year 1815; and four years afterwards a treaty was concluded with Spain for the cession of Florida to the United States, which did not actually take place till the year 1821, when the American troops took possession of the territory. In the following year an almost unanimous vote of the congress acknowledged the independence of the Spanish provinces in South America.

The two most important events that have since occurred in the history of the United States are, the annexation of Texas, which took place in 1844, and the war with Mexico, which broke out in 1846, and ended in the acquisition of California. We shall conclude this sketch with a brief account of this new state, and the causes of its unexampled progress. By the treaty of 1848, California was formally ceded to the United States; and in the month of May of the same year, an unexpected career suddenly opened for this new state of the Union by the chance discovery of grains of gold on the bank of the Sacramento, a short distance from the bay of San Francisco. This prompted a more careful and extensive exploration, and the result was the revelation of an auriferous region of vast extent and extraordinary productiveness. According to the report of Mr. King, the American commissioner sent to enquire into the capabilities of the gold districts, they were found to comprehend an area 500 miles long, by 40 to 60 in breadth. The news of the discovery and richness of the deposits spread rapidly, and before the end of the first season of 1848 the enterprising adventurers had been rewarded by the acquisition of gold of the value of 1,000,000*l*. In 1849 immigrants had flocked to the Sacramento and its affluents from all quarters, Europe, America, Mexico, China, Chili, and Australia. San Francisco, which, in the early part of 1848, consisted of a few rude cabins, at the end of the ensuing year had an exchange, a theatre, churches, several gaming houses, and numerous durable dwellings, some of stone, but mostly of sun-dried bricks, with a countless outlying throng of tents and booths.

The miracles wrought by the transforming power of gold were moral as well as physical. On the first influx of immigrants there were few inhabitants, and no government or police in the country; and the new settlers were unacquainted with the previously existing Spanish laws for the security of persons and property. From the difficulty of deciding whether slavery should or not form a constituent of the society, the congress of the United States was unable to decide on the admission of California into the Union, either as a state or a territory. This dilemma, however, was promptly mastered under the judicious guidance of the American portion of the population. In June 1849, representatives were chosen in all parts to meet for the purpose of framing a constitution. They speedily completed their purpose, and to their credit unanimously resolved that the non-existence of slavery should be a fundamental article of the constitution. As a consequence the chief obstacle was obviated to incorporation into the Union. The American government had indeed already sent to the province a military governor, who, with the temporary tolerance of Lynch law, from necessity in the absence of regular tribunals, succeeded in maintaining a certain degree of order among the many unruly and desperate characters that had crowded to the diggings. Under these extraordinary circumstances the population of California has suddenly swelled from a few thousands to nearly half a million. Of the addition made to the amount of the precious metals from this sources no very consistent estimate has appeared; but from the application of greater experience, capital, science, and mechanical power, there is no reason to infer that up to 1852 the ratio of production had declined. The quantity of gold transmitted to the United States and Europe from the commencement of the diggings to the middle of 1852, appears to have amounted to upwards of 30,000,000*l*.

Before the first half of the 19th century had come to an end, there were thirty-one states, besides the district of Columbia, and the territories of Minesota, Oregon, New Mexico, and Utah. The names of the *states* are—1. Maine; 2. New Hampshire; 3. Vermont; 4. Massachusetts; 5. Rhode Island; 6. Connecticut; 7. New York; 8. New Jersey; 9. Pennsylvania; 10. Delaware; 11. Maryland; 12. Virginia; 13. North Carolina; 14. South Carolina; 15. Georgia; 16. Alabama; 17. Florida; 18. Mississippi; 19. Louisiana; 20. Arkansas; 21. Tennessee; 22. Kentucky; 23. Ohio; 24. Michigan; 25. In

diana; 26. Illinois; 27. Missouri; 28. Iowa; 29. Wisconsin; 30. Texas; and, 31. California.

On the 4th of March 1853, general Pierce entered on the office of president of the United States. In his speech he disavowed any fears which arose from the supposed evils involved in territorial expansion, and spoke of some expansion as being absolutely necessary. But while he regarded the maintenance of the existing Union in its full integrity as indispensable not only to the greatness, but even to the life of the nation, he insisted as strongly on the liberty of each state to maintain its own domestic institutions, and spoke of slavery, (or, as he termed it, involuntary servitude,) as a right admitted by the constitution like any other right; and that the compromise measures of 1850, with every other which related to the subject, were to be carried out, not 'with a reluctance encouraged by abstract feelings as to their propriety,' but readily and cheerfully. His address on the opening of the thirty-third congress of the United States on the 5th, drew out his policy in more minute detail, and referred to disputes with England on the subject of the fisheries, as well as of Central America; for all of which he expected a friendly settlement. Of the resources of the country he gave an encouraging account, while the population was increasing at the rate of a duplication every quarter century.

In the year 1855 the Russian war produced some subjects of altercation between the United States government and that of Great Britain. It was alleged by the former that in compliance with the foreign enlistment act soldiers were recruited for the British army in the United States, in violation of the strict neutrality which the latter had imposed upon itself. Such a course had indeed been contemplated; but the British government had, owing to practical difficulties in the working of the plan, determined to abandon it before any complaints were received in England, and on the 22nd of June orders were sent out to this effect. Still in July Mr. Buchanan, the American minister in London, made a formal complaint; persons charged with enlisting American subjects were indicted and tried in the United States, and language of great violence was held by law officers against the British government. But the subject of slavery involved a more pressing danger, although an exaggerated belief in the permanence of the existing union led the president as well as the people to think lightly of it. Yet it was significant that the president, while eulogising the moderation of the South, spoke of the action of the North as involving what would be cause of war if coming from a foreign power, and that it only failed to be such because it was perpetrated under cover of the Union. He congratulated the nation that 'the true principle of leaving each state and territory to regulate its own laws of labour according to its own sense of right and expediency had acquired fast hold of the public judgment,' and expressed his surprise that any should be found to parade 'a fanatical devotion to the supposed interests of the relatively few Africans in the United States.'

The year 1856 was marked by a dispute with England about Central America, a name applied to the states of Guatemala, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Salvador, and Honduras, which had formerly been comprised in the Spanish viceroyalty of Guatemala. In 1850, by what is known as the Bulwer-Clayton treaty, Great Britain and the United States entered into an agreement respecting a ship canal between the Atlantic and Pacific by way of the river San Juan de Nicaragua, and bound themselves to exercise no exclusive control over it, or to build any fortifications or otherwise interfere in its management; and an effort was afterwards made to arrange the mode in which the English protection might be extended to the Mosquitos, who had enjoyed it for nearly two centuries. This involved a dispute about Greytown, which was claimed both by Nicaragua and Costa Rica, but which the British government affirmed to belong to the Mosquito territory, while the United States took the part of the Nicaraguans. The British took forcible possession of the place in January 1848, and from that time it had been held by the Mosquitos under our protection. It was further urged that protection in no way implied any attempt to hold the country such as would contravene the terms of the Bulwer-Clayton treaty, while it was distinctly asserted that Great Britain would never allow Greytown to be seized by the Nicaraguans in a way which must lead to the persecution and destruction of the Mosquito people.

Another dispute arose on the subject of the colony of the Bay of Islands, which had been recently established by the queen, and for establishing which our settlement at Belize off the coast of Honduras was held to furnish sufficient reason. But at this formal step the United States took great offence, and declared that the islands of the colony belonged to the republic of Honduras, and therefore formed part of Central America: hence the establishment of the colony violated the Bulwer-Clayton treaty. To this it was answered that the term, 'Central America,' one of modern invention, could only apply to those states which, at one time united under the name of the Central American Republic, now existed as five separate republics; and that the treaty was not intended to interfere with the British settlement of Belize. These questions were in the end settled by a convention between Great Britain and the republic of Honduras.

But such disputes were as nothing to the growing dangers arising out of slavery. The quarrel this year had reference to the territory of Kansas, which had not yet been adopted into the Union. By the terms of the Missouri compromise, which limited the area of slavery to the south of a definite boundary line, Kansas ought to be a free state; the struggle was to claim it for slavery: the result was a horrible condition of violence and anarchy. The ordinary ses-

sion of congress ended about the middle of August; and it was necessary to vote before that time for the payment and maintenance of the military establishments of the Union: but the house of representatives knew that, if Kansas were not declared a free state, the executive would hand it over to the pro-slavery party; and they appended therefore to the appropriation bill a proviso that no force should be used to carry out the enactments of the so-called legislative assembly of the territory of Kansas, until the congress had determined whether it was or was not a valid legislative assembly. This clause was struck out by the senate, but restored by the house of representatives; and so the contest went on, until finally the session ended, without the vote having been passed, and leaving the executive government with no means of paying the army of the Federation. The president hereupon summoned an extraordinary meeting of congress for the 21st, and in that meeting he urged the evils which must ensue if this provision were not made, and the representatives at length passed the bill without this clause by a small majority of 4.

The country was now taken up with the election of a new president, and it soon became clear that the chances were greatly in favour of Mr. Buchanan, who had been the American minister in London. In his address, Mr. Buchanan, as the organ of the pro-slavery party, spoke of the question as 'approaching a finality,' and maintained the same doctrine as that which was set forth by general Pierce, who applauded in his message the wisdom and the energy which had been shown in carrying out the laws which put hindrances in the way of escape for 'persons held to labour,' and provided for their restoration to their owners if they were caught.

In the recent conference at Paris ending the Crimean war, three important changes were laid down in the maritime law of nations: (1) that privateering should be abolished; (2) that the neutral flag should cover enemy's goods with the exception of contraband of war; (3) that neutral goods, with the exception of contraband of war, should not be liable to capture under the enemy's flag; and (4) that blockades to be binding must be effective, i.e. that they must be maintained by a force strong enough to prevent access to the coast of the enemy. To the first of these propositions objection was made by the government of the United States, on the ground of the inequality of their navy, which, in the event of war, would, without the aid of privateers, leave them at a fatal disadvantage in a struggle with a strong maritime power; but they expressed their willingness to accede if the proposition should be modified as follows: 'That the private property of the subjects or citizens of a belligerent on the high seas shall be exempted from seizure by public armed vessels of the other belligerent, except it be contraband.'

The first message of president Buchanan was remarkable chiefly as indicating the course of future events, and for the assurance with which it regarded, as settled, points of the greatest difficulty in the government of the United States. He hailed it as a 'happy conception' that the principle of government by majorities should be applied to the exclusion or admission of slavery in the constitution of the new state of Kansas. He congratulated the country on its present financial condition as one without a parallel in history. 'No nation has ever before been embarrassed from too large a surplus in its treasury.' The lapse of a few years has summarily and for ever removed this ground of exultation. With reference to the terrible commercial crisis, which had for its result in England the temporary suspension of the bank charter act, he suggested that no bank ought ever to be chartered except under a guarantee to keep in its vaults a sufficient amount of gold and silver to insure the convertability of their notes into coin at all times and under all circumstances, and that only thus could those recurring panics be avoided. His message for the following year (1859) dwelt in great part on the same topics, without adding much to call for notice. He again expressed his conviction that the slavery question had been happily settled, by establishing the right of every citizen to take his property of any kind, including slaves, into the common territories belonging equally to all the states of the confederacy, and to have it there protected under the Federal constitution: and at the same time, while he condemned the African slave trade in the strongest terms, he drew a highly-coloured picture of the contentment, happiness, and civilisation which the slaves in America had reached under the paternal supervision of their masters.

But as the close of Mr. Buchanan's term of office drew near, it became evident that the settlement of which he had spoken as permanent would not last a year, and his last message was an elaborate discussion of the rights of secession. The great question was coming to its issue. The Missouri compromise had solved it more in appearance than in reality. In 1820 the congress had determined that in the territory ceded by France under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of 36° 30′ N.L., slavery should be abolished for ever. But as the state of Missouri, lying wholly north of this line, was excluded from this act, it was admitted into the Union as a slave state. But as population spread westwards, it became necessary to determine whether the principle of the Missouri compromise should be extended to the new states which might demand admittance into the Union. North and South were alike opposed to it: the former, because it would tend to sanction slavery in every state south of the line of demarcation, the latter because it prevented slavery from extending northwards. To remove this difficulty, Mr Douglas, in 1854, introduced the Nebraska bill, in the interests of the slave states, establishing the principle of 'squatter sovereignty,' by which each community decided for itself whether it was to be slave

or free soil. But when, at a later date, an attempt was made to introduce Kansas into the Union as a slave state, Mr. Douglas opposed the bill, saying that his own bill had made the introduction of slavery into Kansas legal, but that he would not force slavery upon them, as the Kansas bill was designed to do. This Kansas bill Mr. Buchanan was accused of promoting by bribery, and hostile resolutions against him were passed by the house of representatives. Mr. Buchanan issued, on the 29th of March 1860, a strong protest. But the attention of the country was absorbed in the presidential election; and the excitement in the South was great when it became known that the new president was Mr. Abraham Lincoln, a man well known in his own country as a determined opponent of the extension of slavery. In his last message Mr. Buchanan delivered himself of his own sentiments on the subject, and was pleased to say that 'the long-continued and intemperate interference of the Northern people with the question of slavery in the Southern states has at length produced its natural effects.' The worst of it was that this northern agitation 'had produced its malign influence on the slaves,' and actually 'inspired them with vague hopes of freedom.' He spoke pathetically about family altars from which peace had been banished, and grew sentimental over Southern matrons who retired at night in dread of what might befall themselves and their children before morning. It was all sad enough, if true; but the picture was not altogether consistent with Mr. Buchanan's glowing descriptions of the wonderful happiness and satisfaction of the slaves in a state in which they could not of course be silly enough to wish for any change. However, from this insecurity resulting from the aspirations of happy and contented slaves Mr. Buchanan inferred the destruction of the Union. When the policy of one part rendered life unsafe in the other, sooner or later the bonds of such a union must be severed. It was indeed a pity that Washington, Hamilton, and Madison had not seen as clearly as Mr. Buchanan, that oil and vinegar will never mingle. But if it was not easy to act, it was easy to apostrophise, and in the fervour of his heart Mr. Buchanan exclaimed, 'How easy would it be for the American people to settle the slavery question for ever and to restore peace and harmony to this distracted country!' Simple indeed was the remedy and obvious. The slave states wished only to be let alone; and the North had no more to do with the institutions of the former than with those of Russia and Brazil. To use the Greek proverb, the North should put the big ox on its tongue, and keep silence from all words good or bad. Still he thought there was no real reason for secession. He even ventured to think that the South were not really placed at a disadvantage with regard to their state rights. No act of congress had ever been passed, none, he believed, ever would be passed, to exclude slavery from their territories while all the courts, both state and national, had from the beginning declared the Fugitive Slave Law to be constitutional. Nevertheless this law had been violated or evaded by many state legislatures, and the South had a right to demand its execution, and if this were refused, '*it would be justified in revolutionary resistance to the government of the Union.*' But he was careful to add that this resistance was a right, not recognised by those who drew up the constitution, but existing independently of all constitutions and embodied strongly in the American Declaration of Independence. In short, secession might or might not be justifiable: but it was no inherent constitutional right: it was simply revolution. But the question remained whether the government of the Union had power to coerce any seceding member; and this he answered, rightly as it would seem, in the negative. Their government, after subjugation, involved insuperable difficulties; the Union rested 'on public opinion, and can never be cemented by the blood of its citizens shed in civil war.'

A last attempt at compromise was made in congress, in December 1860. According to this measure, slavery was to be prohibited north of lat. 36° 30′, but allowed in all territories to the south of that line, and that any future state admitted into the Union should decide its own status as to slavery previously to such admission. But it was too late. The Southern states, in their hatred of the North, had committed themselves irretrievably to secession. On the 20th of December, South Carolina declared that 'the Union now subsisting between South Carolina to the States, under the name of the United States of America, is hereby dissolved;' and before the end of May, the states of Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas, Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina followed her example. The first act of the seceders was to seize the arsenals, forts, and other property belonging to the Union in their territories. The fort Pulaski, and the arsenal at Augusta were seized in Georgia, and the navy yard at Pensacola in Florida. The first shot was fired on the 9th of January, when a vessel belonging to the United States government was fired into by a battery, when off Morris island, in Charleston harbour, as she was on her way with troops to reinforce fort Sumpter, which was held by major Anderson. Some commissioners sent from the seceding states demanded the withdrawal of this garrison, as a preliminary step to negotiation. The president, who would not recognise them as commissioners and received them simply 'as distinguished citizens of the United States from South Carolina,' refused this request, and declared his intention of executing the laws and defending the property of the United States. But the secretary at war told the commissioners that the status quo would be maintained pending the negotiations. When, however, major Anderson, thinking it more prudent to abandon the other forts, concentrated all his force in fort Sumpter, the commissioners declared it a breach of faith. Mr. Buchanan refused to disavow the acts

of major Anderson, and the secretary at war resigned; and the commissioners left Washington early in February, having sent a telegraphic message ordering the United States frigate Brooklyn to be fired upon if she entered Charleston harbour to collect revenue. In the same month Mr. Jefferson Davis was elected president of the Confederate States; and in his address he propounded the converse of Mr. Buchanan's doctrine on the subject of secession. According to him, it was no revolution, but a 'right solemnly proclaimed at the birth of the states, and reaffirmed on the bills of rights of the states subsequently admitted into the Union of 1789.'

A few days after this, Mr. Lincoln entered formally on the duties of his office as president of the United States, and declared, in terms which he had often used before, 'I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so.' On secession his views were even stronger than those of Mr. Buchanan. He could not believe that any government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination, while he doubted whether the seceding states could ever develope a principle of union which should prevent renewed secession. In his opinion, the central idea of secession was plainly the essence of anarchy.

In the middle of April, major Anderson found himself compelled to surrender fort Sumpter to the Confederates. The United States government had sent several vessels with troops and stores to reinforce it; but they had been dispersed by a storm, and only one ship had reached the place at the appointed time. Before the rest could arrive, a breach was made in the walls, and the officers' quarters were set on fire by the guns of the Confederates, whose flag, on the surrender of the garrison, floated above the fortress. On the 15th, Mr. Lincoln called out the Union militia to the number of 75,000 men, to put down 'certain combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings;' he also ordered the persons composing the said combinations to disperse within twenty days and retire peaceably to their homes. Mr. Davis replied on the 17th, with a counter-proclamation, authorising the issue of letters of marque and reprisal; and before the close of the month, Mr. Lincoln had declared the ports of North and South Carolina, Virginia, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi and Texas, to be under blockade. In a message issued at this time, Mr. Davis, justifying the secesson and assigning its causes, spoke with great force against the consistency of the North in their action on the subject of slavery. He pointed out that at the formation of the Union, slavery existed in twelve out of the thirteen states: but that, when it was found that slave labour was not profitable in the North, these states sold all their slave property to Southern owners, and then abolished slavery in their own territories. The Northern states, therefore, were 'inhibited not only by want of constitutional authority but by good faith as vendors, from disquieting a title emanating from themselves.' The truth is that the matter ran into considerations which underlie all law. The reply of the North might be that the children were not bound by the promises of parents to observe a compact which was in itself immoral. The answer is in one sense both irrelevant and invalid. It would furnish sufficient reason for reconsidering the terms of Union; it could furnish none for hunting down practices which the constitution fully sanctioned by laws which only the whole Union could repeal. If the Federal Union of independent states is perhaps the highest ideal of human government, it is indispensably necessary for the stability of such a federation, that it should not be formed between states which have any interests sure in the issue to clash against each other. At the formation of the Union there was no such apparent opposition. All but one were slave states; the prospect was rather that all might become so, and probably all would have become so, had they found it to be to their interest. When, however, they had learnt by experience that slave labour was not profitable in the North, they should have seen the necessity of a new combination. Probably Christianity might have dictated some more disinterested policy than that of selling to Southern masters the slaves who only caused losses in the North; but common sense should have shown all, and perhaps did show some, that the change had introduced a radical divergence of interest—that the first push had been given to a wedge which, when driven in further, would inevitably split the Union. The effort to maintain the original Union at all costs has issued in one of the most barbarous, disgusting, and useless contests that the world has ever witnessed. From the tone of apology with which the Southern states defended their adherence to what had been an involuntary heritage, they have advanced to frantic eulogies of the 'institution' as the panacea for almost every earthly evil, and thrown dust into the eyes of Christendom by monstrous assertions that the slaves live the happiest of lives, 'supplied not only with bodily comforts, but careful religious instruction.'

In this contest, Kentucky declared its neutrality, and no attempt was made to treat this as treason, which it was, if the Southern states were simply in a state of rebellion. It was, however, merely one out of the many inconsistencies in the conduct of the Northern states throughout the war. The Federal army was strongly posted near Washington under general Scott, and on the retirement of the Confederate forces took possession of Harper's Ferry. On the 20th of July the first battle took place on the banks of a stream called the Bull's Run between Centreville and the Manassas junction; and its result was by no means auspicious for the Federal cause. The troops of the Union, when once broken, fled in disorder, and the disorder increased to a panic rout. But the disgrace was in some measure

retrieved by the successes of general M'Clellan in Western Virginia. This officer now rose rapidly into notice, and on the retirement of general Scott, he was appointed commander-in-chief of the whole army. But for some time after the battle of Bull's Run no important operations were undertaken until general Sherman effected a landing on the coast of south Carolina, in Port Royal bay, where he took the forts and captured 40 pieces of heavy ordnance.

In November occurred the affair of the Trent, in which the Confederate commissioners on their way to France and England were seized by captain Wilkes of the San Jacinto. But it is unnecessary to repeat here a narrative which has been already given in the *History of England*.

It was thought at the commencement of 1862 that before the year reached its close the great struggle would be decided by the victory whether of the North or South; and so far as present appearances would warrant a judgment, there was every reason for thinking that that victory would belong to the North. But the year closed, and the war dragged on with less prospect of coming to a close than ever. It seemed evident that neither side was able to secure any decided advantage over the other. At the beginning of the year, the Northern gun-boats were fast reducing the fortresses of the Southern states. Fort Donnelson, Nashville, Memphis, New Orleans, and other places were occupied by the Federal troops, while the armies of the North were closing in upon Richmond, the capital of the Southern Confederacy. The Confederates tried the experiment of iron-clad vessels: the Merrimac and the Arkansas each did some serious mischief, but soon were destroyed from some unknown causes which were not connected with the operations of the enemy. But with the advance of general M'Clellan upon Richmond the fortunes of the war were changed, and the higher generalship of the Southern commanders was indisputably proved. The Federal forces encountered a series of frightful reverses. General Banks was defeated at Winchester: general M'Clellan was compelled to retreat, and the advance of the Southern troops ended in the conquest of Harper's Ferry. On the other hand, the attempt of the Confederates to secure Maryland to the Confederacy proved abortive; and the Federal armies were victorious at Sharpsburg, Perryville, and Corinth.

On the 1st of January 1863, president Lincoln issued the proclamation which, according to the threat previously held out to the Southern states, was to destroy their institution of slavery. It applied to the states of Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia, and declared that in them all persons held as slaves were from that day free. It further stated that such persons of suitable condition would be received into the armed service of the United States. Early in February a bill for arming negroes passed the house of representatives by a majority of 83 to 54, with the proviso that no slaves of loyal owners should be thus employed. About this time, and again in April, ineffectual attempts were made to attack Charleston by sea; but commodore Farragut succeeded in April in forcing his way up the Mississippi past the port Hudson batteries, and thus advancing to the attack of Vicksburg from the south: but the most important event of this campaign was the series of battles fought at Chancellorsville, to the north of Richmond, early in May. The result was the discomfiture of the Federals under general Hooker; but it was secured at a heavy cost to the Confederates, who here lost general Stonewall Jackson, the most brilliant, and with the exception of general Lee, the most able of their commanders. He fell, however, not by the shots of the enemy but by those of some of his own men, who in the darkness mistook him for a Federal officer. The loss of the Federals in these engagements was 28,000 men. In June, the Confederates, under Lee, made a brilliant but imprudent move by crossing the Potomac, and advancing towards Washington. This step not only broke in upon their natural policy of defence, but it implied that they gave up all hope of detaching Maryland from the North. General Meade had succeeded Hooker in the command of the Federal forces, and the two armies met at Gettysburg. During the first two days the advantage lay wholly with the Confederates; but their opponents held out, and finally General Lee was forced to retire and recross the Potomac. Fifty thousand men were slaughtered or wounded in the horrible struggle of these three fearful days.

Meanwhile general Grant had closely invested Vicksburg in the rear, while a flotilla under admiral Porter bombarded it in front. After a siege of forty-eight days it capitulated on the 4th of July. Great complaints were made of the barbarity of the Federal commanders in shelling a town full of women and children; but in the absence of full evidence, it is better to suspend judgment on all such accusations, whether proceeding from one side or the other. It is enough to say, that by the fall of Vicksburg thirty thousand soldiers were lost to the Confederate forces, being dismissed under pledge that they would take no further part in the war.

The arming of negro recruits by the North so irritated the South that they refused to consider them as soldiers entitled, in case of capture, to be treated as prisoners of war. To counteract this, president Lincoln proclaimed on the 30th of July, that for every soldier of the United States killed in violation of the laws of war a rebel soldier should be executed, and for every one sold into slavery, a rebel soldier should be placed at hard labour on the public works.

In the course of the summer a third attack was made upon Charleston without

any immediate results. In September, president Lincoln suspended the writ of *habeas corpus*; and president Davis recalled Mr. Mason the Confederate commissioner in England, on the ground that his continued stay was not consistent with the dignity of the Confederate states, when it had been made clear that the British government had no intention of recognising that of the Southern Confederacy.

But some frightful battles were yet to be fought before the close of the year. On the 19th of September began the battle of Chickamauga, in which the Federals lost 10,000, the Confederates 5,000 men: this advantage was practically balanced by the more evenly drawn battle of Chattanooga in November; or, to speak more exactly, every failure to win victory on the part of the Confederates was equal to a defeat, for the drain was becoming too great on their resources not so much of money as of men. This was a fact of far greater significance than the enormous debt which the North was incurring, and the costly sacrifices of men which it was making. The message of the Southern president, at the end of the year, expressed a deep dissatisfaction at the course pursued by the government of France, and more especially by that of Great Britain.

The campaigns of 1864 began with the capture of fort Pillow by the Confederate general Forrest, and of Plymouth by the Confederate general Hoke. But all other movements now became secondary to those of Grant, who had been appointed the Federal lieutenant-general, the president being the general-in-chief of all the armies of the Union. General Grant had now entered on the campaign which was to end in the fall of Richmond; and to this purpose his operations at Petersburg and elsewhere were strictly subsidiary. He had seen clearly that the strength of the Confederacy lay in its army, and that until this army was crushed no good would be attained by the conquest of particular towns or fortresses. Hence everything was by him so planned as to ensure that the conquest of Richmond should involve the complete discomfiture of all the Confederate forces. Grant crossed the rapids on the night of the 3rd of May, and a fearful conflict ensued between his forces and those of general Lee. After several moves and much terrible fighting, Grant resolved to transfer his whole army to the south side of the James river, and to attack Petersburg. Failing to take the place by storm, he entrenched himself, at the distance of a mile and a half, and regularly besieged it. General Sheridan had in the meantime been sent to operate on the Shenandoah valley.

The tidings of the destruction of the Alabama gave encouragement to the North. This Confederate cruiser had been obliged to put into the French port of Cherbourg for repairs. On issuing from it she was attacked by the Federal ship Kearsage, and sunk. A second invasion of Maryland by the Confederates in July was a step not so imprudent as the former had been. They had now nothing to lose by it, and they might gain something; and at the least they did return with a vast amount of plunder almost from the gates of Washington itself. President Lincoln now issued a proclamation calling for 500,000 men; and an attempt to stop the war, on the part of some self-constituted commissioners from the South, ended in necessary failure. When questioned, they were obliged to admit that they had no power from the authority which had control over the Confederate or rebel forces.

Early in September, general Sherman succeeded in gaining possession of Atlanta, the capital of Georgia, after strategical movements of great skill. On entering the place, he ordered all non-combatants to leave, offering to give every facility for their removal southwards. On the 18th Sheridan attacked Early in the Shenandoah valley, and won an important battle at Cedars Creek, near Winchester.

The presidential election was now approaching. The candidate supposed to be more favourable to the South was general M'Clellan; but the military events of the season were rather in the way of his success, and a letter from general Grant, in which he said that the Confederates had 'robbed the cradle and the grave equally to get their present force,' had much weight in determining the issue. Meanwhile, the difficulty of holding Atlanta without supplies had led general Sherman to venture upon the most brilliant movement of the campaign. This was to force his way from Atlanta to Savannah, and to make his exit on the coast, having made the country support his army by the way, and thus breaking the neck of the Confederacy by leaving its richest and most magnificent territory an utter wilderness. Terrible as the measure must appear, it was justified by the result, so far as such things can be justified; and the capture of Savannah, with 150 guns and 25,000 bales of cotton, caused great exultation in the North.

Having remained a month at Savannah, general Sherman began a northward march as decisive as that which he had just accomplished. Having evaded a large force of Confederates, who supposed that the object of his march was Charleston, Sherman advanced towards Columbia, which was surrendered to him, and on the 21st of March occupied Goldsborough. The tide had now completely turned against the seceding states. Wilmington and Charleston had already fallen; an overwhelming force under Grant was blockading Richmond; and on the 3rd of April the capital itself was surrendered. Grant immediately started in pursuit of Lee; but on the 7th he addressed to Lee a letter, in which he pointed out the hopelessness of further resistance, and prayed him, in order to stop further effusion of blood, to surrender his army of Nor-

thern Virginia. General Lee and his troops accordingly laid down their arms on the 9th of April, just five days before president Lincoln, who on the 4th of March had taken the oaths of office on his re-election, was murdered in Ford's Theatre by an assassin, who made his escape.

This frightful crime, which had no effect on the issue of the war, ended the life of one of the most single-minded and earnest men who have ever directed the affairs of a free people. It is idle to look for anticipations of coming events in the last words of the dead; they were not to be found in those of Abraham Lincoln, but his inauguration speech summed up with great clearness the nature of the struggle and the motives which had guided him throughout it. 'One-eighth of the whole population of the United States were coloured slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but located in the southern part. These slaves contributed a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew the interest would somehow cause war. To strengthen, perpetuate, extend this interest, was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union by war, while the government claimed no right to do more than restrict the territorial enlargement of it.'

The murderer of the president was an actor named Wilkes Booth. This man, on refusing to surrender, was shot in a barn to which he had been tracked. While he was doing his work on the president, some accomplices forced their way into the room of Mr. Seward, the secretary of state, whom they left for dead, but who afterwards recovered. These men were taken, and, after trial and conviction, were executed. As some grounds had, it is said, been given for regarding these persons as instigated by the government of the Southern states, president Johnson issued a proclamation, offering large rewards for the apprehension of Jefferson Davis, Clement Clay, George Sanders and others. Mr. Davis was captured at Lowensville in Georgia, while trying to make his escape, and lodged in fortress Monroe. His case was, however, never to come to trial. It was postponed from term to term, until at last Mr. Davis was allowed to leave the United States, and at length pardoned (1868) by one of the last acts of president Johnson.

The military struggle, though fast drawing to a close, still went on. On the 26th of April general Sherman executed a convention with the Confederate general Johnston, according to which the several state governments were to be recognised by the executive of the United States on their officers and legislatures taking the oath prescribed by the constitution of the United States; the Federal courts in the several states were to be re-established, and a general amnesty was to follow. This agreement the government refused to ratify, and orders were sent for the immediate resumption of hostilities. Upon this, the whole Confederate army was unconditionally surrendered.

The object at which general Johnston aimed, by one of the terms of the convention, was defeated by the test oath, framed by congress to be taken by every member of that body. This oath declared that the person taking it had never voluntarily borne arms against the government of the United States since he became a citizen thereof, or given aid of any kind to persons engaged in armed hostility thereto, or voluntarily renounced his allegiance to the United States.

From this point the history of the United States becomes a history of the various plans proposed or carried out for enforcing the maintenance of the Union in the seceding states. The question of the negro population, now freed, the paralysis of southern trade, the ruin of the old slaveholders, involved subjects of incalculable difficulty; and most unhappily the death of president Lincoln had placed at the head of the state a man who, whatever may be his motives, was never intended for that office, and who soon showed that his tenure of office would be little more than a long struggle with congress. Thus president Johnson vetoed in April 1866 a bill passed by congress for the purpose of placing the newly-freed blacks on the same footing with the white population as regarded all civil rights. But congress was resolved that the bill should become law, and in the end the majorities needed for overriding the president's veto were obtained in both houses.

Early in 1867 Mr. Ashley, the member for Ohio, impeached the president before the house of representatives, which carried his resolution by 107 against 39 votes. The question was referred to the judiciary committee, which, by a majority of five to four, decided not to recommend the impeachment, but, by a majority of seven to two, resolved that he should be censured. Thus the struggle was continued in the same temper on both sides. The congress passed a bill conferring negro suffrage on the district of Columbia, as well as a reconstruction bill for the government of the South. The president vetoed both, as unnecessary and unconstitutional. In each case the congress re-passed the bills by the majorities required to override the presidential veto. The same course was followed in the case of the supplementary reconstruction bill passed in July. The registration of voters in the Southern states in the autumn showed a vast majority of negro voters, the negro majority in Louisiana being more than 38,000.

In July the president called on Mr Stanton, the secretary of war, to resign 'on public considerations of a high character.' On his refusal, the president suspended him; and Mr. Stanton submitted under protest. In the autumn Mr. Johnson published an amnesty to all Southerners, with the exception of Mr. Davis and the

other members of his government, and all who were concerned directly or indirectly in the murder of president Lincoln. The state elections of October and November, which went greatly against the republican or radical party, were welcomed by president Johnson with great satisfaction.

At length a committee, appointed by the house of representatives, recommended by a majority of five to four that the house should pass a resolution that the president be impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors. This motion was however defeated by 108 against 57 votes.

In 1868, at the presidential election general Grant was chosen as the successor of Mr Johnson. On the 4th of March 1869, he entered on his office as president of the United States; and at the end of the year his message drew a picture highly encouraging on the whole, of the condition of a country which had only just emerged from a rebellion of gigantic magnitude.

The negotiations respecting the "Alabama" claims and their result have been given in the English history of this time.

The progress of order in the southern states was much hampered by the action of bodies of men, mostly "mean whites," actuated chiefly by a violent hatred of negroes. Among these were the members of the "Ku-Klux-Klan." In the north also serious evils were seen to be the result of the venality and corruption of many of the citizens and officials—judges, barristers, jurymen, and many more. The members of the Erie and the Tammany rings in New York had made pretty much what use they pleased of the millions of pounds sterling which passed through their hands as directors of the Erie railways or other undertakings, and as administrators of the city of New York. To attack a body so formidable in its resources seemed a perilous task; but it was undertaken by the *New York Times*, and the offenders, who said that they had spent on carpets alone a sum which "would have sufficed to cover the city park with the most costly fabrics of the kind," were interrupted in their pleasant and profitable career.

Before the year 1872 closed president Grant was re-elected; and this re-election was soon followed by the death of Horace Greely, the opposition candidate, whose prospect of success had by some at one time been thought encouraging.

In the following year (1873) something more was done towards checking the gross pecuniary corruption which had caused so much mischief and misery in New York and other towns. Tweed, one of the most conspicuous members of Tammany Hall, was sentenced to twelve years' imprisonment; and others drew on themselves sentences scarcely less severe.

In his message, after entering on his second term of office, the president avowed his conviction that the civilised world is tending towards republicanism; that the effects of the great American civil war had been to free the slave and make him a citizen, but that he had not yet acquired the civil rights which citizenship carries with it. It would be his business to see this wrong corrected. The people of St Domingo had prayed to be admitted as a state of the territory, and it was his opinion that their prayer should be received. He could not share the fear entertained by many, that extension would weaken the power of the confederation. "As commerce, education, and the rapid transit of thought and matter by telegraph and steam have changed everything, I rather believe that the great Maker is preparing the world to become one nation—a consummation which will render armies and navies no longer necessary."

But for the present a considerable military force was needed for the conquest of a band of Indians utterly insignificant in numbers. The Modoc tribe had broken away from their reservations, and on their refusal to return general Wheaton was directed to compel them. His defeat showed that more strenuous measures must be taken. More reverses followed, and the government resolved to resort to negotiation. All might now, and would have been settled, had not the Modoc leader drawn his pistol suddenly during the conference and shot the chief commissioner dead. Now followed an internecine war, in which the United States lost ten, or perhaps a hundred men, for every one killed on the Modoc side. But the Modocs were in numbers as one man against a myriad, and their leaders were at length brought to bay and compelled to surrender unconditionally.

A financial panic, arrested by the prompt action of the government, was followed by an event which seemed likely to bring about a war with Spain. A vessel called the "Virginius," bearing American colours, was seized by a Spanish frigate; and as it was found to contain arms and ammunition for the Cuban insurgents, the Cuban authorities at Santiago hanged the captain and most of the passengers and crew. The indignation against Spain ran high, until the United States lawyers decided that the "Virginius" had no right to hoist the American flag; and that the survivors must be prosecuted for fraud practised on the United States.

Of the year 1874 little is to be said. Discussion turned chiefly on financial measures, on the perplexing state of affairs in the south, and on the elections, the issue of which seemed to deprive the president of all chance of re-election to a third term of office. The death of senator Sumner called forth loud and long-sustained eulogies of his honesty; but it must be remembered that the epithet of righteous applied particularly to Aristides, implied the personal corruption of the main body of the citizens. The course of events in the States for some years past seemed to justify a like remark in the case of Mr Sumner.

MEXICO.

This rich and interesting country may be regarded as altogether a Spanish colony, though it is no longer dependent on Spain, having become a federal republic. Discovered by Fernando Cortez, A.D. 1519, it was by him taken possession of in the name of the Spanish government. The exploits by which he made himself master of this country seem rather to belong to romance than history; but the circumstances of the age, and the nature and character of the opposing powers, throw an air of universal interest over operations so multiform and diversified, as the conquest of a great and powerful state by a body of men hitherto unseen by them, possessing all the advantages of skill and experience in war, and resolution and enterprise in action.

The first conquest made by Cortez was on the river Tabasco; after which, landing at St. Juan de Ulloa, he erected a fort, where he received two ambassadors sent by the emperor of Mexico with offers of assistance. A haughty answer was the reply of Cortez; and gifts of the most costly character were heaped upon him by the natives, in the hope of conciliating peace and preventing his further advance. Dangers, however, encompassed his steps. Sedition broke out in his camp, which he had the address not only to quell, but turn to his own advantage. A new town was founded, called La Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz. A still more alarming mutiny showed itself, which he again converted into the means of executing a measure fraught with imminent risk, but calculated to superinduce the deadly courage of despair. This measure was the destruction of the fleet. Soon after this, being joined by one of the native caciques, with a force of little more than 1,000 men, fifteen horses, and six cannon, he entered the state of the Tlascalans, whom, after a desperate resistance of fourteen days, he subdued, and converted into allies. At Cholula he massacred 6,000 of the natives in revenge for their treachery. Success now wafted his banners, and the capital of the empire lay before him. Received by the emperor Montezuma at the head of his nobles, Cortez was conducted to a house in the city, which he instantly fortified in the strongest manner possible. It appears there was a prediction amongst the Mexicans, that a strange people should come to chastise them for their sins—a piece of superstition of which Cortez availed himself. By treachery he obtained possession of the person of Montezuma, whom he kept a prisoner for six months. Worn out at length, the Mexican emperor acknowledged himself a vassal of the Spanish throne. In the meanwhile Cortez lost no opportunity of strengthening his power, by surveys of the country, and dividing the spoils amongst his followers.

He was again on the point of losing the fruit of his exertions; for Velasquez, who commanded the expedition from which Cortez had been despatched from Cuba, hearing of his success, sent out a large force under Narvaez, to seize him, and take possession of Mexico. This formidable danger Cortez frustrated, as well by bribes as by the rapidity of his movements, almost without bloodshed. But this he observed gave fresh spirit to the Mexicans, who attacked him on his return, and wounded him in his fortress. The wretched Montezuma, who had been placed in the van to deter the assailants from prosecuting their attacks, was wounded, and died of a broken heart. Cortez was compelled to evacuate the place secretly, but only to return with a larger body of forces at the expiration of six months. We shortly afterwards find his headquarters at Tezcuco, where, with the assistance of the Indians, he built a flotilla of 13 ships. Reinforced with 200 men, eight horses and some military stores, he renewed the siege. Gallantly was the capital defended by Guatimozin the new emperor, and Cortez was once taken prisoner, but rescued at the expense of a severe wound. Seventy-four days did the city hold out, although the ranks of Cortez were augmented by 100,000 Indians. August 12, 1512, beheld Guatimozin a prisoner, and his capital in the hands of the merciless invaders—merciless to him they were, for Cortez stained the lustre of his glory by putting the brave but ill-fated monarch to the torture. But there is even in this world a retributive justice; and worldly minds, however sublimed by courage and enterprise, generally encounter reverses similar in character to their own conduct. Success had excited envy; and Cortez was doomed to find that no courage and enterprise can be altogether free from reverses. Created captain-general of New Spain (the name which he had given to his conquest), even after an order had been issued, but not executed, for his arrest—established in high favour and honour with the emperor, his native master,—endowed with a grant of large possessions in the New World,—he had the mortification to find himself possessing only military command. The political government was vested in a royal ordinance. His enterprising spirit led him to the discovery of the great Californian gulf, but his glory was on the wane; irritated and disappointed, he returned to Europe to appeal against the proceedings of the royal ordinance, but without redress; and he who had barbarously tortured the gallant emperor of Mexico, died 26 years afterwards of a broken heart, A.D. 1547, in the 62nd year of his age.

Abstracting the interest which attended the discovery and first conquest of Mexico or New Spain, the historian finds a tame succession of events, which claim but a very vague notice. From the year 1535 to 1808,

there was a succession of fifty viceroys, one alone an American by birth. At the latter period, a spirit broke forth, elicited by centuries of oppression and exclusive favour to Europeans, which led the Mexicans to offer resistance to Spain. The disunionists were headed by Hidalgo, an enthusiastic patriot, who was proclaimed generalissimo Sept. 17, 1810. He unfortunately halted in his advance towards the capital, which gave the royalists time to rally; and a few months afterwards he was put to death. But with him the spirit of independence vanished not. Morelos, a priest, assumed the command, and several princes were completely ensured to the side of liberty. A congress of forty members was called, but after the death and execution of Morelos, it was dissolved by general Teran, who succeeded him. After languishing for some time, the revolt was entirely quelled in 1819.

The change of system introduced into Spain by the cortes alarmed the ecclesiastics in Mexico, who, for their defence, elected Iturbide, under whom a bloodless revolution was effected, and Mexico maintained in all its rights, independent of the Spanish dominion, A.D. 1822. After an usurpation of the title of emperor for little more than one year, Iturbide was compelled to lay down his usurpation, and he retired to Leghorn.

A federal government was now formed and sworn to, Feb. 24, 1826. Still commotions arose, in one of which Iturbide, who had been induced to return, lost his life. It would be of no use to enter into any details respecting the subsequent history of Mexico. In 1836 it lost Texas (now incorporated with the United States), after a sanguinary engagement at San Jacinto; and in 1848, it was compelled to surrender its provinces of New California and New Mexico to the United States, after a war of two years' duration. But Mexico, still one of the noblest territories in the world, exists in little but a name. It cannot construct, organise, or maintain any constitution or government. Its substantial anarchy is only mitigated by the sparseness and indolence of its population. It has no frontiers except on the map: the very Indians invade it at all points with impunity, and an enemy more formidable than the Indians is waiting for the inevitable consummation. Some account of the alliance between France, England, and Spain, which led to the French expedition to Mexico in 1862, will be found in the *Histories of France and Spain*.

This alliance was to be confined entirely to the enforcement of demands of reparation for injuries inflicted on citizens of the allied nations or their property. But when amongst those who accompanied the French was found a Mexican named Almonte, who had expressed a wish to substitute a monarchy for the republic, the Mexican government refused to treat with the allied commissioners, so long as he remained with them. On this, M. de Saligny, the French commissioner, plainly expressed his doubts whether any satisfaction would ever be attained except by marching upon Mexico; and the seeming approval thus given to the designs of Almonte so impressed the other commissioners, that they refused to co-operate further, and the Spanish and English governments withdrew their contingents. The French general Lorencez was now left to carry on the enterprise alone, and he openly declared war on the government, as distinguished from the people of Mexico. The Mexican troops, commanded by general Zaragoza, retired from Orizaba, which was occupied by the French in April. By the 5th of May, the latter arrived at Puebla, in front of which they were met by the forces of Zaragoza. The result of a severe engagement, in which he failed to take possession of the town, induced Lorencez to retreat to Orizaba, which he reached on the 18th of May, having been re-inforced by a Mexican officer named Marquez with 2,500 men, opposed to the government of Juarez. The check made it evident to the French people that they had mistaken the temper of the Mexicans: but strong reinforcements were sent to enable Lorencez to march on the capital. When they reached Vera Cruz towards the close of the year, the French army in Mexico amounted to not less than 30,000 men. But the French emperor still declared that, while he insisted on the redress of wrongs, he had no intention of forcing upon the Mexicans any particular form of government. Puebla was again attacked and besieged, and, after a long resistance, captured on the 18th of May, 1863. The army under general Forey then marched on to Mexico, which they entered on the 10th of June. Juarez and his colleagues had already withdrawn to San Luis Potosi; and an assembly of notables, 215 in number, resolved that Mexico should be an empire, and that the crown should be offered to the Austrian archduke Maximilian. On the 28th of May, 1864, the archduke published at Vera Cruz his first proclamation as emperor.

Three years passed away, each year making it more and more evident that the archduke had undertaken a hopeless task. He had pledged himself to introduce order and law among a people who were lovers of lawlessness and disorder. He had also intruded himself unwittingly within the charmed circle of the dominion or influence of the United States. By the doctrine of American politicians, North American soil was not to be profaned by any empire or monarchy: and president Johnson had not only spoken of the Mexican empire as a thing unseemly in itself, but had insisted on the withdrawal of the French emperor from the adventure. His order was obeyed, and the French troops were withdrawn. But Maximilian was a man of too scrupulous a conscience to recede where he thought that he was pledged to remain. He could not see that his engagement with the Mexicans was annulled by the withdrawal of the French; and with a somewhat Quixotic chivalry, he determined to stand at his post. He had sacrificed a brilliant position to come to Mexico: he was now to die for

his fidelity to those who had summoned him, when he might have returned to Europe, to enjoy all that he had given up.

Early in 1867, Maximilian left the city of Mexico, and marching northwards with his troops occupied Queretaro, where he was repeatedly attacked by general Escobedo. In April, the Juarists took Puebla, and soon afterwards they besieged Mexico. On the 15th of May, Escobedo forced his way into Queretaro, and the emperor was surrounded and taken prisoner with all his staff. It is useless to lengthen the story. His captors knew perfectly well that if he were allowed to depart, he would never trouble them again; but they had determined that he should be slain, and on the 19th of May, they put to death a singularly gallant, high-minded, and pure-hearted gentleman, who had been induced by others to engage in an enterprise which they should have known was hopeless.

CANADA.

This is the most important province possessed by Great Britain in North America. Its history is closely interwoven with that of the United States, with the people of which it has been, both under its original and present masters, in almost constant collision. Founded by the French in 1608, the colonists were for many years in danger of being overwhelmed by the native Indians, with whom at length they entered into treaties, which enabled them to annoy very materially the neighbouring states under the British jurisdiction. Twenty years after the founding of Quebec, the right of trading with Canada was granted exclusively to a company of French merchants, who, in the following years, were dispossessed of Quebec by sir David Keith. This conquest remained in the hands of the British till it was ceded at the treaty of St. Germains.

In 1663 the West India Company obtained the exclusive right of commerce for forty years, and Canada for thirty years enjoyed tranquillity, and its concomitant, prosperity; which were interrupted by a bold but unsuccessful expedition of the people of New England, consisting of 1,200 or 1,300 men under the command of sir William Phipps. This attempt was repeated about seventeen years afterwards (1711) on a larger scale, but shared the same result, although 4,000 veteran British troops were employed.

Little occurs in the affairs of Canada deserving notice, till the breaking out of the continental war in 1756, when Canada became the theatre of military scenes, which ended, three years afterwards, in the conquest of it by the British. The English general Wolfe, though defeated in his first operations by the French, at length, after an action sustained by equal gallantry on both sides, obtained possession of Quebec. In this exploit the opposing generals, Montcalm and Wolfe, are equally renowned for spirit and courage; one did not survive the mortification of defeat — the other only lived to hear the shouts of victory. This conquest was ratified to the English by the treaty of 1763. Since that period it long enjoyed comparative peace: for with the exception of one unsuccessful expedition sent against it during the revolutionary war, under general Montgomery, who was killed, Canada was exempt from military operations till the last American war, when it became the theatre of several bloody frays, but resisted, by means of the British troops, the repeated attacks of the Americans. Canada has been long rising in importance. The facility of commerce has been of late infinitely increased, and it may be hoped that this colony will long be a valuable acquisition to the British crown.

We make no mention in this place of the internal insurrections and piratical invasions of Canada in the years 1838 and 1839, but refer the reader to the *History of England*, p. 496, *et seq.*

The other British Possessions in North America are NEWFOUNDLAND, NEW BRUNSWICK, NOVA SCOTIA, CAPE BRETON, and PRINCE EDWARD'S ISLAND; but the want of space prevents us from entering on the history of any of these.

SOUTH AMERICA.

PERU.

THE Peruvians have strange traditions that their progenitors were instructed in the arts of government and society by a man and woman, named Manco Capac and Mama Ocllo, from an island in a lake south of Peru Under their instructions their kingdom was established, the royal family instituted, and success and power heaped upon them

This was about the 13th century; and previous to the arrival of the Spaniards in 1524, there had been fourteen successive monarchs or incas. On the arrival of the Europeans, Huana Capac was the reigning inca, who was taken prisoner and put to death by Pizarro, the discoverer of the country, although he had paid as much gold for his ransom as filled the place of his confinement. Pizarro likewise defeated his successor, and was created marquis of Atibellos, with large possessions in his conquest. His associate, Almagro, was also amply rewarded.

The city of Lima was founded by Pizarro in 1533, but the Peruvians again took up arms under their inca, Manco Capac, and obtained some successes. A division took place between Pizarro and Almagro, the latter of whom having sustained a defeat, was taken prisoner and beheaded by his conqueror, who two years afterwards was assassinated by one of Almagro's party. Various insurrections ensued with various successes, in which were conspicuous Vasco de Castro, Blasco Vela, Gonzalez Pizarro, and Pedro de la Gasca, a priest. The royal authority of the Spaniards was at length established by the surrender and execution of the last inca, Tupac Amaru, by Toledo the viceroy, at Cuzco, A.D. 1562. Peru remained in a state of uninterrupted vassalage to the Spanish crown, till the year 1782, when a descendant of the last inca, on being refused a title which had been granted his ancestor, Sayu Tupac, reared the standard of independence, round which the natives rallied with spirit and in great numbers. For two years the war continued with alternate success. At last Jose Gabriel Condorcanqui was defeated, and with the rest of his family, excepting his brother Diego, put to death. The surviving brother shortly afterwards shared the same fate, on suspicion of being engaged in a revolt at Quito.

Peru escaped for awhile the rising spirit of insubordination, which convulsed the other colonies; but in 1809 commotions ensued, and juntas were established in the cities of Quito and La Paz, but were suppressed. In 1813 the independents of Chili were subjugated, but their efforts were triumphant in 1817, under general San Martin, and Chili was not only evacuated by the Peruvian army, but sent an army to retaliate upon Peru. Lima capitulated on July 6, 1521, and San Martin held levees in the viceregal palace. The independence of Peru was solemnly proclaimed on the 28th of the same month, and San Martin was proclaimed protector. This office he laid down, after calling together a constituent and sovereign congress, on the 20th of September 1822.

Disinterested as was this abdication, it was not followed by prosperity to the country. The inadequacy of the junta appointed by the congress soon became manifest; the patriots were defeated early in 1823; the congress now dissolved, anarchy predominated, and Lima surrendered to the Spanish troops in July of the same year They were partially dispossessed by Bolivar and the Chilians shortly afterwards; and Peru, though safe from Spanish subjugation, has ever since been like a vessel tossed by every casual wave, unsafe, and exposed to conflicting dangers.

CHILI.

This country was subjugated in 1450 by the Peruvians, who retained possession of it till they were driven out by the Spaniards under Almagro, in 1535. The Spaniards were driven out by a general rising of the natives three years afterwards. Pizarro attempted to colonise the country in 1540, and though opposed by the natives of Goplapo, he succeeded in conquering several provinces, and founded the city of Santiago, February 1541. In attempting to extend his conquest he exposed his settlement for six years to the strong and repeated attacks of the Mapochians, in whose district Santiago was. His lieutenant, Pedro de Valdivia, to whom this extension was intrusted, made the Promancians his allies, and, surmounting various attacks and oppositions from the natives, founded the cities of Conception, Imperial, and Valdivia. He was shortly afterwards defeated by his old enemies the Araucanians, who took him prisoner, and he was at length despatched by an old chief with the blow of a club.

These Araucanians kept the new colonies for several years in a continual state of alarm and distress; and so far succeeded in avenging their former defeats, as in 1598 to capture Vallanca, Valdivia, Imperial, and other towns. Nor were these the only losses sustained by the Spaniards. The Dutch plundered Chiloe, and massacred the garrison. The feuds between the Araucanians and Spaniards were settled by a treaty of peace in 1641, which lasted for fourteen years; then came a war of ten years, and another peace. In 1722 a conspiracy for the extirpation of the whites was happily frustrated. The colonists were gathered into towns, the country divided into provinces, and several new cities founded by the governor Don Josef Manto, 1742 A similar attempt by Don Antonio Gonzago, in respect of the Araucanians, relighted the torch of war, which blazed three years, when harmony was restored Nor does anything of particular moment occur in the history of Chili, till 1809, when a successful revolutionary movement took place, and for four or five years fortune favoured the cause of independence; but in

1814 a royalist army from Peru nearly extinguished the flame of liberty. Success (in 1817) returned with general San Martin, who brought them freedom. D. Bernado O'Higgins was made director of the junta; and a fatal blow was struck at the power of the royalists on the 5th of April 1818, when a large tract of coast was declared in a state of blockade by the Chilian navy under lord Cochrane. In 1820, as stated in the history of Peru, the Chilian army under San Martin liberated Peru from the Spanish thraldom, and San Martin retired into the ranks of private life in Chili. His example was followed by O'Higgins, who resigned the dictatorship Jan. 28, 1823, and was succeeded by general Freire, the commander-in-chief. The royalist flag, which was hoisted in September, near the city of Conception, was pulled down, after a short period, and a free constitution appointed, with a popular government.

BRAZIL.

THE honour of discovering this country is contested between Martin Behem and Pedro Alvarez Cabral, at the close of the 15th century. It was originally called Santa Cruz by Cabral, but afterwards Brazil, from the name of a wood produced there. It was first colonised by some refugee Jews, in 1548, banished from Portugal, and was fostered by the able guidance of governor de Souza, and the blandishments of the Jesuits. In 1624, San Salvador was taken possession of by the Dutch, who were in turn defeated by an armament of Spaniards under Frederick de Toledo.

The Dutch, in 1630, succeeded in making themselves masters of Temerara, Paraiba, and Rio Grande. Maurice of Nassau added Seara, Seregippee, and the greater part of Bahia; and the whole of Brazil was on the point of yielding to their arms, when the revolution which drove Philip IV. from the Portuguese throne, afforded an opportunity to both the Dutch and Portuguese to expel the Spaniards from Brazil. By an agreement between them, the country received a plural title, being called Brazils from the circumstance that both the Dutch and Portuguese possessed almost an equal share of it. By conquest and treaty the whole at length fell to Portugal.

In 1806 the royal family of Portugal, driven from Europe by the invasion of the French, migrated to Brazil, which from that period has risen rapidly in importance, independence, and strength. In 1817, a revolution broke out in Pernambuco, which failed. A free constitution was passed, and the king returned to Lisbon. Subsequently the prince-regent, on his birth-day, Oct. 12, 1822, was proclaimed constitutional emperor of Brazil, independent of the Portuguese throne—a measure which has since been formally recognised by the government of the parent country.

From its central position in reference to the commercial countries of the globe, and its extensive line of coast, Brazil is most favourably situated for trade. But its slow progress in this and other respects may be chiefly ascribed to the narrow policy of the parent state, Portugal, which left to her colonies little save examples of pride, indolence, and superstition. The immigration of free settlers was discouraged, mercantile intercourse with foreigners was interdicted, and no instrumentality existed for the diffusion of general intelligence. Prior to 1808, not a printing press existed in Brazil. But latterly the country has been more alive to its true interests, and intelligence has rapidly spread. By its righteous and liberal treatment, too, of the coloured races it has neutralised the worst element of political evil, and the sincerity which it is now evincing in the abolition of the slave trade is evidence both of sound policy and administrative power.

THE REPUBLIC OF LA PLATA, OR UNITED PROVINCES.

THE title of the United Provinces is of modern date, as the following brief outline of the history of this part of the New World will exhibit. Juan Diaz de Solis, a Spaniard, is said to have been the first adventurer who explored the country, and took possession of it, A.D. 1513. Sebastian Cabot, in 1526, in the La Plata, discovered the island St. Gabriel, the river St. Salvador, and the Paraguay

Buenos Ayres was founded in 1535, by Don Pedro de Mendoza. It did not flourish much, on account of the restricted state of commerce, which was, however, gradually relaxed, and in 1748 the annual flota made its last voyage. A free trade with several American ports began in 1774, and an extension to the Spanish ports was granted in 1778. Under a viceroy trade augmented, and commercial prosperity ensued. Buenos Ayres was captured in 1806 by general Beresford, with a British army, which was in turn compelled to surrende. a few weeks afterwards to general Liniers,

a French officer, at the head of a body of militia. Sir Home Popham, with 5,000 men, having captured Fort Maldonado, attacked Monte Video, without success; but, reinforced by sir Samuel Auchmuty, at length carried the town by storm. The operations were extended under general Whitelocke and general Crawford, who with 12,000 men renewed the attack upon Buenos Ayres, but were defeated and captured by the native militia. Liniers, who had contributed so largely to this defeat, was raised by the people to the viceroyalty.

The United Provinces escaped not the swell of that storm which the French invasion stirred up in Spain. After various intrigues and plots, Ferdinand VII. was at length proclaimed in Buenos Ayres by the address of Don Josef de Goyeneche. A rising of the people (August 1809) was suppressed by Liniers, who was shortly after deposed and sent into exile. Rapid were the convulsions which now shook this unhappy country; till, on May 26, 1810, the people rose, expelled the viceroy, and appointed a provisional junta of nine persons. This is the era of their independence.

But petty dissensions and intrigues, incident to the efforts of rising independence, interrupted the progress of success necessary for the consolidation of a new state. D. Jose de San Martin cut a distinguished figure in this part of the history, having twice defeated the independents at Entre Rios, in 1811; but his efforts failed, and the independence of the provinces of Rio de la Plata was shortly after sealed. Artigas, driven by the Portuguese across the Paraguay, was apprehended by the dictator Francia, and in 1819 Pueyrsedon the dictator fled to Monte Video, and thus dissolved the confused mass of the union of conflicting and discordant provinces. After a variety of events and political changes, D. Martin Rodriguez was established governor, Oct. 6, 1820; and in the following year the independence of Buenos Ayres was recognised by the Portuguese government. Subsequent to the establishment of its independence, it has been subject to many political vicissitudes, of which the most remarkable has been the dictatorship of the Spaniard Rosas. This adventurer evinced some abilities in the management of an unsettled population, and his government, though tyrannical, was better probably than the incessant revolutions and anarchy that had previously existed in most of the South American states on the Plate. But his rule was not only oppressive and capricious over the Buenos Ayreans, it was also exercised most despotically for the ruin of Monte Video, and to the annoyance and injury of adjacent communities. In consequence a formidable coalition was cemented for his overthrow, consisting of Brazil, the Banda Oriental, Entrerios, Corrientes, and Santa Fé. The united forces of these states under general Urquiza, having met the army of the dictator, Feb. 3, 1852, on the plain of Santa Lugares, a few miles from the capital, a sharp battle followed, in which Rosas was entirely defeated, the usurper himself being compelled to take refuge on board an English vessel, in which he soon afterwards sailed for England.

COLOMBIA.

THIS is a new state, formed at the close of the year 1819 from the states of Granadas and Venezuela or Caraccas. It will, therefore, be necessary to sketch the distinct history of these two original states.

Granada, or as it is called, New Granada, was discovered by Columbus in his fourth voyage, and taken possession of for the Spanish government. But the first regular colonists were Ojeda, and Nica Essa, in 1508; the former founded the district called New Andalusia, but with no great success; the latter, Golden Castile, and he also perished. These two districts were united (1514) in one, called Terra Firma, under Avila, who successfully extended the discoveries, and founded the town of Panama. Other additions were subsequently made, and the kingdom of New Granada was established under a captain-general, in 1547. As it had been established, so did it continue for more than 150 years, when in 1718 it became a viceroyalty, which form of government lasted but for six years, when it was supplanted by the original one, which was again superseded in 1740 by the incubus of the viceroyalty. Thus did it continue, till the weakness of the mother country, from the invasion of the French, afforded an opportunity to raise the standard of independence. Many and various have been the events attendant upon the struggle for mastery; but a severe blow was inflicted by their old masters in 1810, who, under Morillo, defeated the colonists with tremendous loss. Three years of renewed subjection followed, when the success of Bolivar, and the union of Granada with Venezuela, caused a brighter star to arise.

VENEZUELA.—This district was discovered somewhat earlier than Granada, by Columbus, in 1498. After several fruitless attempts to colonise it, the Spanish government disposed of the partially subdued natives to the Weltsers, a German company of merchants. Their mismanagement led to a change in 1550, when Venezuela, like Granada three years before, became a supreme government under a captain-general. From that period to 1806 Venezuela was a torpid vassal under the Spanish crown, when a futile attempt for independence was made under general Mirando, a native. Together with Granada, Venezuela rallied for liberty when the mother country was prostrate before the ascendancy of France in 1810. In the following year a formal

proclamation of independence was made July 6, and success seemed to attend the cause. Then came the dreadful earthquake. Superstition re-nerved the arm of freedom, and the royalist general, Monteverde, discomfited Miranda, and again overran the province. In 1813 Bolivar called independence again into action, and success attended him for three years, when another defeat was sustained, which was followed by another in the following year, and then by a victory. Reverses again recurring, compelled the congress to appoint Bolivar dictator; and in 1819 the union of Venezuela with Grannda was effected under the name of Colombia.

Colombia may therefore date its history as a nation from this union, which was agreed upon Dec. 17, 1819; and the installation of the united congress took place May 6, 1821; which was followed on June 24, by a victory obtained by the president Bolivar over the Spaniards, at the celebrated battle of Carabobo, in which the royalist army lost above 6,000 men, besides their artillery and baggage.

BOLIVIA.

THE history of this recently formed state, known before as UPPER PERU, partakes of the nature of an episode in the life of the illustrious Bolivar, in whose honour its present name was given, and to whose wise counsels it is so much indebted. Previously to the battle of Ayachuco, in 1824, it formed a part of the Spanish viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres; but general Sucre, at the head of the republicans, having then defeated the royalist troops, the independence of the country was effected; and in the following year, at the request of the people, Bolivar drew up a constitution for its governance.

On referring to our 'Biographical Treasury' the reader will find in the life of BOLIVAR the following passage, which is so applicable to our present purpose, that in this limited space, we cannot perhaps do better than to transcribe it. 'His renown was now at its height, and every act of his government showed how zealously alive he was to the improvement of the national institutions and the moral elevation of the people over whom he ruled. In 1823 he went to the assistance of the Peruvians, and having succeeded in settling their internal divisions, and establishing their independence, he was proclaimed liberator of Peru, and invested with supreme authority. In 1825 he visited Upper Peru, which detached itself from the government of Buenos Ayres, and was formed into a new republic, named *Bolivia*, in honour of the liberator; but domestic factions sprung up, the purity of his motives was called in question, and he was charged with aiming at a perpetual dictatorship; he accordingly declared his determination to resign his power as soon as his numerous enemies were overcome, and to repel the imputations of ambition cast upon him, by retiring to seclusion upon his patrimonial estates. The vice-president, Santander, urged him, in reply, to resume his station as constitutional president; and though he was beset by the jealousy and distrust of rival factions, he continued to exercise the chief authority in Colombia till May 1830, when, dissatisfied with the aspect of internal affairs, he resigned the presidency, and expressed his determination to leave the country. The people ere long became sensible of their injustice to his merit, and were soliciting him to resume the government, when his death, which happened in December 1830, prevented the accomplishment of their wishes.' The government of Bolivia is in the hands of a president, to which office general Santa Cruz was elected in 1829.

GUIANA.

GUIANA is an extensive region of South America, lying between the Amazon and Orinoco rivers, and subdivided into British, Dutch, and French Guiana. The British possessions comprise the several districts of Berbice, Essequibo, Demerara, and Surinam. It is asserted by some that Columbus saw this coast in 1458, and by others that it was discovered by Vasco Nunez in 1504. It became, however, known to Europe in 1595, when Raleigh sailed up to Orinoco in his chimerical search of El Dorado, a city supposed to be paved with gold. The coast of Guiana then became the resort of buccaneers; and in 1634 a mixed company of these freebooters, English and French, formed the settlement of Surinam for the cultivation of tobacco. They were, after twenty years of great hardship and difficulty, taken under the protection of the British, who appointed lord Willoughby of Parham governor, 1662. The Dutch captured the settlement in 1667, and the possession of it was confirmed by the treaty of Westminster, England receiving the colony of New York in exchange. In 1783, the Dutch settlements on the Essequibo, which had been captured by the British in the American war, were restored to the States-general. In 1796, both Berbice and Demerara fell to the English, as also Surinam, in 1799; but again reverted to Holland, at the peace of Amiens, in 1802; fell to the English arms in 1813, and were finally confirmed by the treaty of Paris, 1814, to Great Britain.

THE WEST INDIA ISLANDS.

(SOMETIMES CALLED THE ARCHIPELAGO OF THE WEST.)

THE West Indies consist of a number of islands in the central part of America, extending from the tropic of Cancer southward, to the coast of Terra Firma and Mexico; the principal of which are Cuba, Hayti or St. Domingo, Jamaica, Porto Rico, Trinidad, St. Christopher, (commonly called St. Kitt's,) Antigua, Guadaloupe, Martinique, Barbadoes, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Grenada, and Tobago; for the most part discovered by Columbus near the close of the 15th century.

The islands are in possession of various powers, whom we shall notice as we proceed in the description, beginning with

CUBA.

CUBA, the largest and most westerly island in the West Indies, was discovered by Columbus in 1492; and was first called Juana, in honour of prince John, son of Ferdinand and Isabella; afterwards Fernandina; then Santiago and Ave Maria, in deference to the patron saint of Spain and the Virgin. The name of Cuba is that which it was called by the natives at the time of its discovery. It is about 800 miles in length, and about 125 in breadth. The Spaniards made no settlement upon it till 1511, when Diego de Velasquez arrived with four ships, and landed on the eastern point.

This district was under the government of a native of St. Domingo, who had retired hither to avoid the slavery to which his countrymen were condemned. Those who could escape the tyranny of the Spaniards had followed him in his retreat.

The Spaniards soon overcame the Indians. The cacique was taken in the woods, and condemned to be burned. When he was fastened to the stake, and waited only for the kindling of the fire, a priest advanced towards him, and proposed the ceremony of baptism as a means of entering the Christian paradise. '*Are there,*' said the cacique, '*any Spaniards in that happy place?*' '*Yes,*' replied the priest. '*I will not,*' returned Hatney, '*go to a place where I should be in danger of meeting one of them. Talk to me no more of your religion, but leave me to die.*'

There are some traces of cultivation at St. Jago, and at Matanza; the first plantations are all confined to the beautiful plains of the Havannah.

The Havannah, the capital of Cuba, is a fine city, and the harbour one of the safest in the world. The English took it in the year 1762, and it was restored at the peace of 1763. Of late years many Americans have settled in the island, some for health, but most as merchants and planters, and form a most active and enterprising portion of the inhabitants. In the course of 1850 and 1851 two attempts were made to revolutionise the government by marauding expeditions from the United States. But both of them signally failed, and in the last their leader Lopez, and many of his followers, were captured, and executed as pirates.

HAYTI, OR ST. DOMINGO.

THIS island was discovered by Columbus in 1492, and is, next to Cuba, the largest of the West India islands. It is upwards of 400 miles in length, from east to west, and averages more than 100 in breadth. Having taken possession of it in the name of Spain, Columbus founded the town of La Isabella on the north coast, and established in it, under his brother Diego, the first settlement of the Spaniards in the New World. It was in high estimation for the quantity of gold it supplied; but this wealth diminished with the inhabitants of the country, whom they compelled to perpetual labour in the mines; and it was entirely lost when those wretched victims were no more. The cruelties of the Spaniards almost exceed belief. It is computed, that considerably more than a million of natives (the number at the time of its discovery) perished in the space of fifty years, by the hands or through the means of the conquerors.

The gold mines have failed for want of hands to dig them. The Spaniards thought of procuring slaves from Africa, to reopen them, and numbers were imported; but the mines on the continent having been begun to be worked with good effect, those of St. Domingo were no longer of importance. The settlers then turned their thoughts to agriculture, which was cultivated with success. Sugar, tobacco, cocoa, cassia, ginger and cotton, were among their productions at the close of the sixteenth century.

The immense fortunes raised in Mexico and other parts induced the inhabitants of St. Domingo to despise their settlements;

and they quitted the island in numbers, in search of those regions of wealth. This conduct ruined St. Domingo. It had no intercourse with the mother country, but by a single ship, of no great burden, received from thence every third year; and the whole country, in 1717, consisted of only 18,410, including Spaniards, Mestees, mulattoes and negroes.

The Spaniards retained possession of the whole island till 1665, when the French obtained a footing on its western coast, and laid the foundation of that colony, which afterwards became so flourishing. The French settlers increased very fast; and sugar-works were erected in great numbers. Coffee, cotton, ginger, and other products, were put into cultivation: the planters became rich, and the negroes numerous, until the fatal measure of giving liberty to the slaves was adopted, without preparatory means, by the French national convention.

At that period the negroes in the French part of St. Domingo were estimated at about 500,000; and while the revolutionary terrorists in France were hourly exhibiting scenes of brutal barbarity, and recommending their actions as worthy of imitation by all other nations, the inhabitants of St. Domingo were precisely in that unsettled situation which seemed to favour the commission of similar atrocities, under the pretext of avenging past injuries and redressing present grievances. The laws of St. Domingo were, indeed, according to the account given by Mr. Bryan Edwards in his 'Historical Survey,' dreadfully unequal; mulattoes were in a situation more degrading and wretched than that of the enslaved negroes in any part of the West Indies. No law allowed the privileges of a white person to any descendant of an African, however remote. In such a situation it is not to be wondered at, that they should have listened with pleasure to the news of the French revolution, and to the acts of the assembly, which abolished slavery, and established equality of rights. The island was in a political flame. The pride of power, the rage of reformation, the contentions of party, and the conflict of opposing interests, now produced a tempest that swept everything before it. In October 1790, James Oge, a free mulatto, who had been at Paris, and who is described as an enthusiast for liberty, but mild and humane, returned from France, and put himself at the head of the insurgent negroes and people of colour; but being defeated, in March 1791, was betrayed by the Spaniards, to whom he had fled for refuge, and, with Mark Chavane his lieutenant, broken alive on the wheel.

At this time 6,000 troops arrived from France; and Maudit, the new governor, was murdered by his own soldiers, with circumstances of horrible barbarity. By a decree of the national assembly, of the 15th of May 1791, people of colour were declared eligible to seats in the colonial assembly. And on the 11th of September, a concordat, or truce, was signed between the whites and mulattoes. But the operation of this truce was destroyed by an absurd decree of the national assembly, repealing the decree of the 15th of May. Open war in all its horrors was now renewed. It was no longer a contest for victory, but a diabolical emulation to outvie each other in barbarous atrocities. On the 23rd of August 1791 cape François was burnt; and it was computed that in the space of two months, upwards of 2,000 white persons perished by these horrible massacres, while not fewer than 10,000 of the mulattoes and negroes died by famine and the sword, besides numbers that suffered by the executioner. Meantime three commissioners arrived from France, accompanied by 6,000 of the national guards; and citizen Galbaud was appointed governor. Their attempts, however, to stop these enormities proved fruitless, though they proclaimed the total abolition of slavery, and a general indemnity.

In October 1793, a body of British forces under colonel Whitelock, landed, and took possession of Tiburon, Treves, Jérémie, Leogane, cape Nicholas Mole, and upwards of ninety miles of the eastern coast, with little opposition. It was, however, a disastrous acquisition to the English, for in less than six months after their arrival, not less than 6,000, of whom 150 were officers, fell victims to disease. Leogane was soon after retaken by the negroes, who now amounted to above 100,000, under their general Toussaint L'Ouverture; and Tiburon was taken by the French under general Rigaud. To remedy these disasters, another expedition was undertaken by the British, but was attended with vast expense and the loss of many brave troops. Colonels Brisbane and Markham were killed; and at length, in 1798, the British having surrendered Port au Prince and cape Nicholas Mole to general Hedonville, the island was totally abandoned by them. At this time the name of Port au Prince was changed to Port Republican; and the Spanish part of the island was taken possession of by L'Ouverture, a man of superior talents and character, whose unremitting exertions were directed to the laudable object of healing the wounds and improving the condition of every class in the island. The beneficial effects of such an administration were soon visible. The wasted colony began to revive; the plantations were again brought into a fertile state; the ports were opened to foreign vessels; and, notwithstanding the ravages of a ten years' war, the commerce of St. Domingo was rapidly recovering; while the population also increased with astonishing rapidity.

In 1798, when the British forces evacuated the island, the military establishment of St. Domingo did not exceed 40,000; but in two years it was more than double that number. Toussaint was regarded as an extraordinary being by his soldiers, and no European army was ever subject to a more rigorous discipline. Every officer commanded, pistol in hand; and had the power of life and death over the subalterns. Sixty thousand men were frequently reviewed and exercised together; on which occasions 2,000 officers were seen in the field, carrying

arms, from the general to the ensign, yet with the utmost attention to rank, and without the smallest symptom of insubordination. In these reviews, says M. de la Croix, Toussaint appeared like an inspired person, and became the fetiche or idol of the blacks who listened to him. In order to make himself better understood, he frequently addressed them in parables, and often made use of the following:—In a glass vessel full of grains of black maize, he would mix a few grains of white maize, and say to those who surrounded him, 'You are the black maize; the whites, who are desirous of enslaving you, are the white maize.' He would then shake the vessel, and presenting it to their fascinated eyes, exclaim, 'See the white here and there!' in other words, 'See how far the white are apart in comparison of yourselves.' The gleam of prosperity, however, which resulted from his wise administration was but of short continuance.

The independence of St. Domingo was proclaimed on the 1st of July 1801; and while the inhabitants were indulging the hope of future happiness, a storm was gathering, which burst upon them with accumulated fury. Scarcely was the peace of Amiens concluded, when a formidable armament of twenty-six ships of war was equipped by order of the first consul, with the determination of reducing the revolted colony of St. Domingo. On board this fleet were embarked 25,000 chosen troops, amply furnished with all the apparatus of military slaughter; and the chief command was confided to general Le Clerc, the brother-in-law of Buonaparte. Before proceeding to hostilities, however, recourse was had to various perfidious acts. Attempts were made to sow disunion among the free people of St. Domingo. Proclamations and letters, expressed in all the delusive jargon of the republic, were widely circulated. The chiefs of both colours then in France, and the two sons of Toussaint himself, who had sent them thither for instruction, were pressed into the service of this expedition.

The French forces arrived in January 1802; yet so little did Toussaint expect to have any enemy to combat, that he was at the time making a tour round the eastern part of the island, and had given no orders for resistance in case of attack. After the French troops had disembarked, and previously to commencing operations in the interior of the country, Le Clerc thought proper to try what effect the sight of his two sons, and a specious letter from Buonaparte, would have upon Toussaint. Coisnon, their tutor, who had accompanied them from France, and was one of the chief confidential agents in this expedition, was accordingly deputed on this errand, with instructions to press Toussaint's instant return to the Cape, and to bring back the children in case he should not succeed. On arriving at Toussaint's country residence, and learning that its owner would not return from his excursion till the next day, the wily Frenchman availed himself of this delay to work upon the feelings of their mother, whose tears, and the solicitations of the children, when their father returned, for a while shook his resolutions. But being at length confirmed in his suspicion of the snare that was laid for him, by the conduct and language of Coisnon, Toussaint suddenly composed his agitated countenance; and gently disengaging himself from the embraces of his wife and children, he took their preceptor into another apartment and gave him this dignified decision:—'Take back my children; since it must be so, I will be faithful to my brethren and my God.' Unwilling to prolong this painful scene, Toussaint mounted his horse, and rode to the camp: and although a correspondence was afterwards opened between him and Le Clerc, it failed to produce his submission.

Hostilities now commenced. After several obstinate conflicts in the open field, and the burning of several towns, the blacks found themselves overpowered, and were compelled to retire into the inaccessible fortresses of the interior, whence they carried on, under their brave chieftain, Toussaint, a desultory, but destructive warfare against detached parties of their enemies. At length, however, the negroes and cultivators were either subdued by the terror of the French army or cajoled by the deceitful promises of the French general, who had published in his own name, and in that of the first consul, repeated solemn declarations that the freedom of all the inhabitants of St. Domingo, of all colours, should be preserved inviolate. But no sooner did Le Clerc find that his plan succeeded than he threw aside his mask, and issued an order restoring to the proprietors, or their attorneys, all their ancient authority over the negroes upon their estates. This order at once opened the eyes of the negro population; Toussaint and Christophe united their forces; and such was the fierce and active nature of their attacks, that Le Clerc was obliged to abandon most of his former conquests, and seek refuge in the town of Cape François; where he again issued a proclamation couched in such specious terms, that the blacks and their leaders accepted the conditions of his proffered amnesty.

This masterpiece of deception having thus fully succeeded, and the French now having the dominion of the whole island, they began to put into execution their meditated system of slavery and destruction; and as a preliminary step towards this object, Le Clerc caused Toussaint to be privately seized in the dead of the night, together with his family, and, putting him on board a fast-sailing frigate, he was conveyed to France, as a prisoner (May 1802). There, under a charge of exciting the negroes to rebel, he was committed to close custody, and was no more heard of by his sorrowing countrymen, till his death was announced in the following year as having taken place in the fortress of Joux.

Aroused by the base treachery of Le Clerc, the black chieftains, Dessalines, Christophe, and Clervaux, again raised their standards, and were soon found at the head

of considerable bodies of troops, ready to renew the struggle for liberty, and determined to succeed or perish in the attempt. Many and desperate were the contests which ensued; Le Clerc died, and was succeeded in the command of the French army by Rochambaud; but the losses they sustained by disease as well as by this harassing warfare rendered any escape from Hayti preferable to a continuance there; and, as the war had then recommenced between Great Britain and France, the French gladly surrendered themselves prisoners of war to a British squadron, and were conveyed to England. The independence of Hayti, which had been first proclaimed in 1800, was thus consolidated, and Dessalines erected the west or French part of the island into an empire, of which he became emperor, with the title of Jacques I. (Jan. 1, 1804). But his reign was of short duration: the cruelties he perpetrated caused a conspiracy to be formed against him; and, two years after his coronation, he was surrounded by the conspirators at his headquarters, and struggling to escape, received his death-blow.

The assassination of Dessalines caused another division of the island, and another civil war. In the north, Christophe assumed the government, with the modest designation of chief of the government of Hayti; while Pétion, a mulatto, asserted his claim to sovereign power. For several years these rival chieftains carried on a sanguinary contest, with various success, until the year 1810, when hostilities were suspended; and, though no formal treaty was concluded, the country long enjoyed the blessings of peace. Christophe was crowned king of Hayti in March 1811, by the title of Henry I.: and Pétion, as president of the republic of Hayti, governed the southern part until 1818, when he died, and was succeeded by general Boyer, whom he was allowed to nominate his successor. Both governments evinced a praiseworthy solicitude for the encouragement of agriculture, as the basis of their national prosperity; and both were persevering in their endeavours to promote the intellectual instruction of the rising generation. Christophe, in imitation of other monarchs, created various orders of nobility together with numerous officers of state, &c. His dynasty, however, was, like his predecessor's, short-lived. In 1820 a successful conspiracy was formed against him; and, finding himself surrounded by an overwhelming force, he committed suicide. Boyer now took possession of his dominions; and, the Spanish portion of the island having, in 1821, voluntarily placed itself under his government, he became master of the whole of Hayti.

In 1825, Boyer concluded a treaty with France, by the provisions of which the independence of Hayti was fully recognised, and its ports thrown open to all nations, but with certain exclusive advantages to the French. The Haytians also agreed to pay 150 millions of francs to France, in five annual payments, as an indemnity for the losses of the colonists during the revolution. The first instalment of 30 millions was paid in 1836; but it being evident that the annual exaction was beyond the ability of Hayti to repeat, it was agreed, in 1838, to reduce the original sum to 60 million francs, to be paid in six instalments by 1867.

Down to 1844, the entire island was under the Haytian government as one republic, but in the latter year, owing to the violation by the Haytians of the terms on which the annexation of Dominica had taken place, and their refusal to permit the immigration of white colonists into any part of the island, the Dominicans were driven to declare their independence, which independence was recognised by Great Britain in 1850. Since that time, Hayti has been transformed by a *coup d'état* of Soulouque, from a republic into a monarchy, and it was the incessant object of this black potentate, who was crowned emperor in 1851, under the title of Faustin I., to subjugate the Dominicans, and to regain possession of the entire island. In this, however, he was signally frustrated, his army raised for the purpose having, in the first instance, been entirely dispersed and beaten, while his subsequent threats of renewing the attack were checked by the joint interference of England, France, and the United States. The mediation of these powers, however, did not produce an actual peace, and all that they accomplished was a provisional truce, which was agreed upon in 1851, and which was to expire in October 1852. The position of Dominica, as regards the probable course of the future commerce of the world, is so important, as to render it desirable that an increased knowledge should be cultivated of the various advantages it presents. This republic comprises about two-thirds of the island of Hayti, and forms that part of it which is nearest to this country, the western side, or Hayti Proper, being under the despotic authority of the black emperor. But although the Dominican republic is much larger than Hayti, its population is only about 200,000, while that of Hayti is estimated at 700,000. The Dominicans are of Spanish origin, and consist of about one-third whites, and a small proportion of blacks, the remainder being a mixed race. The Haytians belonged to a French colony, and are all black, no white persons being allowed to hold land or property of any kind in the country

PORTO-RICO.

Porto-Rico was discovered by Columbus in 1493; it is about one hundred miles in length from east to west, and forty from north to south. The Spaniards neglected it till 1509, when thirst of gold brought them thither from St. Domingo, under

Ponce de Leon, to make a conquest, which afterwards cost them dear.

Ambition, revenge, and the love of gold prompted the Spaniards to the most atrocious outrages. They found the inhabitants brave and fond of liberty; and as they looked up to the European visitants as a superior order of beings, to their authority they at first voluntarily submitted. It was not long, however, before they wished to shake off the intolerable yoke under which they groaned. After a short interval, they rose on all sides upon their oppressors, and massacred upwards of one hundred of them.

Under the old colonial system of Spain in 1788, the population was little more than 80,000; whereas it amounted, in 1836, to 357,000, and it was supposed to contain nearer 400,000, of whom an eighth are slaves. Previously to 1815, Porto-Rico being excluded from all direct intercourse with other countries excepting Spain, was but slowly progressive. At that period, however, a royal decree appeared, which exempted the trade between Spain and the Spanish colonies and Porto-Rico from all duties for fifteen years; and she was then also permitted to carry on a free trade, under reasonable duties, with other countries. These wise and liberal measures have wonderfully contributed to the prosperity of the island; and their coffee, sugar, and tobacco plantations are now in a thriving condition.

In the latter part of the 17th century, Porto-Rico was taken possession of by the English; but they did not long retain it, owing to the prevalence of dysentery among the troops. The government, laws, and institutions are nearly similar to those established in the other transatlantic colonies of Spain.

BARBADOES.

BARBADOES is the most easterly island of the West Indies. It is twenty-two miles in length from north to south, and fifteen in breadth from east to west.

The time of its discovery is not certain, nor by whom; but it is generally attributed to the Portuguese, in their way to Brazil. However, the English touched there in 1615, and, landing some men in 1625, made their first permanent settlement. In 1627, the earl of Pembroke obtained a grant of the island in trust for sir William Courteen, unknown to the earl of Carlisle, who had before obtained a grant of all the Caribbee islands from James I. The first planters were gentlemen of Devonshire and Cornwall, principally of the parliamentarian party.

The country bore not the least appearance of having ever been peopled: there was no kind of beast of pasture or of prey; no fruit, herb, or root fit for the support of human life; but the soil was good, and soon began to submit to cultivation. Population increased through a variety of adventurers, and the civil wars of England added prodigiously thereto; Barbadoes, in twenty-five years from its first settlement, containing upwards of 50,000 whites, and a much greater number of negroes and Indian slaves. The former of these they bought, and the latter they seized upon without any pretence. In 1676, the population and trade were at their highest pitch; four hundred ships, averaging about 150 tons each, were employed; since which the island has been much on the decline.

Barbadoes has been frequently visited by hurricanes, of which those of August 10, 1674, October 10, 1780, and August 11, 1831, have been the most destructive in their effects; but the fury and violence of the last hurricane far exceeded that of either of the former; in it 2,500 persons were killed, and the loss of property amounted to two millions and a half sterling. By the munificent aid of the British parliament, and the industry of the inhabitants, the planters have now happily recovered from these heavy losses. The population, as in the adjoining islands, may properly be divided into four classes: Creole or native whites; European whites; creoles of mixed blood; and native blacks. Barbadoes has all along remained in possession of the English. It is the residence of the bishop of Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands; and the clerical establishment is on a very respectable and effective scale.

ST. CHRISTOPHER'S, OR ST. KITT'S.

THIS island, which belongs to Great Britain, was discovered, in 1693, by Columbus, who gave it the name it bears. It was the mother country of all the English and French settlements in the West Indies. Both nations arrived there on the same day in 1625; they shared the island between them; signed a perpetual neutrality; and entered into a mutual engagement to assist each other against their common enemy, the Spaniards.

War began between England and France in 1666, and St. Christopher's became a scene of carnage for nearly half a century, terminating only with the total expulsion of the French in 1702. It is about fifteen miles long, by four broad. There is no harbour in the country, nor the appearance of one.

ANTIGUA.

ANTIGUA, a West Indian island, belonging to Great Britain, is one of those denominated the Windward Islands. It was called by the natives Xaymaca, but Columbus gave it the name of Santa Maria de la Antigua. The island is about twenty miles long, by eighteen broad. Columbus discovered it in 1492, but it was found totally uninhabited by those few Frenchmen who fled thither in 1629, upon being driven from St. Christopher's by the Spaniards. The want of fresh water induced these fugitives to return as soon as they could gain their former places of residence.

It appears that in 1640 there were about thirty English families settled in this island; and the number was not much increased when Charles II. granted the property to lord Willoughby of Parham. His lordship sent over a considerable number of inhabitants in 1666; but from that time till 1680, it grew nothing but indigo and tobacco, when the island being restored again to the state, colonel Codrington introduced the culture of sugar.

The harbours of this island, particularly that called English Harbour, are the best belonging to the British government in these seas; and the whole is so much encompassed with rocks and shoals, that it is very dangerous for those unacquainted with its navigation to effect a landing. For this cause it has remained unmolested by the French in all the late wars.

JAMAICA.

JAMAICA, the largest and most valuable of the British West India islands, was discovered by Columbus in his second voyage, in 1494. It is about one hundred and sixty-five miles in length from east to west, and its average breadth about forty miles, bearing a resemblance to a long oval. In 1502, Columbus was driven upon the island by a storm, and having lost his ships, he implored the humanity of the natives, who gave him all the assistance that natural pity suggests. They soon, however, grew tired of supporting strangers, and insensibly withdrew from their neighbourhood. The Spaniards, who had already treated the Indians ungenerously, now took up arms against one of their chiefs, whom they accused of severity towards them. Columbus, forced to yield to the threats of his people, in order to extricate himself from so perilous a situation, availed himself of one of those natural phenomena, in which a man of genius may sometimes find a resource.

From the knowledge he had acquired of astronomy, he knew that an eclipse of the moon was fast approaching. He took advantage of this circumstance, and summoned all the caciques in the neighbourhood to come and hear something that concerned them, and was essential to their preservation. He then stood up in the midst of them, and having upbraided them with their cruelty, in suffering him and his distressed companions almost to perish, he thus emphatically addressed them: 'To punish you for this, the God whom I worship is going to strike you with his most terrible judgements. This very evening you will see the moon turn red, then grow dark, and withhold its light from you. This will be only a prelude to your calamities, if you obstinately persist in refusing to give us food.' He had scarcely done speaking, when his prophecies were fulfilled. The Indians were terrified beyond measure; they begged for mercy, and promised to do anything that he should desire. He then told them, that Heaven, moved with their repentance, was appeased, and that nature was going to resume her natural course. From that moment provisions were sent in from all quarters; and the Spaniards were never in want of anything during the time they remained there.

It was Don Diego Columbus, son of the discoverer, who first fixed the Spaniards in Jamaica. In 1509, he sent thither seventy robbers from St. Domingo, under the command of John de Esquimel; and others soon followed. These wretches went over apparently for no other purpose but to shed human blood; in fact, they never appear to have sheathed their swords while there was an inhabitant left. The murderers raised several settlements upon the ashes of the natives; but that of St. Jago de la Vega was the only one that could support itself. The inhabitants of that town contented themselves with living upon the produce of some few plantations, and the overplus they sold to the ships that passed by their coasts The whole population of the colony, centered in the little spot that fed this race of destroyers, consisted of about 1,500 whites, and as many slaves, when the English came and attacked the town, took it, and settled there, in 1655.

The English brought the fatal sources of discord along with them. At first the new colony was only inhabited by 3,000 of that fanatical army which had fought and conquered under the standards of the republican party. These were soon followed by a multitude of royalists. The divisions which had prevailed for so long a time, and with so much violence, between the two parties in Europe, followed them beyond the seas. One party triumphed in the protection of

Cromwell; the other trusted to the governor of the island, Dudley, who was, in secret, a royalist.

When Charles II. was restored to the crown, a form of civil government was established at Jamaica, modelled, like those of the other islands, upon that of the mother country. The governor represented the king; the council, the peers; and three deputies from each town, with two from every parish, constituted the commons. In 1682 the code of laws was drawn up which has so long existed.

Jamaica soon after became the grand depôt of the buccaneers, a set of pirates who plundered the seas, and ravaged the coasts of America. Here the spoils of Mexico and Peru met with a ready reception; and here 'extravagance and debauchery held their court,' till this destructive race became extinct, or annihilated, in consequence of the frequency of the murders they committed.

The illicit trade carried on between Jamaica and the Spanish colonies had, in 1739, according to the best calculations, brought into the former upwards of 65,000,000*l.* sterling. The court of Madrid thought to put a stop to it by prohibiting the admission of foreign ships into the Spanish harbours, on any pretence whatever. But the people of Jamaica supported themselves in this trade under the protection of the English men-of-war, by allowing the captain five per cent. upon every article of which he authorised the smuggling.

After the establishing of register ships by Spain, this trade gradually diminished; and some time previous to the year 1766, it was reduced to about 67,000*l.* per annum. The British ministry at that time wishing to restore or recover the profit of it, thought that the best expedient to repair the losses of Jamaica was to make it a free port. This was no sooner done than the Spanish American ships flocked thither from all parts, to exchange their gold and silver, and other commodities, for the manufactures of England.

St. Jago, or Spanish Town, is the capital, but Kingston by far exceeds it in size and opulence. The town of Port Royal stood on a point of land running far out into the sea, and ships of 700 tons could come up close to the wharfs. When the earthquake happened on the 7th of June 1692, this town contained 2,000 houses, all of which were destroyed, and vast numbers of persons perished. The earthquake was followed by an epidemic disease, which carried off 3,000 more. Port Royal was soon rebuilt; but in January 1703, it experienced another great calamity, a fire nearly reducing it to ashes. Many people now removed to Kingston. It was, however, built a third time, and was rising towards its former grandeur, when it was overwhelmed by the sea, on the 28th of August 1722.

Kingston, although not esteemed as the capital of Jamaica, is the commercial capital: it was built in 1692, from a plan of colonel Lilly's, after the earthquake which destroyed Port Royal. It is a beautiful city, laid out in squares, with streets wide and regular, crossed by others at right angles. The harbour is spacious, and capable of admitting 1,000 ships, or more, in safety.

The internal quiet of the island has been fully established since the expulsion of the maroon or mountain negroes, during the latter part of the 18th century. Jamaica is divided into three counties; Middlesex in the centre, Surrey in the east, and Cornwall in the west. These are subdivided into 21 parishes. For the negro outbreak in 1865, see *History of England* for that year.

MARTINIQUE.

MARTINIQUE, one of the discoveries of Columbus, and the principal of the French Caribbee islands, is about forty miles in length, and ten in average breadth. It was first settled by M. Desnambouc, a Frenchman, in the year 1635, with only 100 men from St. Christopher's. He chose rather to have it peopled from thence than from Europe; as he foresaw that men tired with the fatigue of a long voyage, would be likely to perish, after their arrival, either from the climate, or the hardships incident to most emigrations. They completed their first settlement without any difficulty. The natives, intimidated by fire-arms, or seduced by promises, gave up to the French the western and the southern parts of the island, and retired to the other. This tranquillity was of short duration. The Caribs, when they saw those enterprising strangers daily increasing, were resolved to extirpate them: they therefore called in the natives of the neighbouring isles to their assistance, and suddenly attacked a little fort that had been newly erected. They were, however, repulsed, leaving upwards of 700 of their best warriors dead upon the spot. After this check, they disappeared for a long time; and when they did appear, it was with presents in their hands to their conquerors.

The Indians, whose manner of life requires a vast extent of land, finding themselves daily more straitened, waylaid the French who frequented the woods, and destroyed them. Twenty men had been killed, before anyone was able to account for their disappearance. No sooner was it discovered, than the aggressors were pursued, their houses burnt, their wives and children massacred; and those few that escaped the carnage, fled from Martinique, and never appeared there any more.

The French, by this retreat, became sole

masters of the island. They were divided into two classes: the first consisted of such as had paid their passage to the island, and those were called inhabitants. The government distributed lands to them, which became their absolute property upon paying a yearly tribute. These had under their command a number of disorderly people, sent from Europe, at their expense, whom they called *engagés*, or bondsmen. This engagement was a kind of slavery for three years, and when it expired, they became free.

The first cultivation was confined to tobacco, cotton, annatto, and indigo. That of sugar was introduced in 1650. Benjamin Da Costa, ten years after, planted cocoa. In 1718, all the cocoa-trees were destroyed by the season, and the coffee-tree immediately took its place.

Early in the 18th century Martinique became the mart for all the windward French settlements; and Port Royal became the magazine for all matters of exchange between the colonies and the mother country. The prosperity of this island was very great until the war of 1744, when a stop was put, in a great measure, to the contraband trade with the Spanish colonies, by the introduction of registered ships.

Martinique was taken by the English in the beginning of the year 1762, and returned to France in July 1763. It was again taken by the English in 1809, but restored to France by the peace of Amiens. The empress Josephine, and her first husband, the viscount Beauharnois, were natives of this island.

GUADALOUPE.

GUADALOUPE, a valuable island colony belonging to the French, was one of the discoveries of Columbus. It is of an irregular form, about twenty-five miles long, and thirteen broad. It is divided into two unequal ports by a small arm of the sea, nearly six miles long, and varying from 100 to 300 feet in breadth. This canal, known by the name of the *Riviere-salee*, or Salt River, is navigable for vessels of fifty tons burthen.

The part of the island which gives its name to the whole colony is, towards the centre, full of craggy rocks. Among these rocks is a mountain, called *La Soufrière*, or the Brimstone Mountain, which rises to an immense height, and exhales, through various openings, a thick and black smoke, intermixed with sparks that are visible by night. From these hills flow numberless streams, which fertilise the plains below. Such is that part of the island properly called Guadaloupe, or Basse-terre. That part which is commonly called Grande-terre has been less favoured by nature.

In 1635, the first settlement was made on this island by two gentlemen from Dieppe, named Loline and Duplessis, with about 500 followers. Through imprudence, all their provisions were exhausted in two months: famine stared them in the face, when they resolved to plunder the natives. This, however, did not avert the dreadful alternative. How far the accounts of their horrible sufferings are to be credited we know not, but it is asserted that the colonists were reduced to graze in the field, and to dig up dead bodies for their subsistence! Many who had been slaves in Algiers deplored the fate that had broken their fetters; and all of them cursed their existence. It was in this manner that they atoned for their crime of invasion, till the government of Aubert brought about a peace with the natives, A.D. 1640.

The few inhabitants that had escaped the calamities they had brought upon themselves, were soon joined by some discontented colonists from St. Christopher's, and by Europeans fond of novelty. But still the prosperity of Guadaloupe was impeded by obstacles arising from its situation. Martinique engrossed every species of traffic, from its convenient harbours and roads. It was in consequence of this preference, that the population of Guadaloupe, in 1700, amounted only to about 4,000 whites, and 7,000 slaves, many of whom were Caribs; while the produce of the island was proportionably small. Its future progress was, however, as rapid as the first attempts had been slow.

At the end of 1755, the colony contained near 10,000 whites, and between 40,000 and 50,000 slaves; and such was the state of Guadaloupe when conquered by the English in 1759, after a siege of three months, in which time the island suffered so much as to be nearly ruined. The conquerors, however, delivered the inhabitants from their fears; they overstocked the market, and thereby reduced the price of all European commodities. The colonists bought them at a low price, and in consequence of this plenty, obtained long delays for payment. The colony was restored to France by the peace of Paris, in 1763.

During the French republican war, Guadaloupe was taken by the English, and retaken by the French, in whose hands it now remains.

ST. LUCIA.

ST. LUCIA was discovered by Columbus, and is about thirty miles in length, by twelve in breadth. The English took possession of it in the beginning of the year 1639, without opposition. They lived there peaceably about a year and a half, when they were massacred by the natives.

In 1650, about forty French arrived there under Rousselan, who married one of the natives, and was beloved by them. He died four years after. Three of his successors were murdered by the discontented Caribs; and the colony was declining, when it was taken by the English in 1664, who evacuated it in 1666.

They had scarce left it, when the French appeared again on the island. Twenty years after, the English drove out the French. The English again quitted it; and it at length remained wholly without culture.

In 1718, marshal d'Estrees obtained a grant of St. Lucia, and sent over a commandant, troops, and inhabitants. This gave umbrage to the court of London, which had a prior claim; therefore, the French ministry ordered that things should be put into the same state as they were before the grant.

In 1722, the duke of Montague had a grant of St. Lucia from the British ministry. This gave uneasiness to France; and it was at length agreed, in 1736, that neither nation should occupy it, but that both should 'wood and water' there. However, the peace of 1763 gave to France this long-contested territory.

During the American war, 1778, it was taken by the English. It was afterwards given up to France; then again captured by the English in 1803, with whom it now remains, having been definitively assigned to us by the treaty of Paris.

ST. VINCENT.

THIS island was discovered by the same enterprising navigator, and nearly at the same time, as the other islands in its neighbourhood. It is about sixteen miles long, and eight broad. For some time after its discovery, it was the general rendezvous of the Red Caribs, the original possessors of the western archipelago.

In 1660, when the English and French agreed that Dominica and St. Vincent should be left to the Caribs as their property, some of these natives, who till then had been dispersed, retired into the former; but the greater part into the latter. This population was soon after increased by a race of Africans, whose origin was never positively ascertained. It is supposed that they were slaves intended for the Spanish markets, and wrecked upon the coast. But by whatever chance these strangers were brought into the island, is now of no importance. The natives treated them with kindness, and mingled with them in marriage; from whence sprung the race called Black Caribs.

In 1719, many inhabitants of Martinique removed to St. Vincent. The first who came there settled peaceably, not only with the consent, but by the assistance, of the Red Caribs. This success induced others to follow their example; but these, whether from jealousy or some other motive, taught these Caribs a fatal secret: it was, that they could sell their lands. This knowledge induced them to measure, and fix boundaries; and from that instant peace was banished from the island.

The Black Caribs no sooner knew the price which the Europeans set upon the lands they inhabited, than they claimed a share with the Red Caribs, and also a share in all future sales. Provoked at being denied a part of these profits, they formed themselves into a separate tribe, swore never more to associate with the Red Caribs, chose a chief of their own, and declared war. In this war they were successful, made themselves masters of all the leeward coast, and required of the Europeans that they should again buy the lands they had already purchased. A Frenchman attempted to show the deed of his purchase of some lands which he had bought of a Red Carib; 'I know not,' said the Black Carib, 'what thy paper says; but read what is written on my arrow. There you may see, in characters which do not lie, that if you do not give me what I demand, I will go and burn your house this night.'

Time, which brings on a change of measures with a change of interest, put an end to these disturbances. The French became, in their turn, the strongest. In less than twenty years the population amounted to 800 whites and 3,000 blacks. In this situation was the island when it fell into the hands of the English, to whom it was secured by the peace of 1763. In 1779 it was recaptured by the French; but it reverted to Great Britain in 1783.

The English had no sooner got possession, than they issued an order to deprive the cultivators of the lands of their property unless redeemed. The settlers remonstrated against a proceeding so unjust, but were disregarded; and the lands were ordered by the English ministry to be sold indiscriminately. This severity made them disperse. Some went to St. Martin, Margalante, Guadaloupe, and Martinique; but the greater part to St. Lucia.

The Caribs still occupied the windward

side of the island, which contained fine plains; but having refused to evacuate them when ordered so to do by the English, the latter took to arms to compel them. These unfortunate people defended themselves with extraordinary courage during several years, but were at length obliged to submit. The greater part had been exterminated during the war, and the remainder either fled, or were sent off the island.

DOMINICA.

DOMINICA, discovered by Columbus in 1493, is about thirty miles long, and sixteen broad. This island was for many years afterwards inhabited only by its natives. In 1732, nine hundred and thirty-eight Caribs were found there, dispersed in thirty-two carbets, or huts; and three hundred and forty-nine French lived in a district by the sea-side. At the peace of 1763, when it became an English colony, it was found to contain six hundred whites, and two thousand blacks. The island was captured by the French in 1778, but restored at the peace of 1783.

The great advantage of this island to the English is its situation. It is nearly equidistant from Gaudaloupe and Martinique, and at a small distance from either; and its safe and commodious roads and bays enable their privateers and squadrons to intercept, without risk, the navigation of France in her colonies

GRENADA.

GRENADA, one of the West India Islands belonging to Great Britain, is about thirty miles long, and twelve miles broad. The French formed a project for settling there as early as the year 1638, yet they never carried it into execution till 1651. At their arrival, they gave a few hatchets, some knives, and a barrel of brandy to the chief of the natives they found there; and imagining they had purchased the island with these trifles, assumed the sovereignty, and soon acted as tyrants. The Caribs, unable to contend with them by open force, took the usual method which weakness inspires to repel oppression: they murdered all whom they found alone and defenceless. The troops that were sent to support the infant colony destroyed all the natives they found. The remainder of these miserable people took refuge upon a steep rock; preferring rather to throw themselves down alive from the top of it, than to fall into the hands of an implacable enemy. The French called this rock *Le Morne des Sauteurs* (the Hill of the Leapers), which name it still retains.

The French held this island till 1762, when it was captured by the British, to whom it was confirmed by the treaty of 1763. The French, however, retook it in 1779: but restored it in 1783, agreeably to the treaty of peace.

TRINIDAD.

TRINIDAD is the most southerly of the Windward islands, and, next to Jamaica, the largest and most valuable of the West India islands belonging to Great Britain. It lies immediately off the north-east coast of Colombia, being only separated from it by a narrow strait. It was first visited by Columbus in 1498, at the time he discovered the river Orinoco. Its favourable situation for carrying on trade with the main, as well as the neighbouring islands, its extent, fruitfulness, and the convenience of its harbours, make it an object of considerable importance; indeed, so fertile is the soil, that not more than a thirtieth of its surface is incapable of cultivation.

Although discovered in 1498, Trinidad was not taken possession of by the Spaniards until 1588, when a similar scene of extermination of the natives occurred as marked most of the other territories in the New World which fell under their power. Raleigh visited it in 1595; and the French took it in 1696, and soon after restored it to the Spaniards, who held it till it was taken by the English in 1797, and ceded to them by the peace of Amiens.

TOBAGO.

TOBAGO, one of the West India Islands belonging to Great Britain, is about thirty-five miles in length, and twelve in breadth. In 1632, two hundred men, from Flushing, landed there to lay the foundation of a Dutch colony; upon which the neighbouring Indians joined with the Spaniards to oppose an establishment that gave umbrage to both. Whoever attempted to stop their fury were murdered or taken prisoners; and the few who escaped into the woods soon deserted the island.

In 1654, the Dutch sent a fresh colony to Tobago, which was driven out, in 1666, by the English. The English were soon deprived of this conquest by the French; but Louis XIV., satisfied with having conquered it, restored it to the Dutch. In February 1677, a French fleet, destined to seize upon Tobago, fell in with the Dutch fleet sent out to oppose this expedition. They engaged in the road of the island; and the courage displayed on both sides was such, that every ship was dismasted, nor did the battle cease till twelve vessels were burnt. The French lost the fewest men; but the Dutch kept possession of the island.

D'Estrées was determined to take it, and landed there the same year, in the month of December, at a time when there was no fleet to obstruct his progress. A bomb, thrown from his camp, blew up their powder magazine, which proved a decisive stroke; and the Dutch, unable to resist, surrendered at discretion. The conquerors availed themselves to the utmost of the rights of war; not contented with razing the fortifications, they burnt the plantations, seized upon all the ships in the harbour, and transported the inhabitants. This conquest was secured to France by the peace that soon followed.

The French, however, neglected this important island; not a single man was sent thither for many years, and it fell into a very low condition. The English claimed a right to Tobago; their arms confirmed their pretensions; and it was ceded to England by the peace of 1763. It was taken by the French in 1781, and ceded to them by the peace of 1783. The English again took it in the French republican war (1793), and it now remains with them.

THE BAHAMAS.

THESE Islands, the first which Columbus discovered in America, are about five hundred in number, and belong to Great Britain. St. Salvador, one of them, was the first land discovered by Columbus, on the 12th of October 1492. They are, in general, little more than rocks just above water. When first discovered some were densely inhabited, and their natives were sent, by the Spaniards, to perish in the mines of St. Domingo. Not one of them had a single inhabitant in 1672, when the English landed a few men on that called New Providence, who were all destroyed by the Spaniards seven or eight years after. This disaster did not deter other Englishmen from settling there in 1690. They had built about 150 houses, when the French and Spaniards jointly attacked them in 1703, destroyed their plantations, and carried off their negroes. The pirates next got possession, and insulted every flag, till 1719, when England fitted out a sufficient force to subdue them. The greater part of them accepted the pardon held out upon submission, and served to increase the colony, which Woods Rogers brought with him from Britain.

There are other islands in the West Indies, belonging to the English, Danes, Swedes, and Dutch, but of so little consideration, that to give details of them would afford but little interest or real information to our readers.

THE HISTORY OF AUSTRALIA AND POLYNESIA.

UNTIL the last century it was believed that a great continent existed in the Southern ocean, to which the name of *Terra Australis* was given; it was inferred that the different points of land discovered to the south of the islands of Java and Celebes, and of the Cape of Good Hope, afforded ample proof of such a theory. The discoveries of modern geographers, however, go to invalidate the hypothesis that there is any continent south of America.

Under the names of Australia (or Australasia) and Polynesia is comprehended a maritime division of the globe, in contradistinction to the older terrene divisions of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America; being altogether a classification of islands, including no one continent under a general name, like the other divisions of the world, in which various kingdoms are circumscribed by one shore; and so far it is an anomaly in geographical classification. We shall first speak of the more important division, now known as

AUSTRALIA.

THIS includes the semi-continental mass of land hitherto known as New Holland, and the islands of New Zealand, New Caledonia, New Hebrides, Queen Charlotte's Islands, Solomon's Archipelago, New Britain, New Ireland, New Hanover, Admiralty Isles, and Papua or New Guinea.

In no part of the globe can greater extremes of barrenness and fertility occur than in the various islands comprehended in Australia. On the shores of New Holland, its most prominent feature, we find fruitful plains covered with verdure eastward, and on the south and south-western coast nothing but naked hillocks of sand. This island, if such indeed it is to be called, almost equal in size to the whole of continental Europe, presents of itself an unequalled and almost unexplored field for geological enquiry.

The natives of Australia are, for the major part, of a negro character; and nowhere is human nature found in a more depraved state. An enormous head, flat countenance, and long, slender extremities, mark their physical conformation, together with an acuteness of sight and hearing. Captain Cook's description of this race has been verified by every succeeding observer. 'The skin,' says he, 'is the colour of wood soot, or what is usually called chocolate colour. Their features are far from disagreeable: their noses are not flat, nor are their lips thick; their teeth are white and even, and their hair naturally long and black; it is, however, cropped short.' It seems that a decidedly inferior variety of the human race is found in Australia, and has spread itself to a considerable distance north and east among the islands of Polynesia and the eastern archipelago. The Australian is puny and weak compared with the African negro; and his intellectual attainments are quite on as low a scale as his physical powers.

NEW HOLLAND.

THE Portuguese and Spaniards appear to have visited this region in the 16th century, but it was the Dutch who first made it known to Europe. In 1605 they coasted it along the western shore as far as 13° 45′ of south latitude; the farthest point of land in their map being called Cape Keer Weer, or Turn-again. In 1616 the west coasts were discovered by Dirk Hartog, commander of an outward-bound vessel from Holland to India; and in the year 1801 there was found, by some of the navigators by whom that coast was visited, a plate of tin, with an inscription and dates, in which it was mentioned that it had been left by him.

In 1618, another part of the coast was discovered by Zeachen, who gave it the name of Arnheim and Dieman; though a different part from what afterwards received the name of Van Dieman's Land from Tasman. In 1619, Jan Van Edels gave his name to a southern part of New Holland; and another part received the name of Leuwen's Land. Peter Van Nuytz gave his name, in 1627, to the coast that communicates with Leuwen; and another part bore the name of De Witt's Land. In 1628, Peter Carpenter, a Dutchman, discovered the great Gulph of Carpentaria. In 1687, Dampier, an Englishman, sailed from Timor and coasted the western part of New Holland. In 1699, he left England, with a design to explore this country, as the Dutch suppressed whatever discoveries had been made by them. He sailed along the

western coast of it, from 15 to 28 degrees of latitude. He then returned to Timor; from whence he sailed again; examined the isles of Papua; coasted New Guinea; discovered the passage that bears his name, and also New Britain; and sailed back to Timor along New Guinea. This is the same Dampier who, between the years 1683 and 1691, sailed round the world, by changing his ships. Notwithstanding the attempts of all these navigators, the eastern part of this vast country was totally unknown till captain Cook made his voyages, and, by fully exploring that part of the coast, gave his country an undoubted title to the possession of it; which it accordingly took under the name of NEW SOUTH WALES, in 1787.

Captain Cook having given a favourable account of this country, an act was passed in parliament, in 1779, under the auspices of judge Blackstone, lord Auckland, and Mr. Howard, to establish a colony in it, where the criminals condemned to be transported should be sent to pass their time of servitude. Some difficulties, however, prevented its being put into execution till December 1786, when orders were issued, by the king in council, for making a settlement in New Holland. The squadron appointed for putting the design in execution, assembled at the Motherbank on the 16th of May 1787. It consisted of the Sirius frigate, captain John Hunter; the Supply armed tender, lieutenant H. L. Ball; three storeships, the Golden Grove, Fishburn, and Borrowdale, for carrying provisions and stores for two years; and, lastly, six transports; these were to carry the convicts, with a detachment of marines in each, proportioned to the nature of the service. On the arrival of governor Philip at the station, he hoisted his flag on board the Sirius, as commodore of the squadron. On the 13th of May they weighed anchor. The number of convicts was 778, of which 558 were men. On the 3rd of January 1788, the Supply armed tender came within sight of New Holland; but the winds becoming variable, and a strong current impeding their course, prevented them from reaching Botany Bay before the 18th day of the same month.

Governor Philip had no sooner landed than he set about an examination of the country surrounding Botany Bay, which had been so strongly recommended by captain Cook as the most eligible place for a settlement. He found that neither the bay, nor the land about it, appeared favourable for a colony; being in some places entirely swampy; in others, quite destitute of water. The governor, finding the difficulties that he had to surmount, determined to examine the lands further on, and accordingly went, with several officers, in three boats, to Port Jackson, about three leagues distant from Botany Bay. Here they had the satisfaction to find one of the finest harbours in the world, where a thousand sail of the line might ride in perfect safety. A cove, which he called Sydney Cove, in honour of lord Sydney, and the country around it, he destined for the settlement: orders were therefore immediately given for the removal of the fleet to Port Jackson.

The convicts, and others, destined to remain in New South Wales, reached Port Jackson on the 25th of January. No time was lost in beginning to clear the ground for an encampment, storehouses, &c. The work, however, went on but slowly; partly owing to the natural difficulties they had to encounter, and partly owing to the habitual indolence of the convicts, as well as to a want of carpenters; only twelve convicts being of that trade, several of whom were sick, and no more than sixteen could be hired from all the ships. But on the 7th of February a regular form of government was established in the colony.

The scurvy soon began to rage with violence; so that, by the beginning of May, two hundred people were rendered incapable of work; and no more than eight or ten acres of barley, or wheat, had been sown, besides what individuals had sown for themselves. The natives now began to show an hostile disposition, which they had not hitherto done, and several convicts, who had strolled into the woods, were murdered. All possible enquiry was made after the natives who had been guilty of the murder, but without effect.

Cook's survey of the east coast did more for Australian discovery than the united labours of all who preceded him; nor should it be forgotten that captain Bligh, after the mutiny of the Bounty, in 1789, though in an open boat, and devoid of almost every necessary, carried a series of observations that added much to the information before obtained. By this time, however, many English colonists had arrived, and home and colonial expeditions were actively set on foot. But the greatest discoverers, towards the end of last century, were Bass and Flinders. In 1798 they sailed through the strait between Van Diemen's Land (now called Tasmania) and New Holland; these two being marked in Cook's chart as continuous, and the fact of their being otherwise not having before been proved. Further discoveries have since been made; but it is to Cook and Flinders that we are indebted for the most valuable information.

The eastern coast, or New South Wales, commences at Cape York, in 10° 30′ S. lat., and terminates at Wilson's promontory in Bass's strait, in 39° 0′, including an extent of 700 leagues. A chain of mountains appears to run parallel to this coast, through its whole length, whose bases are from 10 to 30 leagues from the sea. Until of late years all attempts to pass this natural barrier have been unsuccessful. It has, however, at last been overcome; and, instead of the sandy deserts or the inland seas with which conjecture had occupied the interior, the discovery of beautiful meadows, watered by considerable rivers and by chains of ponds, has given to the colonists new prospects of extension and riches. The coasts towards the south are in general elevated and covered with lofty trees. Towards the north they are lower, bordered with mangrove swamps, and lined with a labyrinth of islets and coral reefs. The

Blue Mountains, which rise behind the seat of the colony, are a mixture of primitive and secondary rocks.

Only the south-east part, with comparatively small sections in the west and south, and an inconsiderable tract in the north near Port Essington, have been thoroughly explored. Some useful expeditions have been conducted by Mr. Eyre, governor Grey, Dr. Leichardt, and sir T. Mitchell; but much of the interior is still unknown, and some features of its best known regions can only be sketched. The following are the present settlements, with the date of their establishment:—The British settlement of New South Wales, of which Sydney is the capital, was made in 1788. Western Australia, or Swan River, in 1829; South Australia, of which Adelaide is the capital, in 1834. Australia Felix, or Port Philip, chief town Melbourne, established in 1837, is a dependency of New South Wales. North Australia was colonised in 1838. Australind on the western coast, about eighty miles south of Swan River, was established in 1841.

The government, after passing through the usual phases, is now by a recent act of parliament expanded in all the settlements into a constitution.

The wealth of Australia consists mainly in its flocks, which produce the finest wool in the world; and pasture is so abundant, that sheep may be reared by all who take the trouble to attend to them. The fisheries too, though heretofore neglected, seem to hold out strong inducements to industry, and coal and other minerals necessary to the prosperity of man are found in abundance. The animal and vegetable productions of the island are the very opposites of those to be found in Europe. Yet the soil is so good, and the climate so salubrious, that whatever plants or living creatures the settlers import thrive and multiply. The wretched natives are fast disappearing. It appears that they are little capable of improvement, and that intermarriages between them and the whites seldom prove productive. For many years Australia had been a favourite land of emigration for the British population; but an extraordinary impetus has been given to emigration thither by the recent discovery of the gold beds, which must greatly influence the future character of Australian industry and the local distribution of its inhabitants. We subjoin a brief account of this interesting discovery.

On the 2nd of May 1851, the citizens of Sydney were startled with the announcement that gold had been discovered in a native state within the colonial territory. Mr. Hargreaves, a resident of Brisbane Water, who had recently returned from California, struck with the similarity of the geological formation, felt persuaded that there must be gold in several districts of the colony, and on instituting a search his expectations were realised. The locality in which the first discovery of gold was made by Mr. Hargreaves, was in the neighbourhood of Summerhill creek, thirty miles from Bathurst (or about 140 from Sydney). A spot on the banks of Summerhill creek soon acquired, and has retained, the attractive name of Ophir. But the Ophir diggings were shortly surpassed in amount of produce by those of Turon, a river which flows into the right bank of the Macquarie. Meroo creek, further northward, another of the sites of auriferous wealth, belongs to the basin of the same river, the whole valley of which, from the neighbourhood of Bathurst downwards, appears to possess on either hand abundant supplies of the glittering treasure.

The discoveries to which we have been referring, as well as others that shortly ensued, were made in localities within the limits of the New South Wales territory. But it was soon ascertained that the auriferous deposits of the Australian soil were not limited to that colony. Gold fields that surpassed those of New South Wales in richness of yield, were found to exist in the neighbouring provinces of Victoria, and in places more accessible from the maritime districts. Early in the month of September, gold was found at a place called Ballarat, forty miles distant from Geelong (on Port Philip), and within a few days after at Mount Alexander, seventy miles distant from Melbourne. The latter locality has proved by far the richest of the Australian gold fields hitherto worked, and has attracted by much the greater number of diggers. The workings at Ballarat and Mount Alexander rapidly proved so successful as completely to throw into shade the diggings that had already been commenced at Anderson's creek, and other places nearer to Melbourne. Within a year from the date of that announcement, gold to a value exceeding four millions sterling had been shipped to England, from the Australian colonies; and upwards of thirty thousand diggers were eagerly employed in the search after the precious metal in a single locality of the widely extended gold fields belonging to these portions of the southern hemisphere.

It is impossible to predict what consequences may result from this important discovery, but a glance at what has been done during the last twenty years may serve to indicate the future progress of the country. Within this short period the map of New Holland has gradually been filled up; the bays and headlands of the seaboard have been successively settled; river after river has received enterprising cultivators on its banks; steam navigation has united the bristling points of 2,000 miles of coast, whilst an average of 200 miles along that coast has been subdued to pasturage or the plough. The marts of trade have been supplied with wool, tallow, horns, hides, ornamental and hard woods, trenails and copper; so that England, the emporium of trade, is both clothed, adorned, and fortified with the produce of this once despised territory.

NEW ZEALAND.

NEW ZEALAND, a group of islands in the South Pacific ocean, was discovered by Tasman in 1642. He traversed the eastern coast, from latitude 34° to 43° south, and entered a strait; but being attacked by the natives soon after he came to anchor, in the place to which he gave the name of Murderer's bay, he did not go on shore. He called the country Staten Land, in honour of the States-general; though it has been generally distinguished, in maps and charts, by the name of New Zealand.

In 1770, it was circumnavigated by captain Cook, who found it to consist of two large islands, the coast of which was indented with deep bays, affording excellent shelter for shipping. From that period the coasts were occasionally visited by whalers, and some communication was held with the natives; but until 1815, when a missionary station was established there, no permanent settlement appears to have been made by any people. At the general peace the right of Great Britain to these islands was recognised; but no constituted authority was placed over New Zealand till 1833, when a sub-governor from New South Wales was sent to reside there. Meantime the shores had become infested by marauding traders and adventurers of the worst class, who attempted to obtain from the natives large tracts of land by most fraudulent means. In order to remedy this evil as far as possible, and to put a stop to such practices in future, New Zealand was, in 1840, constituted a colony dependent on New South Wales, and a governor appointed: a commission was also appointed to enquire into the validity of all claims to land, &c.

The highest hopes were entertained respecting the issues of this adventure, and the New Zealand company enjoyed a large share of the public favour. It undertook to transplant English society in all its ramifications to the further side of the globe, and sent out in the same expedition, judges, a bishop, clergy, persons who by purchase had become landed proprietors, artisans, peasants, medical men, and printers. But either because due precautions were not taken in the selection of colonists, or that the colonists themselves went out with exaggerated ideas of the advantages secured to them, the result fell short of general expectation. Quarrels between the settlers and the natives broke out, and the system of local government, when put to the test, was found not to fulfil the purposes for which it had been concocted. The grievances of the natives at length stimulated them into a formidable insurrection, under their chief Heki; but since its suppression in 1848, tranquillity was undisturbed till the commencement of the war in 1863.

In spite of all hindrances, however, society has by degrees widened its basis in New Zealand. The first body of emigrants, who arrived there in 1830, founded the settlements of Wellington and Nelson on opposite shores of Cook's straits. They have been followed by different swarms at different times, two of which make religious principles, and the right in civil affairs of self government, the basis of their social organisation. At a place called Otago, about 400 miles from Wellington, a settlement of Scotchmen, members of the Free Church of Scotland, has struck root. And further north, at Canterbury, the Church of England has set up her standard under the auspices of the Canterbury association, of which the archbishop of Canterbury is *ex officio* the president. In 1852 New Zealand received from the British government a constitution modelled on that of the Australian settlements.

POLYNESIA.

THIS name, as we have already observed, is given by modern geographers to various groups of islands in the great Pacific ocean, lying east of the Asiatic islands and Australia, and on both sides the equator; stretching through an extent of about 5,100 miles from north to south, and 3,600 from east to west. Everything bespeaks their submarine creation, and in many there are positive evidences of volcanic agency. They are sometimes divided into Northern and Southern Polynesia, and classed in the following groups:—Pelew islands; Carolines; Ladrones; Sandwich Islands, Friendly Islands; Gallapagos; Admiralty isles; New Ireland; New Britain; and New Hanover; Solomon's Islands; New Hebrides and New Caledonia; Queen Charlotte's islands; Navigators' islands; Society islands; Marquesas; Pitcairn island, &c. Of these we shall only mention a few, as they can hardly be said to come within the scope of a work professedly historical; though their entire omission might be regarded as a defect.

LADRONES, OR MARIANNE ISLANDS.

THE Ladrones are a cluster of islands belonging to Spain, lying in the North Pacific ocean, between the 12th and 21st degrees of north latitude, and about the 145th degree of east longitude. They were discovered by Magellan, who gave them the name of *Ladrone islands*, or the *Islands of Thieves*, from the thievish disposition of the inhabitants. At the time of this discovery the natives were totally ignorant of any other country than their own, and, as it is said, were actually unacquainted with the element of fire, till Magellan, provoked by their repeated thefts, burned one of their villages. At the latter end of the 17th century they obtained the name of the Marianne islands, from the queen of Spain, Mary Ann of Austria, mother of Charles II., at whose expense missionaries were sent thither to propagate the Christian faith.

Commodore Anson visited the Ladrones in 1742, and describes Tirrian, one of the group, as abounding with everything necessary to human subsistence, and presenting at the same time a pleasant and delightful appearance, where hill and valley, rich verdure, and spreading trees formed a happy intermixture. Subsequent navigators, however, found the island to have been deserted, and become an uninhabitable wilderness. The natives of the Ladrones are tall, robust, and active, managing their canoes with admirable adroitness. Guajan is the largest island in the group, and the population consists of settlers from Mexico and the Philippine islands.

FRIENDLY ISLANDS.

THE Friendly islands are a group or cluster of islands said to be upwards of one hundred in number, in the Southern Pacific ocean. They received their name from the celebrated captain James Cook, in the year 1773, in consideration of the friendship which appeared to subsist among the inhabitants, and from their courteous behaviour to strangers. The chief islands are Anamooka, Tongataboo, Lefooga, and Eooa. Abel Jansen Tasman, an eminent Dutch navigator, first touched here in 1643, and gave names to the principal islands. Captain Cook laboriously explored the whole cluster, which he found to consist of upwards of sixty. The three islands which Tasman saw, he named Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Middleburg. Tongataboo is the residence of the sovereign and the chiefs. These islands are fertile, and in general highly cultivated. Eooa is described as a beautiful spot; the land, rising gently to a considerable height, presents the eye with an extensive view. Captain Cook and some of his officers walked up to the highest point of the island. 'While I was surveying this delightful prospect,' says the captain, 'I could not help flattering myself with the pleasing idea, that some future navigator may, from the same station, behold these meadows stocked with cattle, brought to these islands by the ships of England; and that the completion of this single benevolent purpose, independent of all other considerations, would sufficiently mark to posterity, that our voyages had not been useless to the general interests of humanity.'

Of the nature of their government no more is known than the general outline. The power of the king is unlimited, and the life and property of the subjects are at his disposal; and instances enough were seen to prove, that the lower order of people have no property, nor safety for their persons, but at the will of the chiefs to whom they respectively belong.

SOCIETY ISLANDS.

THE Society islands, in the Pacific ocean, are eight in number; viz., Otaheite, Huaheine, Ulitea, Otaha, Bolabola, Maurowa, Toobaee, and Tabooyamanoo. They are situated between the latitude of 16° 10′ and 16° 55′ south, and between the longitude of 150° 57′ and 152° west. The people, religion, language, customs and manners, soil, and productions, are nearly the same as at Otaheite, of which we shall speak.

Otaheite was discovered by captain Wallis in 1767, who called it King George the Third's island. Bougainville, a French circumnavigator, next arrived at it in 1768, and staid ten days. Captain Cook, in the Endeavour, next visited it in 1769, in company with Mr. Banks (afterwards sir Joseph Banks), Dr. Solander, and other learned men, to observe the transit of Venus, and staid three months; and it was visited by captain Cook in his two succeeding

voyages; since which time the Spaniards, and other Europeans, have called there. It consists of two peninsulas, great part of which is covered with woods, consisting of bread-fruit trees, palms, cocoa-nuts, and all tropical vegetation. The people of this and the neighbouring islands are the most honest and civilised of any of the Pacific ocean; but it appears certain that the inhabitants have degenerated rather than improved since Cook's time.

SANDWICH ISLANDS.

THE Sandwich islands, in the North Pacific ocean, consist of eleven in number. They are called by the natives, Owhyhee, Mowee, Ranai, Morotoi, Taboorowa, Woakoo, Atooi, Neeheehcow, Orehowa, Morotinne, and Takoora; all inhabited, except the two last. They were discovered by captain Cook in 1777 and 1778.

Goats and European seeds were left by the English at their departure the first time; but the possession of the goats soon gave rise to a contest between two districts, in which the breed was entirely destroyed. The inhabitants are undoubtedly of the same race as those that possess the islands south of the equator; and in their persons and manner approach nearer to the New Zealanders than to their less distant neighbours, either of the Society or Friendly islands. Tattooing the body is practised by the whole of them.

As these islands are not united under one government, wars are frequent among them. The same system of subordination prevails here as at the other islands, the same absolute authority on the part of the chiefs, and the same unresisting submission on the part of the people. The government is monarchical and hereditary.

Owhyhee, the easternmost and largest of these islands, was discovered by captain Cook on the 30th of November 1778, on his return from his voyage northward. Having circumnavigated the island, and anchored in a bay, called Karakakooa, he found great alteration in the conduct of the natives, and a general disposition to theft; and it appeared evident that the common people were encouraged by their chiefs, who shared the booty with them. Still, however, no hostilities were commenced. The greatest honours were paid to the commander; and, on his going ashore, he was received with ceremonies little short of adoration. A vast quantity of hogs, and other provisions, were procured for the ships; and on the 4th of February 1799, they left the island, not without most magnificent presents from the chiefs, and such as they had never received in any part of the world. Unluckily, they encountered a storm on the 6th and 7th of the same month, during which the Resolution sprung the head of her fore-mast in such a manner that they were obliged to return to Karakakooa bay to have it repaired. On the 13th, one of the natives being detected in stealing the tongs from the armourer's forge in the Discovery, was dismissed with a pretty severe flogging: this had but little effect; for, in the afternoon of the same day, another having snatched up the tongs and a chisel, jumped overboard with them, and swam for the shore, and having got on board a canoe, escaped. These tools were soon after returned, through the means of Pareah, a chief. But captain Cook was not satisfied with the recovery of the stolen goods only; he insisted upon having the thief, or the canoe which carried him, by way of reprisal. As the officer was preparing to launch the canoe into the water, he was interrupted by Pareah, who insisted that it was his property, and he should not take it away. This brought on hostilities. The Indians attacked the sailors with stones, and soon drove them to their boats. They then began to break in pieces the pinnace, after having taken everything out of her that was loose. Before the English reached the ship, Pareah overtook them in a canoe, and delivered the midshipman's cap, which had been taken from him in the scuffle. He joined noses with them in token of friendship; and desired to know whether captain Cook would kill him on account of what had happened. They assured him he would not; and made signs of reconciliation on their part. On this he left them, and paddled over to the town of Kavaroah, and that was the last time he was seen by the English.

Next day it was found that the large cutter of the Discovery had been carried off in the night time; on which captain Cook ordered the launch, and small cutter, to go under the command of the second lieutenant, and to lie off the east point of the bay, in order to intercept all the canoes that might attempt to get out, and, if necessary, to fire upon them. The third lieutenant of the Resolution was despatched to the western part of the bay on the same service. Captain Cook now formed the resolution of going in person to seize the king himself in his capital of Kavaroah: with this view he left the ship about seven o'clock on the morning of Sunday, the 14th of February, attended by the lieutenant of marines, a sergeant, a corporal, and seven privates. The crew of the pinnace, under the command of Mr. Roberts, were also armed; and as they rowed ashore, the captain ordered the launch to leave her station at the opposite point of the bay, in order to assist his own boat. Having landed with the marines at the upper end of the town, the Indians flocked round him, and prostrated themselves before him. The king's sons waited on the captain as soon

as he sent for them, and by their means he was introduced to the king, who readily consented to go on board; but in a little time the natives began to arm themselves with long spears, clubs, and daggers. An old priest now appeared with a cocoa-nut in his hand, which he held out as a present to captain Cook, singing all the while, with a view to divert the attention of the captain and his people from observing the motions of the Indians, who were now everywhere putting on their thick mats which they use as defensive armour. Captain Cook beginning to think his situation dangerous, ordered the lieutenant of marines to march towards the shore, as he himself did, having all the while hold of the king's hand, who very readily accompanied him, attended by his wife, two sons, and several chiefs. The Indians made a lane for them to pass; and the distance they had to go was only about fifty or sixty yards, while the boats lay at no more than five or six yards from the land. The king's youngest son, Keowa, went on board the pinnace without hesitation; and Tarraboo, the king, was about to follow, when his wife threw her arms about his neck, and, with the assistance of two chiefs, forced him to sit down. The captain finding that he could not take the king along with him without a great deal of bloodshed, was on the point of giving orders for his people to reembark, when one of the Indians threw a stone at him. This insult was returned by the captain, who had a double-barrelled gun, by a discharge of small shot from one of the barrels. This had little effect, as the man had a thick mat before him; and as he now brandished his spear, the captain knocked him down with his musket. The king's son still remained in the pinnace; and the detention of him would have been a great check upon the Indians; but Mr. Roberts, who had the command of the pinnace, set him on shore, at his request, soon after the first fire. Another Indian being observed by the captain to be brandishing his spear at him, he fired at him, but missing, killed one close by his side; upon which the sergeant, observing that he had missed the man he aimed at, received orders to fire also, which he did, and killed him on the spot. Captain Cook now called to the people in the boats to come nearer, to receive the marines. This order was obeyed by Mr. Roberts; but the lieutenant who commanded the launch, instead of coming nearer, put off to a greater distance, and by his conduct deprived the captain of the only chance he had for his life. Captain Cook was now observed making for the pinnace. An Indian was seen to follow him, who struck him on the back of the head with a club. The captain staggered a few paces, and then fell on his hand and one knee, and dropped his musket. Before he could recover himself, another Indian stabbed him with a dagger in the neck, and he fell into the water; when a savage struck him with a club, which probably put an end to his life. They hauled his body on the rocks, and used it in the most barbarous manner. The chief who first struck him with the club was named Karimana Raha; and he who stabbed him with the dagger was called Nooah.

Owing to the barbarous disposition of the Indians, it was found impossible to recover captain Cook's body: however, by dint of threats and negotiation, some parts were procured, by which means the navigators were enabled to perform the last offices to their much-respected commander. These being put into a coffin, and the service read over them, were committed to the deep, with the usual honours, on the 21st of February 1779.

ICELAND.

ICELAND is a large island in the northern part of the Atlantic ocean, between the 13rd and the 67th degrees of north latitude, and between the 16th and 23rd degrees of west longitude from London. It is of a very irregular shape, and contains about 56,000 inhabitants.

At what time the island of Iceland was first peopled is uncertain. The Iceland chronicles go no farther back than the arrival of the Norwegians, about the year 861, when Naddodr, a pirate, was driven on the coast. In 864, Garder Suafarson, a Swede, encouraged by the account given by Naddodr, went in search of it, sailed round it, and gave it the name of Gardersholmer, or Garder's Island. Having remained in Iceland during the winter, he returned in the spring to Norway, where he described the new-discovered island as a pleasant, well-wooded country. This excited a desire in Floke, another Swede, reputed the best navigator of his time, to undertake a voyage thither. Floke staid the whole winter in the island, and because he found great quantities of floating ice on the north side, he called it Iceland, which name it has ever since retained.

In 874, Ingolfr, and his friend Liefr, established a colony; and in sixty years the whole island was inhabited. The tyranny of Harold, king of Norway, contributed not a little to the population of Iceland. Besides the Norwegians, new colonies arrived from different nations.

In 928 they chose a chief; but his powers were inconsiderable, and the Icelanders began to wage war against each other. They remained, however, free from a foreign yoke till 1261, when they became subject to the Norwegians. Afterwards Iceland, together with Norway, became subject to Denmark.

Iceland is famous for the volcanoes with which it abounds, appearing, indeed, to owe its existence to submarine volcanic agency, and to have been upheaved at intervals from the bottom of the sea. Tracts of lava traverse the island almost in every direction; besides which the country abounds with other mineral masses indicative of an igneous origin. The burning mountains, so dreadful in their effect, seldom begin to throw out fire without giving warning. A subterraneous noise precedes the eruption for several days, with a roaring and cracking in the place from whence the fire is about to burst forth. The immediate sign is the bursting of the mass of ice, or snow, which covers the mountain, with a dreadful noise. The flames then issue forth, and stones, ashes, &c., are thrown out to vast distances. Egbert Olassen relates, that, in the eruption of Kattle-gia, in 1755, a stone weighing 290 lbs. was thrown to the distance of twenty-four English miles.

Besides more than thirty volcanic mountains, there exists an immense number of small cones and craters, from which streams of melted substances have been poured forth over the surrounding regions. Twenty-three eruptions of Hecla are recorded since the occupation of the island by Europeans; the first of which occurred in 1004. It will be sufficient to give an account of that which happened in 1783, and which, from its violence, seems to have been unparalleled in history.

Its first signs were observed on the 1st of June, by a trembling of the earth in the western part of the province of Skapterfiall; it increased gradually till the 11th, and became at last so great, that the inhabitants quitted their houses, and lay at night in tents on the ground. A continual smoke, or steam, was perceived rising out of the earth in the northern and uninhabited parts of the country. Three fire spouts, as they were called, broke out in different places; one in Ulfarsdal, a little to the east of the river Skapta; the other two were a little to the westward of the river Ilverfisfliot. The three fire-spouts, or streams of lava, united in one, after having risen a considerable height in the air, arrived at last at such an amazing altitude as to be seen at the distance of upwards of 200 miles; the whole country, for double that distance, being enveloped in the densest smoke and steam, while the atmosphere was filled with sand, brimstone, and ashes, in such a manner as to occasion continual darkness. Considerable damage was done by the pumice stone, which fell red-hot in great quantities. Along with these, a tenacious substance, like pitch, fell in abundance. This shower having continued for three days, the fire became very visible, and at last arrived at the amazing height already mentioned. Sometimes it appeared in a continual stream, at others in flashes, with a perpetual noise like thunder, which lasted the whole summer. The obscurity occasioned by this extraordinary eruption seems to have reached as far as Great Britain: for, during the whole summer of 1783, a haze or dullness appeared to darken the atmosphere.

The whole extent of ground covered by the lava was computed to be ninety miles long, by forty-two in breadth; the depth of the lava being from sixteen to twenty fathoms. Twelve rivers were dried up, twenty-one villages were destroyed, and 224 persons lost their lives.

After this eruption, two new islands were thrown up in the sea; one of about three miles in circumference, and about a mile in height, at the distance of 100 miles south-

west from Iceland, in 100 fathoms' water. The other lay to the north-west, between Iceland and Greenland. Both these islands subsequently disappeared.

Iceland abounds also with hot and boiling springs, called *geysers*, some of which throw the water into the air to the surprising height of from 200 to 300 feet. These are, indeed, the most remarkable phenomena in Iceland. The great geyser, or principal fountain of this kind, rises from a tube or funnel, seventy-eight feet in perpendicular depth, and from eight to ten feet in diameter at the bottom, but gradually widening till it terminates in a capacious basin. The jets take place at intervals of about six hours; and when the water, in a violent state of ebullition, begins to rise in the pipe or funnel, and to fill the basin, subterraneous noises may be heard like the distant roar of cannon, the earth is slightly shaken, and the agitation increases, till at length a column of water is suddenly thrown up, to a vast height, as before stated. After playing for a time like an immense artificial fountain, a column of steam rushes up with great violence, and a thundering noise terminates the eruption. All the hot waters have an incrusting quality: in some places they taste of sulphur, in others not; but when drank as soon as cold, they taste like common boiled water. This island is committed to a governor who resides at Bassa-stadr: he has under him a bailiff, two laymen, a sheriff, and twenty-one sysselmen, or magistrates, who superintend small districts; and almost everything is decided according to the laws of Denmark, to whom it belongs.

At a period when most parts of continental Europe were in a state of rude ignorance, the inhabitants of this remote island were well acquainted with poetry and history. The most flourishing period of Icelandic literature appears to have been from the 12th to the end of the 13th century; but even during the last three centuries, Iceland has produced several eminently learned men. At the present day there is no want of disposition on the part of the people to apply to literature, but they wisely attend more to solid branches of learning than to the lays and legends of their ancient sages. Domestic education is universal; and there are very few among them who cannot read and write, and many among the better class would be distinguished by their taste and learning in the most cultivated society in Europe.

GREENLAND.

UNDER the name of Greenland is denoted the most easterly parts of America, stretching towards the North Pole, and likewise some islands to the northward of the continent of Europe, lying in very high latitudes. This country is divided into West and East Greenland. West Greenland had long been considered to be a part of the continent of America, but recent geographers seem to think it is an island. It is bounded on the west by Baffin's bay, on the south by Davis's straits, and on the east by the Northern Atlantic ocean.

This country was first peopled by Europeans from Iceland, headed by Eric Rande, in the eighth century; and a regular intercourse was maintained between Norway and Greenland till the year 1406; from that time all correspondence was cut off, and all knowledge of Greenland buried in oblivion. It is supposed that a nation called Schrellings, whose descendants still inhabit the western part, got the better of the settlers, and exterminated them. All that can be learned from the most authentic records is, that Greenland was divided into two districts, called West Bygd, and East Bygd; that the western division contained four parishes and 100 villages; and the eastern district was still more flourishing. This colony, in ancient times, certainly comprehended twelve extensive parishes, 190 villages, a bishop's see, and two monasteries. Many attempts have been made to re-discover the east country, without effect, by the Danes and the English. The land has been seen, but the ice has always prevented any approach to the shore.

The Greenland Company at Bergen, in Norway, transported a colony to the west coast; and in 1712, the Rev. Hans Egede, and others, endeavoured to reach the eastern district by coasting, but were obliged to return, owing to continual storms.

That part of West Greenland which is now settled by the Danes and Norwegians, lies between the 64th and 68th degrees of north latitude; and thus far, it is said, the climate is temperate. To the northward of the 68th degree, the cold is prodigiously intense; and towards the end of August all the coast is covered with ice, which never thaws till April or May, and sometimes June. Thunder and lightning rarely happen; but the aurora borealis is very frequent and splendidly luminous.

The Greenlanders are constantly employed either in fishing or hunting; at sea they pursue the whales, morses, seals, fish, and sea fowl; and on shore they hunt the reindeer.

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